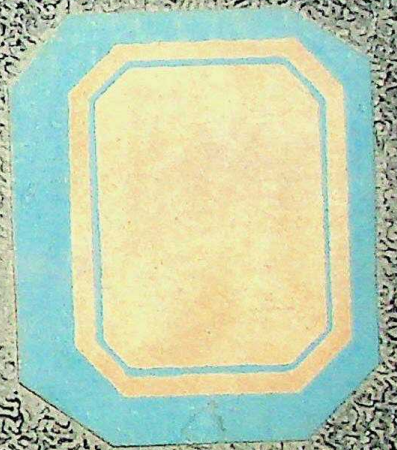
THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

1939 G.K.V.



Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

0786 42

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COMPILED

078 642

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Indian Social Reformer

1939

January to December

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RT-01910

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors:—{K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 30, 1939. No. 18

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Indian Christians and Constitutional Reform.
Lord Zetland Answered.
Dr. Mookerji on the Muslim League.
Dr. Paranjpye at the Liberal Federation.
Dominion Status for India.
Independence and Defence.
Madras Temple Entry Legislation.
Extension of Separate Electorates.
Communal and Political Minorities.
Independence Pledge.
Lord Zetland Analysed.
Pacifism and the Methodist Preacher.
Women in Modern Society.
The Congress and Coalition Governments.
The Congress and India's Political Goal.

NOTES.

Indian Christians and Constitutional Reform:—By some sort of convention it has come to be assumed that the minority problem in India means the problem of satisfying the Muslim League, not even all Muslims. But there are other minorities in the country besides those represented by the Muslim League. The Indian Christians, numbering 6 millions, may not have a tradition of having ruled the country nor are they endowed with the somewhat elusive attributes described as "martial qualities." But their high proportion of education and their closer contact with the best and most humane side of Western culture, make them a highly valuable element in the life of the country. Their views on constitutional questions are, therefore, of great interest and importance. Dr. H. C. Mookerji, President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, has issued a statement on the occasion of his being elected President for a second term, on the political situation. He naturally begins with a reference to the War. Soon after the outbreak of the War, he sent a message to His Excellency the Viceroy in his capacity as President of the Conference, tendering the full support of the Indian Christian community for the successful prosecution of the War. Dr. Mookerji in his statement makes appreciative reference to the recent decision of His Majesty's Government removing the bar against Indians in Great Britain enlisting in the defence services and being given commissions in the Army. But he regrets that in their own country Indians do not enjoy the same freedom. Recruitment for the Indian Army is confined to certain areas and specified communities officially classified as "martial."

Lord Zetland Answered:—Lord Zetland in his recent statement in the House of Lords referred to the large proportion of Muslims in the Indian Army. Dr. Mookerji gives an effective reply. He points out that this is entirely due to recruiting being largely confined to Punjab Muslims and not to any want of physical and other requirements on the part of others. He cites the case of the Sikhs who in 1914 formed 19·2 per cent while the Punjab Muslims formed only 11·1 per cent of the Indian Army. In 1930, the Sikh proportion had fallen to 13·58 per cent and the Muslim proportion had increased to 22·6 per cent. "Nationalists hold," remarked Dr. Mookerji, "that this is not due to any loss of efficiency on the part of the Sikhs nor to any difficulty so far as the supply of an adequate number of recruits is concerned." The argument based on certain races being "martial" was a flimsy one at all times and is hopelessly out of date at present when War is no longer a matter of muscle and sinew. Unless and until, however, the constitution of the Indian Army is radically changed so as to offer an honourable career to educated men as it does in other countries, the more advanced communities will not be attracted to it. "The British administration," Dr. Mookerji observed, "does not seem to have realised how much India resents the existing policy excluding Indians from positions of responsibility in our own army."

Dr. Mookerji on the Muslim League:—Dr. Mookerji's views on the special consideration shown to the Muslims as distinguished from other minorities, including the Indian Christians, demand attention. He charged Government and the National Congress under Gandhiji's lead, with turning the Muslim Leaguers into "spoilt children." He is careful to exclude Muslims who do not belong to the League; and they are a considerable proportion of the community. He mentions that the majority of the Mussulmans of the North West Frontier Province, large numbers in Sind, the Ahrar and Krishak Proja parties, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, a majority of Shias, and the Momins who, according to the Vice-President of the Indian Momin Conference, constitute about one half of the total Mussulman population of India. These do not subscribe to the creed, policy and programme of the Muslim League and refuse to recognise it as their representative. Dr. Mookerji said that he had before him the official statements of these organisations when he was drawing up his statement. He added: "If we attach any credence to the statements it follows that between 50 to 60 per cent of the Mussulmans of India refuse to acknowledge the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

claims of the Muslim League as the sole representative of the community." Dr. Mookerji concluded:

> I contend that the difficulties due to the communal situation are exaggerated. Nor can they be removed so long as both the Indian National Congress and the British administration approach the Muslim League and beg and beseech its co-operation. In my view, the solution will come only when the majority community and the British Government and other groups which hold similar or identical views regarding the desirability of having a federated India, come together and proceed with the task of hammering out a constitution which will not deny their legitimate rights to any social or religious groups including our Mussulman brethren.

Dr. Paranjpye at the Liberal Federation:— Dr. R. P. Paranjpye's presidential address at the All India Liberal Federation at Allahabad, eschewed the defensive tactics which for some years past Liberal Presidents have preferred to adopt and launched a heavy offensive against the Congress. He began by attacking the Congress goal of Independence. "It should be apparent" he said "that there is no place in these days for states that are not fully prepared to defend themselves in all eventualities." The present struggle in Europe is just for that reason. The Christmas messages of the Pope and President Roosevelt place in the forefront the security of small (and weak) states as the great need for world peace. Scores of writers have propounded schemes whereby this can be secured by a sort of Federation which alone will have the right and the armed force necessary to punish aggression. To assume that this is impossible is to set oneself against the most promising current of thought in our time. Then, again, Dr. Paranjpye said that comparative safety lies only in an intimate association with a large and powerful organisation. How did this organisation become large and powerful? Why should it not be possible for others to do the same? Dr. Paranjpye also ignores the psychological factor. Security, comparative or absolute, is not the motive which makes men aspire to great things. Those who play for safety must be content to eternal subservience. Dr. Paranjpye himself in his early career might have sought and would have found "safety" in the Indian Civil Service or at the Bar. Why did he choose to become a Professor of the Fergusson College on a pittance? The trouble with Liberals is that they do not remember their own younger days. That is why, incidentally, few men under forty-five or fifty years of age, and no women, are attracted to their flag. The President reiterated his faith in the Liberal methods. Lord Zetland said the other day that India will be fit for self-government only if the leaders can say of themselves that they are Indians first and Hindus and Muslims afterwards. As Dr. Paranjpye knows, this was precisely what the old leaders like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale used to say in every speech and on every platform. Who cared for them? They were ridiculed as being a microscopic minority. Mr. Tilak took up the challenge and carried politics to the masses. At once he clashed with authority. Gandhiji carried the same policy further and he did not wait for authority to clash with him. He clashed with it on his own initiative. The "microscopic minority" had swelled to huge proportions. The British Government woke up and realised that something had to be done.

Dominion Status for India:—The *Reformer* has often pointed out that Dominion Status is inapplicable to India. Apart from the legal significance which has come to be attached to the term, etymologically and popularly it has associations which are wholly alien to India and her people. Kipling's lines exactly bring this out:

> Daughter am I in my mother's house
> Mistress in my own.

It is this associational significance which has moved Eire to repudiate the status. The Afrikanders led by Dr. Malan dislike it for the same reason. Recently it was reported that Canada wanted to be called a Kingdom and not a Dominion. From the legal and constitutional point of view also, the term presents difficulties with reference to India. According to the latest declaration by the British Government, a Dominion is not under an obligation to go to the help of Britain in case of War while Britain recognises her obligation to defend a Dominion when it is attacked. Obviously this is based on the assumption that a Dominion is a minor member of the British family. Is it possible that Britain will undertake in the case of India an one-sided obligation of this kind and is it reasonable on the part of India to expect her to do so? General Smuts argues that without the protection of Britain, South Africa can not defend herself against an aggressor. But he would not accept any suggestion from Britain regarding, to take one example, the treatment of Indians in the Union. Great Britain may have her reasons for accepting this position in South Africa. But surely if India wants Independence and wants also Britain to protect it, the latter would be justified in naming her own price for her service. Those who demand Independence, if they are serious, must be prepared to maintain it without any foreign help. The Congress is apparently prepared to face this responsibility. If severance of the British connection is desirable and necessary, India must seek it, devising at the same time measures for defending herself.

Independence and Defence:—Holland and Belgium are small countries but have colonies many times their size. If they are attacked by any of the great Powers, they can not defend themselves. For that reason, they are not prepared nor does any Power want them to become a Dependency like India. Switzerland is yet another instance. Even more crucial are the cases of Poland and Finland. In all these cases, it is agreed that their inadequate resources for defending themselves, is no reason against

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their possessing the attribute of independence. Is it impossible that India too may acquire a character which would entitle her to be regarded by all countries as being outside their range of aggression? Dominion Status being inappropriate, the only reason which would justify India in continuing in the British connection, is that she can thereby better fulfil her own destiny and serve humanity. We believe that she can do this. If that is so, even if, as is not by any means improbable, Britain, owing to her troubles and commitments in Europe, is unable, however willing she may be, to defend India, our duty to stand with her and to help her if necessary, would remain. But for this, Britain must recognise India as a free nation entitled to an independent place in the comity of nations. This will be altogether a new relation for which a name has yet to be found but which will be found when the time is ripe for it. "Indo-British Entente" seems approximately to convey the idea we have in mind.

Madras Temple Entry Legislation :—We see that the leaders of orthodox Hindus in Madura have decided to send a deputation to the Governor of Madras and, if necessary, to the Viceroy to request them to repeal under their special power the Madras Temple Entry Authorisation and Validation Act passed at the last session of the Madras Legislature. This is a wrong move for several reasons. It is wrong to have a law passed by a Legislature repealed by Executive authority. It is a throw-back in political evolution. The orthodox community, if it seriously wants the law repealed, must wait until the Legislature functions again. The present attempt is bound to be futile. Neither His Excellency the Governor nor the Viceroy is likely to incur the odium which is sure to be exploited here and in Britain of annulling a measure which has been advertised as a courageous act of the Congress Government to remove a dark spot in Hindu society. The fact that this is not appreciated by the leaders of the Harijans who joined Mr. Jinnah in celebrating the Deliverance Day last week, will be cited as showing that the Congress Government had no ulterior political object in getting the Act passed. The Sanatanists are not likely to get any sympathy, much less support, from politically-minded Hindus. The Hindu Mahasabha will certainly not join them. As for reformers they do not believe in temple worship and can not join any movement connected with it. The circumstances and the manner in which this extraordinary law was conceived and carried through, cannot but repel a mind sensitive to the call of fairplay. The orthodox people were treated as dust under the feet. But to a large extent they have called such treatment on themselves. They were deaf to the pleadings of reformers who were keenly solicitous to have essential reforms introduced in the social body with as little violence to orthodox sentiments as possible. They have treated all attempts at peaceful persuasion with supercilious indifference. They are now paying the price. We are sincerely sorry for them. There is yet another consideration. Although the leaders of the Harijans have not appreciated the action of the Congress Government in passing this law, they are sure to raise a hue and cry if it is repealed. And they will be entirely within their rights.

Extension of Separate Electorates :—We publish the first part of a lengthy communication from Mr. K. Chandy. He begins it in the form of a reply to our comments on his scheme for holding re-elections which, he hoped, might result in the displacement of Congress Cabinets. Mr. Chandy deals very lightly with this point. But what he says is enough to show that, if the elections fail, then "he is prepared to go to Hell" with the voter. If this is what Mr. Chandy calls the "secularization of politics," we can only pray that we may be saved from it. His argument that then Britain would realise that the only alternative is between leaving things to the Congress and ruling bureaucratically, is the desperate appeal of an anti-Congressman. The British nevertheless have already decided—to rule bureaucratically. In the several Congress provinces the breakdown of the constitution has its clear lesson to all except those who will shut their eyes to reality. Unable to oppose the Congress election speeches with anything effective—largely because the statements of British politicians leave no room for the Indian Liberal—Mr. Chandy conjures up a triple bogey—Hitler, Stalin and Mr. Jinnah. We shall have to submit to concentration camps and totalitarianism, civil war will come up, and there are the astrological predictions of Cheiro—these are the arguments to address to the voter. Having said this, Mr. Chandy mounts his hobby-horse once more—that a communal majority is different from a parliamentary majority.

Communal and Political Minorities :—It is, to say the least, difficult to follow his argument that if you differ from the majority in political opinion, you have less right to be heard than the other fellow whose father belonged to a different religious persuasion than the fathers of the majority among whom he lives. A political minority's grievances must be dismissed out of hand but a communal minority is tested by the strength of its leader's vocal chords. Mr. Chandy's is not a peculiar case. The British, keen devotees of parliamentary democracy, twenty years ago foisted on us separate electorates with most undemocratic communal weightages. Mr. Chandy, one time enthusiast for secularizing politics, now wants to communalize Provincial and Central Cabinets under the guise of rejecting party government. We do not think that the results of the overweighted communal electorates have been so successful as to justify Mr. Chandy's enthusiasm for an extension of them. No amount of reiteration of the same arguments can convince us that communally-built cabinets will be democratic.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, December 30, 1939.

INDEPENDENCE PLEDGE.

We publish elsewhere the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress and the text of the pledge which it has drawn up for adoption by all Congressmen at public meetings called for the purpose on January 26. In issuing these documents, the Committee hopes that none who do not believe in the contents of the pledge will take it merely as a matter of form. Dissentients are desired to intimate their dissent and their reasons for it to the Provincial Congress Committee, not, they are assured, for the purpose of disciplinary action but for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of the disapproval of anything contained in the pledge. This is perhaps the first time that the Working Committee has permitted any doubt to cross its mind as to its sentiments and opinions not being those of all Congressmen. It is to be welcomed as a healthy departure from the spirit of political dogmatism. Not many Congressmen, however, are likely to communicate their dissent and the reasons therefor to the Provincial Congress Committees. The purpose of the pledge is to create an emotional atmosphere favourable to the Congress aim of severance of the British connection. As the Congress has laid down the goal, few Congressmen, speaking generally, will be inclined to scrutinise the arguments by which the foregone conclusion is to be transmuted into the united demand of the whole people. The technique is common to all propaganda, of Communism against Capitalism, of Fascism and Nazism against Democracy, of the Muslim League against the Congress, of the Harijanites against orthodox Hindus, and *vice versa*. It is necessary for the purpose of propaganda that the other side should be depicted in the darkest colour possible. To admit a single redeeming feature would ruin it. Any one who ventures to suggest that Herr Hitler may not be the lunatic at large that Allied propagandists make him out to be, runs the risk of being dubbed pro-Nazi. To refer in appreciation to the admirable reclamation work of the Fascists in Libya or of the Bolsheviks in the Russian countryside, will bring upon one the charge of being an upholder of Fascist Dictatorship or of Soviet tyranny worse than the Tsarist which used to be a byword before the last war. To dissent from the sweeping assertions about the results of British rule embodied in the pledge, is sure to make a Congressman suspect in the eyes of his fellows even if it does not invoke any disciplinary action against him.

This does not relieve the *Reformer* of the duty of scrutinising the terms of the pledge. The British Government of India is a foreign rule and has made no pretension to be anything else. According to the accepted political philosophy of Western nations, every foreign rule as such is an intolerable tyranny. This is the principle for which Britain and France, with the United States in the background, are at present fighting Germany and denouncing Russia. Both the Allies are themselves ruling over races and countries not their own. And the world quite rightly asks how the two can blame Germany for the mote in her eye ignoring calmly the beam in their own. The answer implicit in the declarations of Allied statesmen is that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's dictum that good government is no substitute for self-government, applies only to the White races. The Balkan States compared to which the worst governed Indian State is Ram Rajya, come under this doctrine. The aggressor of Abyssinia is now an honoured neutral because Abyssinians are not White men. The Working Committee, however, has not made the foreignness of British rule its main reason for seeking Independence. It impliedly condones that *fact*, to that extent acquiescing in the discrimination in favour of White races. Its indictment of British rule is based on its iniquity. The pledge declares :

> The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom, but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and had ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete Independence.

The case for Independence as applying to White races, does not rest on the existence of any grievances on the part of the subject people. The case for freedom, said Edmund Burke, needs no offset of grievances. The Working Committee has not taken its stand on this plain and simple proposition. It has left this comparatively safe ground and has launched a sweeping indictment of British rule which every fair-minded person who is not blinded by political prejudice and party passion must recognise as being in essential respects unfounded and in those in which they are true to be highly exaggerated.

The first count in this terrific indictment is that Britain deprived India of her freedom. The British imperialist who claims that India was conquered by the might of British arms, will find in this a confirmation of his boast. But it is an English historian, Seeley, who declared on an examination of historical facts : "We have not conquered India and we can not rule India as conquerors." However that may be, the impression left on an eminent Indian who spoke with personal experience of the conditions which immediately preceded the establishment of British rule, is of more value than the opinion of political propagandists a century later. Raja Ram Mohan Roy has left on record that he started with an intense dislike of British rule but from a short experience he was convinced that it was a providential dispensation to help India

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on her way to freedom and national greatness. This view was consistently held and expressed by the founders of the National Congress for over a quarter of a century. Ranade who was keenly alive to the faults and failures of British rule held that the establishment of the rule of law in the place of the personal rule of Hindu and Muslim rulers, was a service which outweighed them in a just estimate of that rule. The religious and social reform movements, the renaissance of Indian art, stand out in high relief. The Women's Movement which is the outstanding feature that has impressed the world in our time, owes its inspiration to British influence. In this and other directions the British regime has been the greatest emancipating force in our history in all spheres of Indian life. It has taught Indians the truth of the Shakesperian precept :

> This above all; to thine own self be true.
>
> And it must follow as the night the day,
>
> Thou canst not then be false to any man.

There is only one word to characterise the statement that British rule ruined the political, cultural and religious life of the country. That word is bunkum. There was no political life in the country worth mentioning before the British period. Cultural life was at the lowest ebb. Religious persecution was rampant and was chiefly responsible for the downfall of the Moghul Empire. Chapter and verse can be quoted from Indian authorities for every one of these propositions. Great Britain is fairly open to the charge of gross neglect of the economic interests of India and even of having subordinated India's industrial and economic life to the advantage of Great Britain. If the Working Committee had confined itself to that charge, it would have been on solid ground. It has prejudiced its case by indulging in hyperbolic language in flagrant contradiction to facts. The whole pledge is vitiated by the wide departure from truth in the hypothesis with which it starts. The Working Committee seems to have taken a leaf out of Mr. Jinnah's book. Its charges against British rule are on a par with his against Congress Governments. If India and Britain have to part let them part as friends and in a spirit of goodwill gladly acknowledging the benefits which they have mutually derived from their connection for two centuries. There is no need to indulge in mud-slinging especially as much of the mud is purely imaginary. If only a fraction of the Working Committee's indictment is true or at least is honestly felt to be true, it will be hard to explain how it has been carrying on negotiations with the oppressor and how Gandhiji happened to intervene in the Rajkot affair as the "Ally" of the Paramount Power.

LORD ZETLAND ANALYSED.

In the course of his statement on the Indian situation in the House of Lords, Lord Zetland observed :

> There is a further consideration to be borne in mind. We speak of Moslems as a minority, because on an arithmetical basis they are less in number than Hindus. But they are a community of from eighty to ninety millions with race memories of days when for 200 years the Moghul dynasty ruled over a greater part of the Indian sub-continent. They have behind them a tradition of military service, which persists to this day and is exemplified by the high proportion of the Indian Army which they fill.

As a general proposition everyone will agree that minority groups should be assured that there will be no discrimination adverse to their interests, religious, cultural, and economic in any system of government which claims to be civilized. But the same is true of the majority. A majority, merely because it is a majority, should not be subjected to differential treatment on the ground of protecting minority interests. Here is a flagrant instance. The Simon Commission which consisted exclusively of British Members of Parliament and was presided over by the present British Chancellor of the Exchequer, in its Report observed :

> It would be unfair that Muhammadans should retain the very considerable weightage they now enjoy in the six provinces (where they are a minority of the population) and that there should at the same time be imposed, in face of Hindu and Sikh opposition, a definite Moslem majority in the Punjab and in Bengal unalterable by any appeal to the electorate.

The Hoare constitution does precisely this. It will be argued with perfect fairness that this has been accepted by the Congress. That does not in the least affect our conviction that weightages which are in effect different grades of citizenship, are a rank poison in any system of administration. Congress having accepted it from motives of expediency is driven unconsciously to look to internal dissensions among Muslims to right the balance. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale who, by the way, were keenly alive to the brighter side of the British connection, were uncompromising in their opposition to communalism in politics. On their death in the same year, the reins of Congress leadership passed into the hands of Mr. Tilak whose political and communal views were totally contrary to those of the departed leaders. He fixed up the Lucknow Pact as a means of securing Muslim support to his political platform. Gandhiji stepped into his place in 1920 and he carried the process still further by the Khilafat alliance. In spite of the Pact and the Alliance, in spite too of Gandhiji's repeated efforts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity and even the offer of a blank cheque, the relation between the Congress and the Moslem League today is one of bitter antagonism. You cannot win over communal opposition by weightages. No more can Lord Zetland win over political dissentients by such considerations as those contained in the passage from his lordship's statement quoted above. There is no difference in principle between the Congress and Lord Zetland's approach to the Hindu-Muslim question. Both are sincere in their objective but both are mistaken in their methods. One of the leading discoveries of the psychology of the subconscious, is that, in a conflict between the Will and the Imagination, Imagination always carries the day. Hindu-Muslim unity will not come by willing it. It will come when some great ideal begins to sway the imagination of India and that ideal must embrace a wider circle than two Indian commu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nities. The method of bargaining for weightages, will invariably tend to widen the gulf between communities. Rather than offer these inducements, it would be much better if the majority voluntarily withdrew from the political squabble, leaving Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar or a coalition of the two to run the government of India, if they can persuade Lord Zetland to hand it over to them. It is clear that in Lord Zetland's mind the Hindus have little else in their favour than the accident of being an arithmetical majority. They have no tradition of rule, although as a matter of fact any school book on Indian history will tell his lordship that the British took over the larger part of the country from Sikhs and Mahrattas, and Mussulmans who had revolted against and overthrown the Moghul Empires. In no single battle did the British meet a Moghul army in the field. As for Moghul tradition, there was not one but two distinctly opposite Moghul traditions—the tradition of Akbar and the tradition of Aurangezeb. The one built up the Empire: the other pulled it down. One last word about martial tradition of which so much is made by Lord Zetland and Sir Sikhander Hayat Khan. What is this tradition? If you put any man in uniform, put a rifle in his hand and tell him that if he does not shoot at the enemy he will be shot down where he stands, he will inevitably acquire the martial quality. This is exactly what the Dictators are doing to instil martial qualities among their people. We have been told repeatedly that the British Empire stands for peace and is opposed to militarism. India should like to be frankly told if this is true of British policy in this country or not. Gandhiji wrote that if the British withdrew, the martial races of the north will swoop down on the country and establish their domination. This is an old obsession. That might have happened in the old days when War was a test of muscular strength. Today war is a matter of engineering and mechanical skill and propaganda. Lord Roberts who knew all parts of India well has observed that the southerners are more intelligent than the northerners and are more suited for artillery service. Nations nowadays commission Nobel prize scientists to discover means of annihilating enemies without being annihilated by them. Our only Nobel prize winner in science is Sir C. V. Raman. He has to his credit one Raman effect. Is it beyond the range of possibility that he may discover a second effect by which the brawny northerner when he comes south casts off his martial qualities and seeks admission to his laboratories for graduating in the new Science of War?

PACIFISM AND THE METHODIST PREACHER.

The situation created by the Kristagraha Manifesto is much more serious than it is made out to be by the Methodist Mission. It is, not as that organization would have us think, a question of refraining from any participation in Indian politics. It is the much more fundamental question of whether the Methodist Church in India can discard the message of pacifism which all Methodist Churches have adopted as their own elsewhere. Is the Methodist missionary in India to dilute the pure message of his Church, not because as Paul put it, he wants to give milk to those who cannot bear strong meat, but because he had signed a pledge to do nothing contrary to and in diminution of the lawfully constituted authority? Is the pacifist message of the Methodist Church to be a few plaintive lamentations on "the savage in us," to a few periodic questions asking, "When will war be banished?" We are assured on the best authority that the Government had taken no step whatever. We are glad to hear this. The British Government in England has a great record in the tolerance it has shown so far to pacifists in the present war. *No. Frontier News Service* regards this attitude not only as a credit to Britain but as an education to other States. We should have been sorry to learn that another policy is pursued in India. The issues in the Kristagraha controversy are clear-cut. The signatories asked for a clarification of the position of those who put into operation the anti-war resolution of the Methodist General Conference. One Section, the ruling section, felt that to do so would be to break the pledge given to the Government of India, euphemistically called the "neutrality pledge." The other felt that its preaching of the Methodist message in full, pacifism and all, was calculated to prepare their members for the new world order which has been declared as one of the aims of the Allies. The natural thing is to appeal to the Government. This the Kristagrahis did. The Viceroy withheld the explanation they had asked for. But the conservative section of the Church took immediate action. Dr. J. Holmes Smith, we learn, is leaving India in "mutual agreement with the Bishop in charge," and no doubt after some time the other signatories too will leave. The Kristagrahis will be held up as a warning to new Methodist arrivals not to interfere in the politics of this country and the Methodist Churches will preach pacifism outside India, while Methodist workers in India will wait in patient silence for "the spirit of God to change men and women into good neighbours." The whole incident would have worked out in a few months to the satisfaction of the Methodist high-priests in India except for a vaguely distasteful memory. Unfortunately for this view of the controversy, however, the Kistagrahis, though less influential in India, would seem to have the American Churches behind them. The 2936 General Conference declared its message in no uncertain terms. It said:—

> The threats of war in the world today are so grave that we feel called upon to restate our convictions on this subject. Therefore, in the name of Jesus Christ, Prince of Peace, and with the hope that His Spirit may be evident in these words we make the following declaration:
>
> War as we now know it is utterly destructive. It is the greatest social sin of modern times; a denial of the ideals of Christ; a violation of human personality; and a threat to civilisation. Therefore, we declare that the Methodist Episcopal Church as an institution does not endorse, support, or purpose to participate in War.

This is the message—let us be clear about it—which not the Government of India but the American Methodist Mission in India will not allow its members to transmit to their flock. A Government clarification of the meaning of the pledge would certainly be helpful but the next step seems to us to lie with the Methodist Episcopal Churches of America.

WOMEN IN MODERN SOCIETY.

(By. J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Probably the worst feature of modern European civilisation is the increasing tendency of women to postpone marriage as long as they can help it. The disinclination to marry cannot be attributed to late development of sex sense, or to a desire to lead the idealised life of continence or even to a distaste of the company and association of the other sex. For unmarried women by their movements, manners, and posings show keener sex consciousness than their married sisters, and appear to be more

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

eager also to attract the notice and seek the company of the males than the latter. That is, however, not to be surprised at; it is rather nothing but natural that they should be so minded towards the opposite sex. Being sex-satisfied married women, particularly those having children, do not feel any inner unsatisfied urging towards men, and their mind, moreover is pre-occupied with the work and considerations of their families.

The fact is that the two sexes are so strongly and so unalternatively complementary to each other that for the full happiness, which men and women seek through the satisfaction of desires and instincts, not only originating from sex-consciousness but also relating to so many other interests which from the background of life, one sex needs the other, not in casual but in intimate relationship of trust and responsiveness. This essential complementariness attracts and draws them to each other with all the force of their inner nature, and it is very few who can transcend the sphere of this force, by conquering their nature or with the help of religious faith or sacred principles.

Such being human nature, it cannot be good to human society, or to men and women individually to play hide and seek with it. It is not that everybody must submit to be ruled by it; it should rather be one's effort to master it and to continually sublimate it for attainment of human perfection. But without the sincere will to control it and without being inspired by the ultimate goal of perfection, merely to sport with one's strongest innate instinct and to seek its abnormal and indirect satisfaction avoiding the normal and legitimate course, for the reason of temporary inconvenience or because of slavish adaptation of some current notions and tendencies, can only lead to serious potential danger to society. For, the presence within the society of people, living under all sorts of constant environmental excitement but not getting satisfied in the normal and legitimate manner, creates a vicious influence for the others too. And, yet, the craze for ever-increasing industrialisation, which disrupts the economic life of smaller units and groups in the social order, and the trend of modern European civilisation, that looks more to immediate gain and convenience rather than to the stable and lasting goodness, are rapidly swelling the bulk of hungry, sex-unsatisfied creatures to ravish the peace and harmony of the society, without adequate notice of thinking people and without provoking them to serious head-racking for remedy. To be simply told that the thing cannot be helped or that it is inevitable under the tendencies and circumstances of the time, is not consoling; nor does it bring the conviction that nothing can be done to check the current tendencies. Assuming also that no statutory obligation can be placed on men and women to get married within a certain age, and witholding observations, which might be urged on the other side in the case of one or the other above, why cannot social education and propaganda be so directed as to discourage the life, that does not believe in the virtue of strict continence, but avoids matrimony for fear of its responsibilities or for love of romance and adventure?

The life of unmarried women, living by themselves, shows little redeeming feature in it on close observation. They have to work for long hours in offices taking down notes from their superiors and typing them, or as saleswomen to try in all manner to please a customer. These two are their most common professions, though they are also employed as trade canvassers as telephone operators, and as hotel and cafe waitresses. Very few of them are able to take higher class work. For these professions the requisite qualifications are good physical appearance, outward smartness, and ability to appear attractive to men, who are their employers and the chief customers in shops, hotels and cafes. In advertisement of those jobs the above qualifications are even specifically mentioned. The possession of those qualifications is a matter of gratification and self-confidence but I would ask them in all seriousness to think for a moment if their concentration on their acquirements and if their making use of them give them real and lasting happiness or simply lead them from wild hope to depressing disappointment and from fullness of woman's life to its mere unsatisfying waste. To be always thinking how to impress the other sex, and to have constant excitation of nerves thereby cannot preserve nervous balance long, nor can it be something to their nature's inclinations.

Looking thoughtfully at the young unmarried women and at their lot in stalls and offices, where they have to be solicitious of the good graces of the other sex, and where they have even to submit themselves often to improper remarks and attentions of any men, one is filled with deepest pity for them. Forgetful of themselves and in blind pursuit of perverted impulse, so many of them pass away the fruitful years of their youth seeking pleasure and happiness through what they think to be an independent existence, untied to the destiny of a particular man through marriage. But this independence of theirs is only superficial, for they are virtually dependent, every moment of their stall career, on the good graces of their employers, who, in their business interests, have to judge them according to their remaining attractive to the males; whereas in marriage it is not a relationship of employer and employed but that of mutual inter-dependence in faithful trust, love and confidence and with the inspiration of creative existence.

As their youth fades into middle age, and often later, the typists and the stall women feel the ground they had been standing on slipping underneath, and then they usually think of marriage, and feel also the want of children and of a husband to take interest in them. The women come into their own now, but it is rather difficult to settle down in quietness after the distractions of previous years. The preconceived ideas and pre-formed inclinations come in the way of easy understanding with the husband. Husband finding also becomes a problem, for many would be disinclined to marry them and others will not fit in with the pattern which independently living middle-aged women, form of a husband in their mind. Their marriage is therefore, not usually happy, and not infrequently ends in divorce and separation. In the consequent unhappiness and loneliness of their later life most of them regret the folly of their youth and they even warn youngsters against committing the same folly.

Much of the present social unrest and unhappiness in Europe is psychologically traceable to their being large number of women, who lead abnormal life and influence many men also to lead such life. The family bond that makes for social stability is weakened, family responsibilities which control recknessness and induce sobriety and spirit of accommodation are discarded, and family entanglements which do not permit wild speculation and romantic adventure, are avoided. Over and above, bachelor life necessarily lead to moral degration which is at the bottom of all the vices like lust, insatiable avarice selfishness, consciencelessness and so on, the vices which culminate in quarrels, loots, usurpations and warfare. Respectable society should set its face

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

openly and sternly against it in all possible manner: girls should be taught that to live on the good graces of an office boss or shop customers and cafe managers, to win and keep which soul-degrading artifices have usually to be adopted and womanly ideals have to be sacrificed, cannot compare in dignity with the life of an honoured wife and revered mother, looking after her own family and working for its welfare and economic prosperity.

Should some of their thrilling material successes make the European incapable of long vision of human life and of its destiny and should they feel content, inspite of constant quarrels and increasing bitterness in life's struggle, in following the path of immediate pleasantness through indulgence in passing impulsiveness, nothing is to be said; but, if, at last the more thoughtful of them discern more danger and unhappiness ahead, they should, in all sincerity, apply themselves to outcasting from society the unmarried 'Adams' and 'Eves' who go about making sport of moral principle and human ideals. Those of them who for reasons or circumstances of their own, are not in a position to marry must follow the strictest discipline in their life like the Hindu widows, so as not to be excited by evil influences themselves, nor to be instrumental in exciting others. Social taboos and conventions, are more effective in counteracting current tendencies than legislation, and, therefore, if European society will wake up to the necessity of banning conventional spinsterhood, it will quickly arrest its downward fall.

THE CONGRESS AND COALITION GOVERNMENTS.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayam.)

The *Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of the 16th December wishes to know how I would restrict the issue in re-elections to winning the war, in the event of the Congress not agreeing to resume office under either of the two alternatives suggested by me. It is impossible to restrict the issue, or to expect that opponents of the Congress are certain to be successful. All that was stated by me was that it *might* be possible, after re-elections, to establish coalition governments, provided that leaders are forthcoming to explain the issues. If leaders are not there with the gift of winning votes, or if the people are not convinced, the experiment fails, and England must either govern bureaucratically, or come to terms with the Congress. The voter is the ultimate authority, and if he chooses to be damned, I must go to hell with him, just as under any other form of government. It is Gandhiji's notion and not mine, to offer satyagraha whenever the other fellow does not agree with me. Personally I am still in favour of a few leaders meeting and coming to decisions, which may subsequently be approved by all concerned.

Similarly, there is no inconsistency, it seems to me, in agreeing to the Constituent Assembly in principle, although aware of its practical difficulties. Those that know the ways of English politicians (vide Pege's letter, for example) assure us that they (the British) pay heed only to practical politics and to actual reactions of policies. What is theoretically right or consistent is not the issue. What I think, or what many Liberals think, is of no consequence. How the Congress and Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru would react, and how Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League, are at the moment the only relevant factors. When all the cards in a person's hands are shown, there is no subtility intended. As Bernard Shaw said recently of himself, I admit being a coward and having no conscience. In a world which seems to be going mad and of which I *know* that Gandhiji has not got the key, what I am anxious about is that people of opposing views should some how, any how, cease to hate each other, and should learn to co-operate in order to minimise evil and madness and increase love and sanity.

Mr. Chamberlain's war aims as enunciated by him is not the point, and I do not believe that Chamberlain, or any public school Englishman could explain the war aims with a precision sufficient to satisfy a subtly intellectual Indian. What I know and feel is that Stalin and Hitler are both opponents of values which are dear to me (as to all Indians) and hence, while wishing most earnestly that the war would stop tomorrow, I also wish that Hitlerism and Stalinism no longer threaten the world—concentration camps, poison gas and all that ugly cloud of evil. The two opposing forces are not angels and devils, but erring men, some more so, and my desire is that the policies of the latter would cease to poison life, hence that I support the Allies as do all Indians and as Congress Government ought to have done, if their minds had been less subtle and less calculating.

If the British had been clear and consistent and logical instead of being simply practical and successful they would have perceived many years ago that the League of Nations should be also the International Police, or, failing that, what was necessary for peace was a League of a few strong nations whose policies were generally alike—somewhat like the Sixth Form boys of a Public School maintaining peace among rowdy urchins of the lower class. If either scheme had been adopted after the Great War, there would be peace instead of war today—and it seems to me that this conception is now one of the unexpressed war aims, and also most important of them.

Concerning India, it is pretty clear, putting together various statements that the Britisher is beginning to know that India would be free soon after Hindus and Moslems come to terms. Even a friend of India like Sir Stafford Cripps does not seem to feel that war aims and India's goal need further elucidation.

These were some of the ideas which I had in mind when expressing the hope that *either* the Congress would see reason, or failing that, India would follow other leaders who do see reason, and who are realists.

I find that the idea of coalition governments, or what I called Panchayet governments, is being attacked from all sides as unpatriotic, undemocratic, out of date, amateur and all that. If, at any time, and under any conditions, the Congress makes terms with Mahomedans, and gets into power without danger of Civil War after British troops are withdrawn, there is no need to consider the idea. The facts that ought to impress the most hard-boiled Congressman are that the Congress regime has given no satisfaction to the vast masses of Mahomedans, and of the Depressed classes. The two leaders, Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. M. C. Raja, have both supported Mr. Jinnah, as also non-Congress Hindus. It is very clear from the utterances of Mr. Jinnah and others, including non-Congress Hindus, that it is on account of the Mahatma having mixed up a particular form of religion with politics that there has accrued all the present mishaps including prayers for deliverance from the Congress regime. If, on the other hand, men like Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Pandit Nehru and Mr. Bose had guided the Congress during recent years, and had succeeded in making government entirely secular and created confidence that the religions of different communities would be left undis-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

turbed, there would probably have been no trouble. Even a highly intellectual selfless and sane person like Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar made more than one fatal mistake on account of his preoccupation. It is useless to say that they meant well. The reaction on dissentients is the important factor in politics.

(To be continued.)

THE CONGRESS AND INDIA'S POLITICAL GOAL.

The Congress Working Committee which met at Wardha just before Christmas released two resolutions which we give below. The following is the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the political question :—

"The Working Committee has studied with regret the recent pronouncement of the Secretary of State. His reference to the communal question merely clouds the issue and takes the public mind off the central theme that the British have failed to define their war aims especially with regard to India's freedom. In the opinion of the Working Committee, the communal question will never be satisfactorily solved so long as the different parties are to look to a third party, through whose favour they expect to gain special privileges even though it may be at the expense of the nation.

"The rule of a foreign power over a people involves a division among the elements composing it. The Congress has never conscealed from itself the necessity of uniting the various divisions. It is one organisation which, in order to maintain its national character, has consistently tried, not always without success, to bring about unity. The Working Committee is convinced that lasting unity will only come when foreign rule is completely withdrawn. Events that have happened since the last meeting of the Committee have confirmed this opinion. The Working Committee is aware that the independence of India cannot be maintained if there are warring elements within the country. The Committee is, therefore, entitled to read in the British Government raising the communal question as reluctance to part with power.

"The Constituent Assembly as proposed by the Congress is the only way to attain a final settlement of the communal question. The proposal contemplates the fullest representation of the minorities, with separate electorates where necessary. It has already been made clear on behalf of the Congress that minority rights will be protected to the satisfaction of the minorities concerned, differences, if any, being referred to an impartial tribunal.

"Congressmen by now realise that the independence is not to be won without very hard work. Since the Congress is pledged to non-violence, the final sanction behind it is civil resistance, which is but a part of *satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* means goodwill to all, especially towards opponents. Therefore, it is the duty of individual Congressmen to promote and seek goodwill. Success of the programme of *khadi*, as an accepted symbol of non-violence, harmony and economic independence, is indispensable. The Working Committee, therefore, hopes that all Congress organisations will, by the increased prosecution of the constructive programme, prove themselves fit to take up the call, when it comes."

The Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution for Independence Day :—

The Congress Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress Committees, Congressmen and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity the Independence Day on January 26, 1940.

Ever since 1930, this day has been regularly observed all over the country and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence. Owing to the crisis through which India and the world are now passing and the possibility of our struggle for freedom being continued in an intenser form, the next celebration of this day has a special significance attached to it. This celebration must, therefore not only be the declaration of our national will of freedom but a preparation for that struggle and a pledge to disciplined action.

The Working Committee, therefore, call upon all Congress committees and individual Congressman to take the new pledge (given separately) at meetings to be held on that day. The Working Committee advise organisations and individuals to notify their provincial Congress committees of the meetings held as well as the individual or group pledges taken. The Committee hope that none who does not believe in the contents of the pledge will take it merely for the sake of form. Those Congressmen who do not believe in the prescribed pledge should notify their disapproval stating reasons for it to the provincial Congress committee giving their names and addresses.

This information is required not for the purpose of any disciplinary action but for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of disapproval of anything contained in the pledge.

The Working Committee have no desire to impose the pledge on unwilling Congressmen. In a non-violent organisation, compulsion can have little place. The launching of civil disobedience requires the disciplined fulfilment of the essential conditions.

The following is the text of the Independence pledge :—

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life so that they may have full opportunity for growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives the people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it.

"The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever British connection and obtain *Purna Swaraj* and attain independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way towards *Swaraj*, following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain independence. We pledge ourselves anew to the independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out the non-violence struggle for freedom till *Purna Swaraj* is attained. We believe that non-violent action in general, and preparations for non-violent direct action in particular, require the successful working of the constructive programme of *khadi*, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading goodwill among our fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed.

"We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the Imperialistic system, we have no quarrel with English men, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinctions between the caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished and the Hindus have to forget these distinctions in their daily conduct.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct, though our religious faiths may be different. In our mutual relations, we will act as children of Mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"*Charka* and *Khadi* are an integral part of our constructive programme for the resuscitation of the 700,000 villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but *Khadi* and, so far as possible, products of village handicraft only, and endeavour to make others do likewise. We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and policy and keep in readiness, to respond to the call of the Congress whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India."

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Subscription Rates.

Inland ... Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign ... Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 6 annas each, exclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please apply to :—

THE MANAGER,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER,

KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA,

BOMBAY 20.

LIFE INSURANCE TRUST PLAN

THE outright payment of the Insurance money to the widow or children in one lump sum is a great mistake. To apply a real test you would only ask yourself how your wife would invest such a sum now without any help whatever from you. The woman who has been "All the Wife and Mother" is ill-equipped to invest and safeguard funds designed to her family's protection for many years.

Therefore take advantage of

OUR INVESTMENT TRUST PLAN

For further particulars apply to :—

THE SECRETARY

CENTRAL BANK EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE CO., LTD.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY MEMORIAL BUILDING,
9, Bakehouse, Lane, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Wai (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar (" ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha (" ").
Nandurbar (" ").
Shirpur (" ").
Shahada (" ").
Sakri (" ").
Sindkheda (" ").
Taloda (" ").
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara (" ").
Kalwan (" ").
Dohad (District Panch Mahal).
Kalol " "
Akluj (District Sholapur).

DIRECTORS,

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
Prof. V. G. Kale.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar,
S. N. Jamdar, Esq.,
K. M. Thakor, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq.,
D. J. Zunjarrao, Esq.
Rao Saheb V. C. Jadhav.
D. V. Potdar, Esq.
V. S. Basawanal, Esq.
S. T. More, Esq.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

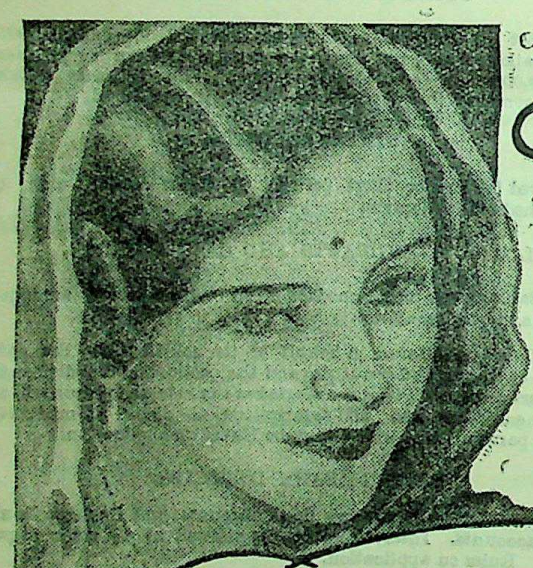
Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

23.92.3v
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 23, 1939. No. 17

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earrest— I will not equivocate— I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

A Plea for Fair Dealing.
Not Sure of Their Ground.
More Wobbling.
"Deliverance Day."
Dr. Ambedkar Butts in.
Caste and Untouchability.
Reciprocity between Dominions and India.
India at the League Session.
Lord Zetland on the Indian Situation.
Britain and India.
Methodist Missionaries and Indian Politics.
Moral Rearmament.
Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis.
Leadership in Democracy.
American Opinion.
The Anti-Malaria Aeroplane.
Geneva Affairs.
Indian States and the Press.

NOTES.

A Plea for Fair Dealing :— We are not indiscriminate eulogists of Congress Governments and we do not think that any Government stands to gain from indiscriminate eulogy. Neither is it the function of journalism to indulge in such eulogy. Congress Governments have made mistakes, some serious mistakes. Their greatest and most common mistake has been to ride rough-shod over opposition relying on the numerical strength of their Party in the Legislature. In the leading article in last week's *Reformer* we quoted from a symposium of the views of eminent authorities on Political Science their views of the contents of Democracy. If one thing is more clear than another it is that a majority is not the essence of Democracy. It is an incident of it and Democracy is essentially much more than majority rule. Majority rule which pays scant regard to the moral and spiritual values which constitute Democracy as understood by eminent thinkers, is little better than tyranny. A majority has no more divine right to rule than Kings. If Congress Governments had paid more respect to opposition views and had not rushed through measures without allowing time for opinion to ripen, and even more if Ministers had all restricted themselves to the conciliatory language of some of them there would not have been far less dissatisfaction with their administration than there unfortunately is. But no fair-minded commentator who has taken the trouble to keep in touch with the main activities of Congress Governments, can fail to see that they have been actuated by the earnest desire to improve the condition of the masses and that so far as communal minorities are concerned, Congress Governments have been extremely, in some cases unduly, solicitous to earn their approbation. No Governments that we can visualise as possible alternatives at the present time, are likely to go farther in these directions than Congress Governments. By so doing they have incurred the hostility of powerful vested interests which Mr. Jinnah is trying to rally to his banner. How far they will respond to his call, will be known after the Deliverance demonstration. A Cave of Adullum has always attractions to many.

Not Sure of Their Ground :— The charge of oppression against Congress Governments fails on a fundamental point: they were not in a position to oppress anybody. The oppressor must be sure of his ground which Congress Governments were not except in unimportant details. Constitutionally they were Ministers of the Governor bound to him by an oath of allegiance and of secrecy. Extra-constitutionally, they were bound by party discipline to the Parliamentary Board and in the last resort to Gandhiji. It was said of old that no man can serve two masters. But most men try to achieve this feat to their own satisfaction and the Congress Governments managed on the whole to reconcile their duties to the Governor and the Board, though at times it must have been very trying. More than this, at a given moment, Congress Ministers were not sure of their own policy. Take the outstanding case of Prohibition in Bombay. When in August last year Prohibition was launched, *The Reformer* hailed it as the fulfilment of an aspiration cherished for over forty years. A few weeks after the inauguration, however, Gandhiji watered it down by his declaration in the *Harijan* that what was introduced in Bombay was not Prohibition and that it was a misnomer to call it by that name. We quoted the words of the Excise Minister in the Legislative Assembly to show that the declared policy of Government was Prohibition without mistake. We looked in vain for days for an authoritative statement from Government or at least for a recantation from Gandhiji. Neither came.

More Wobbling :— When the rules were published we were astonished to find inserted inconspicuously one enlarging the scope of exemptions practically to everyone who can produce a certificate or could prove otherwise to the satisfaction of an official that his health would be irretrievably ruined if he were not allowed to continue the use of liquor. The foundation of Prohibition is the conviction that no one's health would suffer if he abstained from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

drink; that it would, on the other hand, be the better for abstention. When, the first list of exemptees was published, there was an uproar and no subsequent list was published and no explanation was vouchsafed for the omission. Lastly, on the eve of resignation the Excise Minister blandly announced that theoGovernment had subsidised some newspapers in rder to recompense them for loss of income from advertisers having withdrawn their patronage owing to the newspapers' support of Prohibition. Dr. Gilder did not realise that this was placing every paper which supported any measure of Government under suspicion. How can Governments so situated, embark on a policy of oppression of communities with such powerful friends as the Muslim League and the scheduled classes? The Governments have more reason to complain of being oppressed themselves.

"Deliverance Day":—It has not been thought worthwhile to discuss at length in *The Reformer* —we had a short note on it in the issue of December 9—the call of the President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, to his followers to observe the 22nd December as a Day of Deliverance from the yoke of the Congress Governments in seven of the provinces. Firstly, because it must be quite obvious to even superficial observers that it is intended to bolster up the charge of "Atrocities on Muslims" against Congress Governments, which has completely failed to convince anybody and threatens to recoil with boomerang effect on the accuser himself. Secondly, prominent Muslim leaders, some of them members of Mr. Jinnah's League, have, with praiseworthy courage of conviction which we should like to see emulated in other political parties, come forward to denounce the Deliverance Day idea as a misconceived and mischievous stunt, derogatory to the Muslim community itself and likely to prove more detrimental to the League than to the Congress. Another reason was that the setting apart of days for the shouting of particular slogans, is nowadays a common feature of political propaganda. Mr. Jinnah's position is indeed difficult. In spite of his allegations of atrocities and oppression, the Secretary of State and leading British statesmen continue to bear testimony to the success of Congress Ministries and to express their regret that they had resigned office. Something had to be done to redeem the situation and the Deliverance Day was evidently designed to counteract the appreciation of British statesmen, including the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India. We quoted in the *Reformer* of November 11, from a letter from the late Lord Birkenhead to Lord Irwin, then Viceroy of India, that the policy of Government was, in view of the boycott of the Simon Commission by the Congress and the Liberal Federation, to rally Muslim notables to the Commission's support, "leaving Jinnah high and dry." Mr. Jinnah was then regarded as an irreconcilable. Such is not the case now as is apparent from the references by Lord Zetland and his Under-Secretary in the House of Commons to their expectations of the Jinnah-Jawaharlal interviews, which have had to be abandoned. Mr. Jinnah is no longer looked upon as an intransigent. He is rather by way of being looked up to to hold the pass against the Congress.

Dr. Ambedkar Butts In:—Not many days ago Dr. B. R. Ambedkar declared in a statement published in the press his disbelief in Mr. Jinnah's charges against Congress Governments of atrocities against Mahomedans. He has come forward now to support Mr. Jinnah and for a plausible reason for this volte face he has dived into ancient history when the village communities had their own functionaries and the Mahars enjoyed a grant of land for discharging some functions. The Mahars, it is true, occupied a responsible place in the village community. Sir Henry Maine in his "Village Communities" mentions that in all boundary disputes the Mahars were the most important witnesses. Dr. Ambedkar's complaint, so far as one can follow it, is that while other watandars or hereditary village functionaries, have been allowed to retain their holdings though they have ceased to perform the services for which they were assigned to them, the Mahars alone continue to serve the community. If this is a grievance, it is one against the Governments which preceded the Congress Governments. Dr. Ambedkar should show something more tangible to explain his change of front. The Congress Governments have really strained their powers as a non-denominational regime, to remove the disabilities of the scheduled castes, not only in civil life but also in the social and religious spheres. The Bombay Government's decision to withhold licenses from Hindu hotels which refused to entertain guests of these castes, and the legislation in Bombay and Madras authorising trustees of temples to violate the terms of their trust and long-established usage in order to secure admission to members of the antyaja castes, are conspicuous instances. Such oppression as there has been was not of Muslims and the Depressed Classes but of aged, orthodox Hindus who have not been able to drop their deep-rooted prejudices. From ancient times if a group of Hindus felt obliged in pursuance of their conviction to depart from existing forms of worship, they formed themselves into a separate sect, raised their own places of worship and had their own religious heads. This is the traditional way of adopting changes without conflict in the community. Congressmen would have acted thus if they had established their own places of worship open to all classes. Congress Governments in Bombay and Madras, on the contrary, constituted themselves reformers of the Hindu religion and, with the sanction and assent of Governors and the Governor-General, penalised orthodoxy by legislating in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this matter. The Congress Governments have gone to the very limit of their lawful powers to help the scheduled castes to free themselves from the disabilities of which they have been complaining. It is, to say the least, utterly graceless on the part of Dr. Ambedkar or any other of their leaders to accuse the Congress of oppressing their communities. Sir Robert Bell remarked in the course of a speech at the last session of the old Legislative Council on a Bill introduced by Mr. Bakhale, that some of the leaders of the scheduled castes seemed more intent on exploiting their disabilities than on getting them removed. Dr. Ambedkar's attack on the Congress Governments colour to that observation.

Caste and Untouchability :—Mr. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, has explained that party's attitude on the question of caste in his reply to the Jat Pat Torak Mandal's appeal to Congress to take up the cause of the anti-caste movement. The Congress position requires clarification even more after Mr. Kripalani's exposition. Mr. Kripalani said :—

> The Congress policy has so far been confined to the removal of untouchability in all shapes and forms. Our belief is that once untouchability is removed from Hinduism, the caste system will automatically disappear. To raise the question of the caste system on the platform of the Congress would be not to unite the different castes together but to divide them still further by raising a fresh controversy.

If the first part of the message means anything, it means that by abolishing untouchability, the Congress workers hope to break down the caste system and, therefore, they differ from the Jat Pat Torak Mandal only in regard to method. The belief that by breaking down untouchability one can also get rid of caste is open to question. It has no logic behind it. That is probably why the concluding sentence is based on an entirely conflicting view—that many Congressmen who are opposed to untouchability and would gladly work for its removal, are attached to the caste system and their sympathies would be alienated by giving an anti-caste bias to the Congress programme. Mr. Kripalani's reasons for restricting the social programme are marred by over-subtility and they do not accord with facts. He is anxious to present his party's anti-untouchability campaign as a basic attack on the caste system to the Jat Pat Torak Mandal while at the same time reassuring the more conservative members of the Congress that caste is in no danger from Congress reformers. He has been misled into this view by the early reports of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Had he troubled to inquire of the General Secretary, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Mr. Kripalani would have learnt on what lines the economic and temple-entry activities of Congress workers have been carried on. The Harijan Sangh reports slowly dropped the earlier assurances that removal of untouchability had no link with antagonism to caste. The Harijan Sevaks had no option in the matter. To take men out of untouchability you have also to take them out of caste. We have always been of the opinion that so long as there is caste there are bound be out-castes and that this social question has to be handled as a whole, not piecemeal. We must congratulate the Jat Pat Torak Mandal on the success which has attended its persistent efforts in the Punjab. A recent press message stated that the Punjab Government had acceded to the request of the Mandal to drop out of certain educational records a column relating to the caste of persons.

Reciprocity Between Dominions and India :—The Council of the Imperial Indian citizenship Association, has passed the following resolution on the subject of enforcing the principle of reciprocity between the Dominions and India :—

> The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association places on record its emphatic protest against the appointment, recently announced, of an Australian, Mr. Claude Scott, as Director of Information of the Government of Bombay, as contravening, to the disadvantage of India, the principle of reciprocity accepted at successive Imperial Conferences for the admission of citizens of the Dominions to India and of Indians to the Dominions. The Dominions, Australia among them, having definitely taken their stand against admission of Indians to their citizenship, India has the right to impose similar restrictions upon Dominion citizens. The Council regrets that the Government of India has not enforced this right to exclude citizens of the Dominions which exclude Indians so far. Whatever might be the reason for this omission, there is no justification for the appointment of such Dominion citizens to positions in the public services. In the case of the Indian Civil Service, recruitment for which is controlled by the Secretary of State, Dominion citizens are allowed to compete on equal terms with Englishmen and Indians. This in itself is a grave injustice to India against which the Indian public have lodged their protest. The appointment of an Australian to the post of Director of Information, which is a purely provincial appointment and entirely under the control of the Provincial Government, is, the Council feels, a serious aggravation of this wrong done to India. It is unfortunate that H. E. the Governor of Bombay should have made this appointment when administering the Province without a Ministry and under the special powers vested in him by Section 93 of the Government of India Act and in spite of the assurances given by the Secretary of State in Parliament that Governors will carry on the administration on the lines of policy laid down by the last Ministry. The Council resolves that copies of this resolution be sent to the Government of India and to all Provincial administrations.

India at the League Session :—Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah Khan's speech at the League Assembly on the resolution denouncing the conduct of Russia in Finland, has received high praise and fully deserved it. He voiced the genuine sympathy felt by all shades of opinion in this country for the unfortunate Finns who for no offence on their part are being invaded and subjected to the worst treatment possible with modern instruments of war. The Soviet system under the guidance of M. Stalin had shed much of its predatory character and had come to earn the respect of the world as a constructive agency for promoting the coming into being of an economic order in which the disproportion between wealth and poverty would be greatly minimised. It was also regarded as a valuable agency in the cause of world peace.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, December 23, 1939.

LORD ZETLAND ON THE INDIAN SITUATION.

While the Viceroy, speaking at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta on Monday, excused himself from making any reference to the Indian constitutional problem, Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, on the previous Thursday had made a statement on India with particular reference to the constitutional situation. A brief note on it was all we could find space for in last week's *Reformer*. Lord Zetland was entirely right in his opening sentences in which he pointed out that German propaganda has failed to make any impression on Indian opinion. Much of the material for it is dug up from old and long-forgotten episodes and mixed with a lot of bombast; and the purpose of it all is to show that Germans are not worse than the British in their methods of Imperialism. This kind of stuff does not interest the people of India. The apprehension of any harm being done in India by German or other foreign propaganda, may, therefore, be dismissed once for all from the minds of British statesmen. India is in a better position to judge the benefits and defects of British rule than any foreign propagandist. We know precisely where the shoe pinches.

Lord Zetland referred to the contributions of the Princes towards the expenses of the War though no appeal has been made so far by the Viceroy for them. We are not quite easy in mind about these contributions and we trust that the Viceroy will continue to refrain from making any appeal to the Princes for war contributions. If it is considered just that the States should help the Paramount Power with men, money and material, a scale should be prescribed according to which each State should be required to contribute in proportion to its resources. We particularly dislike the earmarking by the Princes of their contributions for purposes which catch their fancy. Surely, the Imperial Government is quite able to provide for the survivors of the families of its soldiers and sailors who lay down their lives in its cause. The idea of their being the beneficiaries of what are unpleasantly suggestive of eleemosynary gifts from Princes and philanthropists, is revolting. The Viceroy has repeatedly advised the Princes to deal with the finances of their States, even if there is no popular Assembly to be consulted, on lines which would approve themselves to constitutional theory and practice; and that advice should not be overlooked in making and accepting contributions for purposes even so important as the War.

Lord Zetland then proceeded to deal with the political difficulties in India. His Lordship referred to the differences of opinion between the Muslim League and the Congress, as the most serious difficulty. Lord Zetland pointed out that the Muslim population of India can be called a minority only in an arithmetical sense. We do not know that there is any other sense for the word. India has never made any distinction between communities because of their numbers. The Jews and the Parsis, numerically insignificant, have, for centuries before the British connection, enjoyed the same complete autonomy in religious, social and cultural matters as the Hindus among whom they sought asylum. The Catholic Emancipation Act and the removal of the civil disabilities of Jews in Great Britain, are barely a century old. Persecution of minorities for religious beliefs or racial descent is not an Indian vice. Lord Zetland who has probed into the heart of Aryavarta, should be the last man to countenance allegations of atrocities against the Indian people. The problem of the Depressed Classes stands on a different footing and it is only necessary to say that the Congress has taken upon itself to remove the last trace of discrimination against these classes. During the short two years they were in office, Congress Governments have passed legislation which no other Government would have cared or dared to do.

Although the Secretary of State professed to attach little importance to the arithmetical sense of minority, he could not avoid comparing the numbers of Mussulman members of the Legislatures as decisive of the relative representative character of the Muslims in the Congress and of the Muslim League. There would be some force in this comparison if the Muslim members were elected by common electorates. Elected exclusively by communal electorates, the strange thing is not that so few Congress Muslims got elected but that any got elected at all. The slogans which catch the ear of communal electorates, as Lord Zetland should know, are such as appeal to the crudest emotions of the populace, the typical one being "Religion in Danger." Lord Zetland missed the significant fact that in the Frontier Province with over 90 per cent Muslims, the Congress scored a decisive majority in the Provincial Assembly and that, since the resignation of the Congress Government, it has not been found possible to form an alternative Government as in Assam where the European Planter community holds a preposterously pivotal position.

Lord Zetland's reference to Moghul traditions and tradition of military service, intended no doubt as a compliment, are not likely to be appreciated by the intelligent section, by far the largest, of the Muslims of India. They resent being regarded as exhibits in an archaeological museum since they feel that that implies a direct and distinct slur on their present capacity. There is not a single community in India including the aborigines, who do not cherish a tradition of having once ruled the country or a part of it. The tradition of the Moghul Empire is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
078642

undoubtedly an inspiring one but the leaders of the Muslim League can by no stretch of historical fancy be regarded as the inheritors of the Moghul tradition at its highest. The real reason for the discriminatory attitude towards Muslims, Lord Zetland mentioned last and as if casually. It is that they furnish a large proportion of soldiers to the Indian Army. The solution of the problem of constitutional reform in India is thus made to depend on military exigencies. If the tradition of military service is such a valuable quality as to outweigh the considerations ordinarily relevant in framing a constitution, what is the sense in fighting Hitlerism which aims at establishing just such a tradition among the German people?

Even in the highly improbable event of the Muslim League under its present leadership, and the Congress, arriving at an agreement, the difficulties of Lord Zetland will by no means be over. There are, of course, said his lordship,

> other matters which have to be taken into account. There is the defence of India, our obligations to the Princes and the position which our own people have built up in India by the enterprise of generations, to mention only some of them.

It will be centuries before all these problems and difficulties are overcome, if they can be ever overcome to the satisfaction of the Marquis of Zetland. The minorities' difficulties alone would occupy the best part of a century. The Shias are protesting that they have nothing to do with the predominantly Sunni Muslim League. The Roman Catholics have no common communal ground with the Protestants, and the Protestants themselves are divided into many sects superimposed on their old Hindu castes the memory of which is retained by a large proportion of Catholics and Protestants. The Hindus alone can start a score of minorities. In fact they can show conclusively that they are not a majority but a congeries of minorities. A British statesman who honestly holds, as Lord Zetland does, that political progress must wait until all Indian minorities agree to forget their differences, until all the Princes do likewise and join the communities, and until the British investor in this country is satisfied that he has nothing more to gain from it, can with a clear conscience decline to accept any demand for constitutional rights. The Indian people situated as they are, must accept whatever Lord Zetland says, as final.

But the Indo-British problem has ceased to be a purely domestic matter between Britain and India. it has now become, without any special effort on the part of Indians and owing wholly to international developments, a crucial issue in the world problem. What impression Lord Zetland's arguments would produce on world opinion, it is not for us to say. And there is no need for us to say it, either. Soon enough his lordship and his colleagues will be obliged to answer at the bar of world opinion. The Indian people are not attracted by Hitlerism and they are not likely to be. But to be better than Hitlerism is not itself a very high aim. In the last analysis the demand for self-government is a demand that India should be governed primarily in her own interests, that the army which she pays for and maintains should not be sent to distant places in conflicts in which she has no direct concern without so much as saying, "by your leave," and that full scope should be found for the talents of her children in the administration—that, in a word, Indians should have the same opportunities to serve and to sacrifice in the interests of their country as Englishmen in theirs, as Americans in theirs. Is this too recondite for British statesmen to understand?

BRITAIN AND INDIA.

Addressing the Associated (British) Chambers of India in Calcutta on Monday His Excellency the Viceroy said :

> Despite every effort by His Majesty's Government to resolve doubts as to their intentions for the future constitutional development of India, to make clear their own objectives in the war, to dispel the thought that what is called Imperialism was the dominating motive of our efforts, to bring out the unselfish nature of our aims, difficulties remain unresolved.

It is not only in India that His Majesty's Government's efforts in the directions indicated by Lord Linlithgow, have failed to carry conviction. We reproduce in another column a letter in the *New Statesman and Nation* of November 25, headed "American Opinion." That journal in its leading article says of the writer of the letter, that he understands the United States as few Englishmen do. Starting with the premise, now generally accepted by all sections of English opinion, that the winning of American opinion is itself a fundamental war aim, the writer goes on to say that American opinion is deeply suspicious of British policy. He goes on to describe the great changes which have come over the American political outlook and stresses the need for Britain to show that there has been a corresponding change in her own. As to how Americans can be convinced that Great Britain is moving in the same direction as themselves, he writes :

> Generalities, since they doubt our ends, are not enough : plausible arguing that any detailed statement of our good intentions is premature, will not impress. What they expect from us *is* not an indication of what we mean to wrest from our opponents, but of what we mean to contribute *ourselves* to the new life of which we speak.

That is exactly the Indian position. We want concrete evidence that there is to be substantial advance and no retrogression when the war is won. After the last war, India went through the dreadful experience of the Rowlett Act, and the Jallianwala and Amritsar outrages. Americans without such experiences are profoundly suspicious of British policy. How can India with such experiences feel completely confident in British assurances? It is not that there is any disposition to question the sincerity of those

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

assurances. What is doubted is the likelihood of the existence at the moment of victory of the strength to resist the intoxication which seizes nations as the result of a victorious war. The only way to remove the doubts, is to take some steps at once which could withstand the impact of post-war passions and reduce them to reasonable bounds. Commit yourself at once and irrevocably to a course of action which all the world will understand. Although the writer in the *New Statesman* does not say it in so many words, it is evident from other sources as well as from the trend of his letter that British policy in India offers the surest way of convincing American opinion. The *New Republic* wrote of His Excellency's statement on British war aims :

> If the Viceroy's word remains the final one, millions of people throughout the world and in the United States in particular, will feel that the pretentions under which Great Britain has announced that she is fighting this war have a singularly hollow sound.

METHODIST MISSIONARIES AND INDIAN POLITICS.

The American Methodist Mission is apparently putting through one of its periodic "purges." Three American members of the Mission addressed an open letter to the Viceroy on the situation in India and the world. They urged that consistently with their religious convictions they could no longer suppress their opinion on Indian questions which might involve them and the institutions they served in political complications. The Kristagraha Manifesto as their letter is called, has raised an issue which concerns primarily the foreign missionary in India who is asked to pledge himself "to do nothing contrary to or in diminution of the lawfully constituted authority of the country," often interpreted to mean indiscriminating support of the Government, as a condition of missionary service. The Kristagraha signatories question this interpretation and, as the conservative element in the Methodist Mission is in control, they appealed to the Viceroy to give a decision on the subject. Is the foreign missionary by his pledge bound to support every little act of the Government? If he is a Christian pacifist, is he prevented from preaching Christ's message, as he sees it, in its entirety? If he is so prevented, the Kristagrahis ask themselves the final question : Can they continue in the work they have undertaken with these restrictions and withholding from their Church members and from the Indian public what to them appears to be the supreme message of Christ? Nor to them alone but for the whole Methodist Church. For the last General Conference of the Church denounced War as utterly destructive and as a denial of the ideals of Christ.

There is nothing to prevent the Indian Christian or the British missionary from having his own views on Indian politics and from giving expression to them. So far as the non-American foreign missions are concerned this problem does not seem to arise, probably because of the wiser handling of the whole question of politics by the mission heads both in India and in the country of organisation. The frequent occurrence of crises of this kind in the American Missions, and particularly in the Methodist organisation, shows the keen interest in Indian politics shows a sense of panic in the Mission authorities. If the liberal missionaries had the support of their Mission, we doubt whether the Government of India would insist on the literal interpretation of an antiquated pledge. Obviously the pledge of support refers only to political activities to the exclusion of all other work and is designed to prevent missionaries pursuing political (national) aims under the protection of religious preaching. The experience of China is a standing warning to all Asia. The Government of India knew all the tricks of European powers and guarded against them. It was thought convenient during the days of the civil disobedience to use the pledge to check foreign opinion from strengthening the movement, though to our mind it defeated its own purpose. But we do not think that in a perfectly constitutional controversy like the present, the Government of India would be so indiscreet as to suppress American missionaries from declaring their own views, particularly in the peculiar circumstances now existing. It is not improbable that the Methodist Mission authorities in the U. S. A. have taken fright unnecessarily. The interests that have vested in the organisation in India cause a natural anxiety in the home authorities. Much could be done, if the spirit were present, by the controllers of the Mission in India to ease the fears of their American head-office. The rapidity with which events have developed since the publication of the Kristagraha Manifesto would seem to mark the political disturbances of the Methodist Mission as a struggle for power between two rival groups in the Methodist Church, in which the more conservative members have applied the pledge as a weapon against the liberals. They have so far succeeded in persuading the authorities in the U. S. A. of their point of view but at what a cost to the Government of India. So long as the pledge remains, there will be the danger of the Government of India being represented as a less liberal administration than it perhaps is. The removal of such a pledge is from every point of view an advantage to India.

The first ripple was occasioned when Dr. Fred B. Fisher left India on the ground that the atmosphere hindered him from giving his best service. In 1931 a vigorous blow for the freedom of the American missionary was struck by Mr. Gordon Halstead and others who had to leave India as a consequence. Now again Dr. and Mrs. J. Holmes Smith, the Rev. and Mrs. Ralph T. Templin and Prof. Keene, it is reported, will be asked by their mission board to leave the country. This time the issue has raised wider interest, partly because of the greater political consciousness of Indian Christians and largely because of America's key position in world affairs. The attitude of the dissenting American Methodists seems to be more representative of American opinion than that of the Mission heads. "For Americans," writes Mr. H. N. Brailsford in a Fabian tract, "India is the crux, the criterion by which our Empire is judged. In the last war it was Ireland that hung about our necks, like the murdered albatross that cursed Coleridge's mariner." In withdrawing these men from India at a crucial period, the American Mission Board is removing the very people who could the most successfully work with Indians, Christian or non-Christian. While at the same time they increase the difficulties of the task for those who continue in the mission field with an organisation weakened in moral prestige. It is well worth the while of American missions to consider whether they can in common justice restrict the activities of one set of workers to religious subjects while allowing their pro-Government men to range wildly over all political questions. The least that the American Mission Boards can do in the circumstances is to place a ban on all political

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

activities or expressions of opinion while working in India. Those who come out to India in spite of the warning of the pledge, do so in the hope that by eschewing politics altogether they can still be of service to the country. One of the main factors in disillusioning them on this point is the frequent and all too eager support given to the Government by a section of the Methodists. This gives the American Methodists a reputation of being as a class more reactionary than other missionaries, among Indian Christians no less than other Indians. One of the missionaries is reported by the press to have said that they would work for India in America. The most useful way in which this can be done is to convince the American Boards that the liberal-minded missionaries are not so badly off in India as these incidents seem to show. If the progressive Methodists can win the struggle within their organisations against the forces of conservatism, they would have won half the battle.

MORAL REARMAMENT.

Very often a good cause is wrecked by the extravagant claims made by its adherents. Dr. Frank Buchman some time last year diverted his Oxford Group Movement into a new channel and called it "Moral Rearmament" abbreviated into MRA. The new movement has all the characteristics of the Oxford Group. We have received from time to time reports of how great changes have been wrought in communities by meetings held under MRA auspices and, though the communities listed showed little sign outside the MRA camps of any transformation, the speeches of individual members clearly indicated that their own lives were changed. The MRA method, so far as we can make out, gets at individuals by instilling into them a sense of sin and a realisation of their own defects and limitations. It was also the Oxford Group system. MRA thrives best in an atmosphere of optimism and success. There must be many who did not respond to the invitation to confess publicly and be saved. There must have been a good number, in India at any rate, who were paralysed by their sense of incompetence and wrong-doing into inactivity. They do not figure in any MRA record.

In the main MRA's concern seems to be with men and women who are very much in the public eye and whose "conversion" will catch the public imagination. Leaders of society, government officials (specially for India), athletes, all bear "witness" at MRA meetings to the change which MRA has wrought in them. MRA is advanced as a panacea for domestic ills, communal quarrels, race antagonisms, economic strifes, even shady business deals. As one reads the report of one such meeting in Kashmir, one wonders whether MRA had laid hold of a specially bad lot of employers, officials, communalists, etc., or, as seems much more likely, whether the participants suffered from an exaggerated sense of wrong-doing. There are two points of view from which the confessions seem to be more guarded than a first glance would suggest. No "witness" at an MRA meeting has confessed to any wrong-doing which might bring him into conflict with the Law. No trader, for instance, has confessed to giving short weight or selling adulterated stuff; no official to accepting bribes: no communalist to inciting a riot. In the second place, the public abasement of the hitherto proud always ends in placing the witness in a direct relation with God, and so once more better than the rest. Many people seem to have been lifted out of their own pettiness through membership of Dr. Buchman's organisation. We concede that this in itself is no small achievement. What we find uncalled for in the official accounts of MRA functions is the large claims based on very slender facts. Here are a few extracts from the report of the first training camp in India:

> The change of British attitude towards India was shown by.....
>
> The new homes of India were outlined by.....

And in even more extravagant terms, in the account of the Kashmir camp in the *New Witness:*

> The change effected in the life of the Indian Judicial Commissioner of Peshawar has been so significant that high officials of Kashmir State and the North West Frontier Province see the pattern for a new India, freed from exploitation, political antagonism and communal strife.

GORAKHNATH AND THE KANPHATA YOGIS*

This new contribution to *The Religious Life of India Series* is an excellent book of reference in which detailed information on the Kanphata Yogis, the followers of Gorakhnath, abounds. Mr. George W. Briggs has supplemented his work with a fully annotated index, a series of photographic plates to illustrate the more striking features of the sect he has studied, a glossary of religious terms, and an extensive bibliography against which is worked out an elaborate system of initials which, as the reader will find out in the course of his studies, are intimately connected with the footnotes of the text. Mr. Briggs has spared himself no pains in annotating his work so that the doubting reader may at any time refer directly to the source of the author's information.

The chapters of *Gorakhnath and the Kanphata Yogis* are arranged systematically according to each special point under consideration, and fall under three divisions: A, B, and C. Division. A deals with the Cult in all its working aspects; division B with the historical aspect, the legends and the literature connected with the Gorakhnathis; and division C deals with the system under which these yogis follow their calling. Mr. Briggs draws his own conclusions from this remarkably extensive study in a short chapter, at the end of which the following paragraph indicates the author's opinion :—

> Finally, it is possible to question whether the end which follows ecstatic experience, that is, unconsciousness, or pure subjectivity, or the absence of self-conscious personality, is any more satisfactory as a solution to the problems of life, or as a view of the ultimate goal of man, than is the anti-social character of the whole movement. As meeting the demands of the new day in India itself, both the experience and the goal are insufficient.

The reader of this book is at full liberty to draw his own conclusions from what he reads without necessarily agreeing with the author's views, since the latter sets down practically everything that can be learned from the practices of the Kanphata Yogis; hence, quite impersonally, the work is of great interest, although Mr. Briggs' style belongs to that of catalogues and has a tendency to leave the reader "hanging in the air" with short sentences that could with advantage be strung more smoothly together. Most of the footnotes, not referring the reader to the bibliography, could also with advantage be included in the body of the text because, as they now are, they make even more choppy a manner that is already too staccato. Divisions B and C make much better reading than division A and form a valuable addition and complementary study to the

* By George W. Briggs (Y. M. C. A. Publishing House: Rs. 4/8

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

extensive literature that already exists on the subjects of India's religious sects and philosophical system. Out of this emerges a most interesting point, that of the deification of the yogi Gorakhnath, the endowing of him with powers even greater than those of his tutelary God Shiva by a highly imaginative and consequently easily credulous people; and this is not difficult to understand since what the eye can see and the imagination supplement is far more real than anything an awesome but not embodied deity can accomplish through the agency of priests. In other words, what Aunt Mathilda said she saw is far more real and possible than the deeds of Jesus as taught in Sunday School—to give a simple example.

Much that is rather dark and unpleasant is done in the name of the great Yogi by the numerous decadent and corrupt interpretations of his beliefs, says Mr. Briggs—although he is impersonal right through his book, some ceremonies of the Saktis seem to draw him away from this admirable attitude—and he feels that the means by which India's ascetics endeavour to attain their ends are by no means justifiable.

M. R. G.

LEADERSHIP IN DEMOCRACY.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Complaints are often made against democratic institutions because of their going under mob control, as it is said, to the exclusion of thoughtful non-party men. That democracy means popular control is well recognised, but where such control tends to lead is not comprehended. When control passes to the people, those who are popular and exert influence with them, must naturally come to power; and to enlarge and consolidate their power they would no doubt seek to have the weight and support of numbers behind them. Qualities of leadership will, therefore, obscure those which may be of a higher order but which do not appeal to the sense and imagination of the common people. And, as the man in the street is not, and in fact cannot be, possessed of very keen perception and subtle discriminating power, thoughtful people who appeal more to the intellect than to impulse or emotion, do not impress him as do those who play on his sentiments, if not also on his weaknesses. It is generally those who are intellectually not much higher than the masses but who are certainly much cleverer than they, who become their leaders. These people possess the knack of organisation and the fighting spirit and stamina for securing and maintaining their leadership; whereas the thinking intellectuals have neither the mentality for roughing it out with rivals for supremacy, nor the desire to descend from their mental plane and to discard their principles and ideals for mass leadership. The deeper and more advanced such thinkers are, the more unfit psychologically they become for party organisation and party leadership. Retire within themselves as they generally do, they prefer, often even not knowing it, to view things from the quietness of distance, from where they get a better and truer perspective, rather than to push and pull through crowds and multitudes. Their nature and their developing mentality tend more and more to make them, what are called, intellectual aristocrats, people whose temperamental reserve and mass-shyness make them unsuitable for democratic leadership.

That, however, is as it should be. For the rush and roar of mass life and the tactics of party organisation are not congenial to the growth and development of fine mental perceptions. And the laws of nature which preserve the physical creation as much as the mental and spiritual are such that the more the mental and spiritual faculties are devoloped in an individual the more nature makes him retiring in temperament and disinterested in putting his hand to the actual field of work. But that does not mean that he is not interested in the world of action. Rather the contrary; for as he derives his inspiration from there, it is that practical world which supplies him with food for thought and gives direction to his imagination and mental keenness. He lives, to all intents and purposes, in that sphere, just like any other man, even unmarked and undistinguished, and yet, his more or less mental detachment to these, what appear to him to be, insignificances of life, though they constitute perhaps the fundamentals of material and corporate life, raises an invisible barrier between him and the common folk. He goes about in the world, but has another ever expanding world pictured before his imaginative mind.

What link is there between the masses and such a philosopher, who sees things from a higher plane than they, and thinks of values and significances, which are not obvious to them? They may admire his sentiments from a distance; they may take inspiration from his thought-currents; but, for entrusting their leadership they naturally feel surer in having those from among them who have shown cleverness and skill in handling and organising their activities, and who come to them making protestations of sympathy and promises of better conditions and a better future. Those people constantly approach them, and without stopping to weigh the words they are using in making those promises or to judge of the reality in the picture of things that they are drawing before them, they carry conviction to the simple mind of the masses, and canvas their support for themselves. It is not necessarily all plain sailing for public leaders and they may now and then, from this quarter or that, meet with opposition, contradiction and even rebuff; but, tough-skinned as they are, neither these nor the tactics, fair or foul, of rivals, damp their spirit or put them in a philosophic mood of indifference to the glamour of public prominence or the advantages of public leadership. Both for public prominence and leadership, fighting tenacity is needed, as also ready adaptability to changing conditions without a qualm of conscience at any reversal of principles, which may be its result.

A deep thinker, on the contrary, is the opposite of one possessed of such qualities. He is thin-skinned and sentimental, easily taking to heart things and remarks, which the other would merely laugh away. He detests the canvassing tricks of his opponent, and is discouraged by the latter's unscrupulous fighting zeal to continue in rivalry. He would not change his position or modify and delete his principles to suit the exigencies of the hour. He quickly feels out of tune with the thundering shouts of the crowd and out of place among the bustling and elbowing multitudes; and, instead of fighting to the last to reach the platform at the head of supporters crashing the gates, he is left behind, or he rather prefers to squeeze himself out and back into the freedom of his world of thinking, where he can revive himself at leisure through soliloquy or writing undisturbed by the din of crowds, or the fury of rivals.

Those thinkers, therefore, who complain of getting no place of leadership in democratic institutions, seem to have neglected the study of their own mentality and psychology while devoting their attention to other matters and to the mentality and tendencies of other people. Had they done so, they would have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

realised their incompetence and psychological unfitness for leadership in mass organisations.

But that does not mean that they have no part to play in democracy. They have, and they do, in fact, play the most important part by giving to people and their institutions their thoughts, ideas and inspirations, over which human social structure has always been reared and which have always provided the plan and the design of that structure. When things have gone wrong it is the deep thinkers who have seen ahead and have suggested the remedy. When the public mind has lost inspiration, it is they who influenced it and have put inspiring ideals before it. Thus, it is really the thinking men, who are moving and leading the people by their idealism and their thought-strings, though they seem to remain out of them. It is for them to give thoughts and ideas, and for others to work them. If the latter fail to work them to perfection it is again for the former to suggest the remedy and right way. The latter may, no doubt, derive all the advantages from the working, but the former are a thousand times better rewarded by the satisfaction of having contributed to the shaping of human affairs and to the evolution and development of human organisations.

AMERICAN OPINION. *

(By D. M.)

In the discussion of war aims reference has been made now and then to American opinion. I venture to submit that for us the winning of American opinion is itself a fundamental war aim. Its goodwill may help us to win the war, but without it we shall not win a peace that shall abide.

Yet American opinion is deeply suspicious of English policy. What is the reason for this, and how can we break through that mistrust? Only if we start from a realisation of the tremendous transformation which has taken place in American outlook and policy in the last two decades, and much accelerated in the past six years. Since President Wilson, especially, America has turned her back resolutely on imperial expansion. She refused to have any part in the spoils of the World War, and since then she has given up the Phillipines, has withdrawn from Nicaragua, Haiti and Salvador; while the Platta amendment relating to the right of intervention in Cuba was dropped in 1934. But that is not all. In the first of the four distinguished volumes in which he surveyed American foreign policy, the late Mr. Charles Howland found that it rested on four traditions: isolation, the Munroe Doctrine, the open door, and the freedom of the seas. it will be remembered what great weight was given to the freedom of the seas in President Wilson's policy, and how vital for American interests was considered the open door in the Far East. Yet both these old and important traditions have been abandoned, the latter by default, the other deliberately through the neutrality laws, for the sake of eschewing international conflict.

I must go further. The new trend is not wholly negative. For while withdrawing from the outer world, the United States is initiating and furthering in the Western hemisphere ways of economic, social and cultural co-operation which go beyond anything tried in Europe or through the League of Nations. The "good neighbour" policy is being worked in earnest; and even the sacrosanct Monroe Doctrine has been transformed by the Declaration of Lima, on the initiative of the United States herself, from a one-sided protectorate into a common responsibility; it has, in other words, been made a principle of collective security. Now, all that is but the international aspect of a new social philosophy. Adumbrated already a generation ago in Wilson's "New Democracy," it flows now in full spate through Roosevelt's "New Delhi;" and the bird's-eye view which Charles and Mary Beard give of it in "America in Midpassage," shows that it is nothing less than a full-blooded social revolution.

Can we do nothing to touch the heart of the new and generous outlook in America? Generalities, since they doubt our ends, are not enough; plausible arguing that any detailed statement of our good intentions is premature, will not impress. What they expect from us is not an indication of what we mean to wrest from our opponents, but of what we mean to contribute ourselves to the new life of which we speak. Nothing prevents us to do that. And such an offer, however limited, would in their eyes be at last a token that we really have at heart a new world, and not merely a new map.

Allow me one last word. There is one aspect of American opinion which makes such a gesture on our part still more urgent, and that is the curious fact that French attitude and policy are hardly ever mentioned. For America, British policy alone seems to count. And, since that fits in with what the Germans and the Russians say about the nature of the conflict, there is a real danger that the idea of its being war between two imperialisms may become, if anything, more widely accepted.

* The *New Statesman*, November 25.

THE ANTI-MALARIA AEROPLANE.

Sometimes in the vicinity of Delhi a Fox Moth aeroplane may be seen flying over the inundated regions. It advances slowly in a straight line, and one has the impression that it is following a line previously drawn, whilst throwing out seeds on furrows covered with water. The aviator is not a farmer: he is employed by the *Indian Anti-Malaria Administration*.

The authorities who carry on the fight against malaria know that besides intensive treatment by quinine of malarial sufferers, other precautions must be taken against the malaria mosquitoes, that lay eggs by the million on the waters of the inundated regions round Delhi.

It is necessary to destroy the larvae produced by the malaria mosquitoes and it is for this purpose that this aeroplane carries on each flight 153 kilogrammes of an arsenical product that is distributed over the marshes by means of an automatic spray. This treatment does wreak great havoc amongst the larvae.

The work carried out by the anti-malaria aviator is difficult and not without danger, for he is obliged to fly very low and as slowly as possible. During his first flight, he inhaled such a large quantity of the atomised toxic product, that he was obliged to wear a gas mas during subsequent flight.

In this way the anti-malaria battle is being waged on two fronts. The malaria mosquitoes are destroyed by technical means and quinine kills the malaria parasites in the bodies of the human sufferers. Quinine is a natural product, without which the whole of humanity would already have become a prey of malaria. Boundless are the efforts by which the authorities try to rid India from this terrible disease. The recommendation of the Malaria Commission of the League of Nations prescribing a dose of 15 grains to 20 grains of quinine per day during 5 to 7 days for treating an attack of malaria and the taking of a daily dose of 6 grains of quinine as a preventive during the entire fever season, has also been brought to the notice of the population of India. On page 124 of its report

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(English edition), issued in 1938, this same Malaria Commission stresses the fact that the harmlessness of quinine makes it a suitable drug for administration by subordinate personnel without constant medical supervision, whereas such supervision is essential in the case of synthetic products.

GENEVA AFFAIRS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

With reference to your comments in the last issue of your valued paper regarding Reuter's message about German girls swarming the premises of the League of Nations with a view to persuade the delegates of the smaller nations to champion the cause of peace on certain lines, from what I have seen in a Tamil weekly the whole message is only a counter joke to the German gibe about English 'Tea Girls' landed in France.

While I have very much enjoyed and appreciated your wise and sagacious comments during the last few months about the characteristics of Pandit Jawaharlal and his likely future role in Indian politics, I am sorry to observe that for once he has become your better in level-headedness and keenness of observation in his comments about the recent exploits of Russia.

Bombay, December 17, 1939. } Yours etc. S. RAMASWAMY.

[We do not know to what comments of Pandit Nehru our correspondent refers. If it is to Russia's fears of being attacked at Leningrad, the Finnish Government had expressed itself ready to grant a subsidy for the fortification of that city.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

INDIAN STATES AND THE PRESS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

While skipping over an "Independent and Non-party" Delhi paper I was surprised to see many articles on the Indian States. On perusal I found out that most of them are of the propaganda type. Those who are responsible for this propaganda want to throw dust into the eyes of the reading public by creating a false impression that the concerned States are nothing but miniature heavens of the world. This subject cannot be brushed aside since this disease is eating away the vitals of healthy journalism.

The policies of many papers are higly influenced by the advertisers and those who give annual subsidies. Most of the journalists do not care to murder truth for fear of offending those State authorities and advertisers. Notable Indian dailies refrain from publishing any news about the true situations in the States and in this way the reading public is kept in the dark. Even those journalists who are famous for their trenchant and fearless views make very guarded criticisms, to avoid hornet nests round their ears. Vernacular journals have also fallen a prey to this disease. If the present state of affairs is allowed to continue, in course of time the journalist is likely to be dubbed as a professional propagandist whose main ideal is to earn money.

Udipi, 14th December 1939. } Yours etc., K. HYDER.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD

SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY MEMORIAL BUILDING,
9, Bakehouse, Lane, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Wai (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar " ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha (" ").
Nandurbar (" ").
Shirpur (" ").
Shahada (" ").
Sakri (" ").
Sindkheda (" ").
Taloda (" ").
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara (" ").
Kalwan (" ").
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol " ").
Akluj (District Sholapur).

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
Prof. V. G. Kale.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar,
S. N. Jamdar, Esq.,
K. M. Thakor, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq.,
D. J. Zunjarrao, Esq.
Rao Saheb V. C. Jadhav.
D. V. Potdar, Esq.
V. S. Basawanal, Esq.
S. T. More, Esq.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara). Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, t is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,

SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd

PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 16, 1939. No. 16

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard*." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Russia and the League of Nations.
Disingenuous.
Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors.
The "Hindu."
Dominions and India.
Elections to Constituent Assembly.
Mr. Jinnah and the Congress.
Lord Zetland's Speech.
Democracy and the Citizen.
Mr. Chandy and the Congress.
Mr. Ganguli's Indictment of America.
Pacifists in War.
American Neutrality.
Self-Determination and India.
Mongolians in Finland.
Mechanisation of Agriculture.
"Riyasat" on the "Servant of India."

NOTES.

Russia and the League of Nations :—The League of Nations has been galvanised into activity after a long period of incubation. The League Council met early this week and decided to send telegraphic messages to Russia and Finland to cease fighting and to submit their dispute to the League for arbitration. Finland accepted the proposal at once. Russia refused on the ground which she had advanced earlier in protest against the League's intervention, that she was not at war with Finland and there was no dispute for the League to settle! Russia has set up a People's Government in the part of Finland which she has occupied and will not recognise the Government at Helsinki as a lawful government. This plea was overruled by the League Council but Russia sticks to her view. Over a million Russian troops have been massed at the scene of war. Mongolian troops, it was reported last week, were to be sent to the front as they were better able to endure the Arctic cold than European Russians. It may also be that the Soviet Government hopes that as "blood brothers"—Finns and Estonians are of Mongolian race—they would readily fraternise with the inhabitants. A Committee appointed by the League Council has drafted a resolution condemning Russia as the aggressor and recommending member States and non-member States to help Finland with armaments and food. There is no doubt that the sympathy of the larger part of the world is with Finland. Russia's invasion of this peaceful and innocent country, is nothing but an act of brutal violence. But international relations are still very much governed by the jungle law; and we doubt if the call of the League in this instance will evoke more effective response than in the case of Italian and Japanese aggression on Abyssinia and China. The League could not pass any resolution against Germany for its absorption of Austria and Czechoslovakia, as Germany had withdrawn from the League, and the two major powers, Britain and France, had acquiesced in it. Russia is still a member of the League but its delegates are not attending the League session although they continue to remain in Geneva. Meanwhile Germany, which seemed inclined to sit on the fence, has found this seat uncomfortable and has jumped down on the side of Russia. The only power which can at present effectively intervene to divert Russia from Finland is Japan, if she can be persuaded to embark on a vigorous offensive in Siberia. But she too is not in the League, and it is only by abandoning China to her that she can be induced to help Finland. Another of the terms is the co-operation of all the Powers with Germany in opposing the Bolshevisation of Europe. As a matter of fact, almost simultaneously Germany proclaimed her sympathy to be with Russia in Finland.

Disingenuous :—Facts are sacred, comment is free, declared a great British journalist, should be the guiding principle of honourable journalism. A Reuter's message conveying the news that Germany has sent journalists to Geneva with certain peace proposals to be conveyed informally to the members of the League of Nations Council, seeks to prejudice the offer beforehand by insinuating that the Nazis hope to bribe the smaller and poorer States with money and tempt their delegates with women, into supporting them. We quote the words of this extraordinary message:—

> A number of so-called journalists from Berlin is in attendance in the League corridors, accompanied by a bevy of attractive girl secretaries, and with evident authorisation of unlimited expense accounts, in the hope of influencing the delegations from small States who might relay the suggestions for an early peace on Hitlerite terms to the Allies.

In the first place we doubt if it is the fact that Germany has made or intends to make the offer of the terms stated in the message. All later messages are in conflict with this forecast. These terms include a plebiscite under international auspices for Austria which has never been mentioned in the peace terms outlined from time to time by British and French statesmen. The latest news is that the League Assembly has unanimously passed the draft resolution condemning Russia's aggression and expelling Russia from League membership. The alleged terms offered cannot be much exceeded if Germany had been already beaten in the war. It would be an act of incredible

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

irresponsibility for the Allies to reject offhand an offer of peace if made on these terms. It is clear that Reuter represents the view of some people who do not want an early peace and who are afraid that the British and French delegations at Geneva may be led to consider peace with Germany, and who want to prevent them from doing so. It is not difficult for those who know something of recent history to guess what these are. The smug assumption that the small States are more amenable to corruption than the larger ones, is not only unfair to them but contrary to facts. It is the smaller States, in fact, that have stood up for principles while the larger ones have compromised on them. The British Broadcasting Corporation made no mention of Reuter's Geneva revelations.

Pacifists and Conscientious Objectors:—We publish this week an article sent to us by the *No-Frontier News Service* on the position of pacifists in belligerent countries. The lack of any news from abroad on the progress or otherwise of the pacifist movement tends to impress on the average reader that the whole organisation has collapsed on the outbreak of War. In the twenty years that have intervened between the close of the last War and the outbreak of the present one, however, there has been a continuous stream of propaganda from pacifists all over the world. No longer is it possible for those who resist war, even in the remotest countries, to do so under a sense of isolation. With the growth of the movement into a full and complete world organisation, there is every probability that men who shrink from either inflicting or suffering physical violence, will take refuge in it along with those who renounce on principle war as a method of deciding international differences. We do not see what is wrong in this. The institution of committees to find out why a man does not want to take part in a war and to exempt some while forcing others to the battle, seems meaningless. Either one recognises the freedom of the individual or one does not. There can be as little justification in forcing a man whose mind and every fibre of whose being shrinks from war, to the front, as there is in compelling the conscientious objector. It is a fine tribute to British statesmanship that *No-Frontier News* pays in saying that Britain leads in an enlightened handling of the problems rising out of the conscientious objector.

The "Hindu":—The *Hindu* of Madras was the recipient of numerous felicitations from far and near, high and low, on its completion of its sixtieth year. The occasion was signalised by the removal of the *Hindu* offices into a new and spacious building planned and built according to the requirements of a great modern newspaper. The messages received together with an illustrated description of the new building, are issued in a special bulky supplement. The *Hindu* has its representatives in all the capitals of the world, whose communications have a special value as studies of questions from the Indian point of view and in their bearing on Indian problems. The *Hindu's* opinions expressed in its leading articles are not perhaps so clear-cut as they used to be in its earlier missionary days; and old readers may feel tempted to recall Lord Salisbury's admonition to his nephew, Lord Balfour, in the days of his political apprenticeship, against the temptation of youth to be among those of whom all men speak well. All over the world the daily newspapers have left the task of forming and leading public opinion to periodicals produced at more leisure which gives time for deeper reflection. The success of the *Hindu*, which is unique in Indian journalism, owes nothing to such adventitious aids as competitions with large money prizes and other devices, summed up in the phrase "coupon circulation." The *Hindu* does not find room even for the ubiquitous crossword puzzle. It owes its success to the solid, sound sense and understanding with which it has sought to thread its way through the labyrinthine mazes of public life in our day. We wish the *Hindu* ever increasing prosperity in the years to come.

Dominions and India:—Apropos of our note in last week's *Reformer* on the appointment of an Australian as Director of Information of the Government of Bombay, the principle laid down at Imperial Conferences is summarised as follows by Professor A. B. Keith in his "Constitutional Law of the British Dominions" published in 1933:

> The relations between the Dominions and India stand on a distinct footing from their relations *inter se*. This depends essentially on the fact that, while there is normally freedom of intercourse between the Dominions though each exercises the widest power of exclusion of other British subjects at its discretion, the Dominions definitely have closed their doors to the immigration of Indians. The principle of such exclusion has been recognised by India on the score of the right of each part of the Empire to regulate the composition of its own population, and to follow such policy as may best accord with its own views as to the wisest method in which to build up its social and economic structure. The principle of inter-Imperial equality, however, has one satisfactory effect. It has induced the Dominions to recognise that they may be subjected at pleasure by the Indian Government to similar conditions of exclusion to those which they impose.

The Indian Government has not deemed it expedient, or has not been permitted, to exercise this right as regards the admission of persons from the Dominions into India. Dominion citizens have the same rights as British born citizens to enter the Indian Civil Service whose recruitment is regulated by the Secretary of State. The Directorship of Information, however, is a purely provincial appointment. If an Indian Government were in office, it would not have gone to a non-Indian—certainly not to an Australian. As we said last week, the issue is essentially a political one. It is whether India should employ Dominion citizens in posts in which Indians would never be employed in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dominions and in which they are not even admitted. In whatever way the future position of India is decided or decides itself, we suggest that it is not well to stress the servile status of the country in the Commonwealth in the manner in which such appointments unfortunately do at present.

Elections to Constituent Assembly :—The accusations put forward against the Indian Civil Service by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are not altogether unconnected with his fervent advocacy of a Constituent Assembly. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a keen student of international affairs. He has not lost sight of the fact that, in all methods of ascertaining popular opinion, it is important not only to know that every adult has the right to vote but also to make sure as to the supervising authority. The methods of coercion employed in Central European plebiscites, it is true, are not likely to find favour with Indian election officers. But at the same time the prestige of any Government in this country is considerably higher than in Europe. With the extension of the vote to large masses of illiterate people, as the Congress scheme of Constituent Assembly contemplates, the influence of the party in power will greatly increase. This consideration makes it imperative to bring about a change in the Centre before the convening of a Constituent Assembly and within the shortest possible time to impress on the Services throughout, the effectiveness of the change. The advantage, moreover, from a political point of view, in casting doubts on the efficiency of the Services now lies in putting them on their defensive. The Congress politician has never worried in opposition about problems that might arise out of his agitation when he steps into authority. Then, of course, the Ministers who are now silent, will turn on the full measure of their approval on the Civil Services. Some Congress newspapers have sought to explain the Pandit's criticisms by reducing them to one of inadaptibility to Indian nationalism. Pandit Jawaharlal, however, has repeated his attack and said he meant incompetence. A new political phrase has been brought in, we notice, in the Civil Service controversy, "friends of the bureaucracy," by which all those who express surprise at the Pandit's onslaught on the Services which only yesterday were lauded by the Congress Ministers, are condemned out of hand.

Mr. Jinnah and the Congress :—Oppression is hateful by and on whomsoever practised and if there is any the least justification for Mr. Jinnah's complaint that Congress Provincial Governments had committed atrocities on the Muslim minority, they should be exposed and Congress leaders called to account for their misdeeds. All the Congress Ministries concerned have categorically denied Mr. Jinnah's allegations. Not content with that, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Congress, had invited Mr. Jinnah to place his complaints for examination before the Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer. Mr. Jinnah's reply was to the effect that he wanted the Viceroy to decide on the issue and that he had, therefore, placed his grievances in His Excellency's hands. We, along with others, certainly understood it to mean that he did not accept the Congress President's suggestion. But Mr. Jinnah has denied that this was the right interpretation of his reply, and his denial must of course be accepted. More recently Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has revealed that on his instructions the Congress Prime Ministers had requested their respective Governors to tell them what they thought of Mr. Jinnah's allegations; and that all of them had declared that they were unfounded. (In passing the constitutional impropriety of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel making public, communications between Governors and their Prime Ministers which the former have not thought it desirable to publish and the latter under their oath of secrecy on taking office are precluded from publishing, can not but shock any one who recognises the existence of proprieties in politics.) Whether with Mr. Jinnah's charges hanging over Congress Ministries, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru should meet Mr. Jinnah and carry on negotiations with him, is a question on which Gandhiji and Sardar Patel seem to differ somewhat, the former holding that it would be improper for Mr. Jinnah to do so, if he believed in his charges, and the latter, that it would be wrong for the Congress to conduct negotiations unless the charges are unconditionally withdrawn. Since the above was written, the Pandit has declared that he would not resume his talks with Mr. Jinnah in view of "recent developments." In a public meeting in Bombay Pandit Nehru made it clear that he meant the demonstrations which Mr. Jinnah, as President of the Muslim League, has called for the 22nd, to express relief and gratification at the resignation of Congress Ministries. Even if Mr. Jinnah agrees to call off the demonstrations, the charges will still remain.

Lord Zetland's Speech :—Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords on Wednesday represents a closer approach to Mr. Jinnah than his previous speech. On the present occasion the Secretary of State for India took up and enforced Mr. Jinnah's contention that though numerically the Muslims are a minority in India yet their number 80 millions added to their memory of having been once rulers of the country, entitled them to be treated otherwise than as a minority. This is a feather in the cap of Mr. Jinnah and would have materially strengthened his position in the talks with Pandit Jawaharlal which have now been abandoned. Lord Zetland has no doubt taken the hint from Lord Salisbury during the last debate on India in the House of Lords that in view of the International situation the Moslem problem in India had a more than Indian significance.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, December 16, 1939.

DEMOCRACY AND THE CITIZEN.

While Europe is witnessing a struggle for supremacy between European democracy and dictatorship, thoughtful men are asking themselves what democracy actually is. The old cliches have ceased to convey any meaning and in many American universities there has sprung up an earnest endeavour to get at the fundamentals of democracy. There have been several discussions in Columbia University alone on the subject, the latest reported being the Congress on Education for Democracy held last August. There were, as there were bound to be, some speakers who lent heavily in their addresses on the evils of totalitarianism. But, on the other hand, there was for the great part much said that badly needed saying. By far the most significant of the addresses touched on the time-factor in democracy. Three speakers laid the greatest emphasis upon it. Dr. Charles A. Beard Surveying American Democracy, remarked :

> If immediacy is an essential element of democracy, than America has never been and is not now a democracy. In no sovereign matter does the snap judgment of a majority or a plurality given at a mere moment have the force of law. Our system in respect of great issues allows for the time element and guarantees that prudence and daring, conservatism and radicalism, may each have its day in court, that discussion and education may intervene, that pleas and counter-pleas may be heard, and that decision may be matured.

Lord Stamp in a message from London in answering the general complaint that the democracies were slow to move in contrast with the quick decisions and rapid action of totalitarianisms, pointed out aptly that

> except in a contest there is no special virtue in speed of decision or action. If democracies generally should take by their processes six months to determine a course of action, and in doing so feel a sense of satisfaction, completeness, social rightness—well, why not let them? Life in society is long and a day or a year are a small matter in the long run. A constant sense of urgency and imminence, a constant fever for decision in the shortest time is not among its best values.

Reiterating this message, Dr. Fred Clarke of London University referred to

> the quality which I call Simultaneity, a certain impatience with time and a readiness to scrap and rebuild, to plan and construct on broad sweeping lines. It is almost as though the third dimension, that of depth, had dropped out of history and out of popular consciousness, so that a kind of engineering technique comes to take the place in social control and social construction of those powerful if less palpable traditional influences which operate so strongly in old countries. The change brings gain as well as loss.

We must not forget, however, that no totalitarianism—and all of them have succeeded some measure of democratic government—has stepped in because of the slowness of democratic processes. All of them have been built on the failure of democratic regimes to face up to the problems confronting them. In Europe these problems have in the main been economic and the democratic regimes fell under the weight of vested interests. In his message to the Congress, Mr. Ernest Bevin who insists that democracy must not be confused with the maintenance of a particular form of economic or financial system but that it is itself a condition which allows for change, reaches agreement with Lord Stamp's dictum that democracy is a direction of development rather than a state. This being so, a static democracy is a contradiction in terms and automatically makes way for other systems. "Let us not," said one speaker at the Congress, "delude ourselves with the naive notion that people in some countries have lost their freedom because they welcomed regimentation and concentration camps as desirable things. They lost their freedom because they did not know what to do about the practical issues which the new technology had created. They were easy prey for those who offered them scapegoats to explain their plight and promised to save them from humiliating insecurity and poverty." It might be useful to add here by way of corollary that no one believed these promises were within the bounds of fulfilment. But given the choice between the democrats who promised nothing and in fact admitted that a way out of the prevailing social and economic chaos was not clearly discernible, and the totalitarians who offered to perform the longed for miracle, most people had little hesitation in plunging headlong into the experiment. The remedy for the dangers that threaten from Fascism or Communism is education and yet more education—not democratic propaganda but, in the words of Dr. Clarke of London University, education which induces "patience and wise restraint." There is at present much of the first among us but very little realisation even of the need for the second. Lord Baldwin and Lord Eustace Percy both pleaded in their messages for the spiritual content of democracy. Some of the speakers who had experience of religious and communal differences, mostly American, sought some formula for religious tolerance which would not blur religious distinctions. From the reported speeches, however, there seems to have been very meagre consideration of what for Europe and America has proved the greatest problem of political democracy—the assurance of economic securiry. The great task of democratic statesmen, said one speaker, was to realise, and spread the realisation among the people, that the citizen was not opposed to the State nor the State antagonistic to the citizen. This was the nearest approach that was made at the Congress to the fact that under modern conditions the dangers that lurk in money power are greater than any that may be inherent in political power. As a matter of fact, the distrust of the ordinary man and of many intellectuals for the power of government has been greatly instrumental in creating an atmosphere favourable to the exploitation of all the other parties by business interests.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MR. CHANDY AND THE CONGRESS.

In his article on the Constituent Assembly last week, Mr. Chandy suggested that if Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah cannot be persuaded to agree to a working agreement on the minorities issue, and if, further, the Congress refuses to accept the scheme of coalition governments both in the Centre and in the provinces or to resume office and help in the prosecution of the war by serving with other parties in a central War Cabinet, the totalitarianism of the Congress would be well established. The practical result he hopes to win out of this, is re-elections which would break the Congress politically by making the war an issue in the elections. Should the voters not think as Mr. Chandy does on the need for supporting Britain in this war, then it would be conclusively proved that they do not possess the "necessary mental discipline" for Democracy. So many people have been discovering that Indians are unfit for Democracy that it would not matter if Mr. Chandy's suspicions are confirmed. We do not think, however, that Mr. Chandy himself can lay much claim to democratic thinking if he is prepared to respect the voter only so long as he votes in accordance with Mr. Chandy's wishes. We would like to learn from Mr. Chandy how he proposes to restrict the issues at an election to the question of co-operating in winning the war. British statesmen have been trying hard to bring this about but the Congress demand for a declaration of war aims has raised other questions which appeal more directly to the Indian voter. Then again, Mr. Jinnah has raised some issues against the Congress and at the time of elections there will be a regular deluge of local grilances which will flood out the war issue. Unless the Government conduct coercive elections on the "yes" or "no" manner of European plebiscites, we do not see how Mr. Chandy's elaborate scheme is to succeed. Mr. Chandy has made it clear in earlier articles that he does not believe in the Constituent Assembly. Had he kept to that he would have done well. Here he has tried with much subtility to argue that, even though he does not believe in it, he and those who think with him can turn the tables on Congressmen by taking them at their word and using their own methods against them. We would remind Mr. Chandy that liberal democracy in Germany failed not because of its inaction or ineptitude but just because of the overweening and misplaced confidence of its leading men, many of them of undoubted ability, in their capacity to use and outwit their opponents. Here in India the Congress Ministries often floundered in their attempts to find a middle path between wrecking and working. What is needed in Indian politics and world politics is not increasing complications between intention and action but a straightening out of the existing tangles. Let those who do not expect the Constituent Assembly to yield results, frankly say so, instead of accepting the idea with mental reservations.

MR. GANGULI'S INDICTMENT OF AMERICA.

We publish today an article from our valued contributor, Mr. J. M. Ganguli, criticising the United States for their attitude to the warring world in Europe and Asia. Mr. Ganguli blames President Franklin Roosevelt for his frequent messages exhorting the nations at variance to settle their differences peaceably by negotiation and not to resort to bombing civilian populations if they decided that they must settle their disputes only by the arbitrament of arms. His Holiness the Pope has closely followed the President in similar exhortations. Latterly, the Presidential and Papal messages failed to evoke anything more than a courteous acknowledgment from those to whom they were addressed. Even this was not vouchsafed until after a long delay by Herr Hitler and M. Molotov on the most recent occasions. The Presidential vocabulary also, as we have ourselves noticed more than once, was not strictly within the bounds recognised in communications between Heads of States. His Holiness the Pope, of course, was extremely careful in his choice of words. There is much truth in what Mr. Ganguli says about the failure of President Wilson to give practical effect to his fourteen points. The manner in which he manoeuvred to defeat the Japanese amendment postulating equality of races in the world situation contemplated by the League of Nations, was not exactly what was expected of a man of his lofty character and principles. He had no illusions in the matter himself and his last days were clouded with suffering with pain and anguish which his bitterest critics can not but regret. Mr. Wilson's great mistake was to have gone to the Peace Conference himself. Mr. Ganguli also overlooks the fact that after the last War it is American scholarship and American love of probing matters to the bottom, to which we chiefly owe the revelations of the shady side of the history of the last War. Notwithstanding all their errors and failures, the United States are never deaf to the call of idealism though, owing to their remoteness from Europe and Asia, they can not easily give practical effect to their sympathies. As for the trade in armaments, Mr. Ganguli forgets that but for America the non-aggressive nations would have been at a considerable disadvantage against the Imperialist Powers. America is not Providence and there is a limit to what gold, of which she has the largest quantity of any nation, can do. After all, every nation must guard its own freedom and culture and in every case America's moral sympathy has been with those who struggled against odds to do so. Another point to be borne in mind is that the groups in the States which are most articulate are, as in other countries, not always those which represent the tradition and genius of the American nation. On every moral issue, the real America can be counted upon to be on the side of right.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PACIFISTS IN WAR.

(No-Frontier News Service.)

How many conscientious objectors will the new war reveal? In the United Kingdom during the World War, there were some 16,000, many of whom accepted alternative service but many of whom also refused to do any kind of work they thought would promote war. There were not many in France, and the few that manifested themselves in the Central Powers were speedily and ruthlessly disposed of for the most part. In France, there were not a few who simply eked out a miserable existence for the long years of the war, and none too forthrightly, by hiding in the forests, subsisting on berries and game and occasional meals picked up at the cottages of sympathizers. Even in Great Britain the treatment of "C. O. 's" was often harsh.

If a measure of any civilization is perhaps its treatment of sincere war resisters, Great Britain, so far at any rate, is showing a sense of responsibility and calm judgment about its many, many pacifists. If the war goes over into more bitter phases, perhaps this present tolerance will give way to a severity more akin to that shown by dictated countries. But many pacifists themselves express appreciation for the amount of understanding shown by the authorities though they state that the tribunals established to hear the plea of war resisters are often fatuous, increasingly inconsiderate, and characterized by little depth of intellectual comprehension.

It is known that two conscientious objectors, at least, have been executed in Germany. In France the distinguished novelist, Jean Giono, has been imprisoned for "defeatism," though of course defeatism is not even a fractional part of his philosophy, which is essentially the same as that put forward in 1914 by Romain Rolland. Rolland, incidentally, having married a Communist wife at an advanced age, and having changed his point of view in many ways, has been saying — at least up to the revelation of Russia's true policy in recent weeks — that he must support the war. The French newspapers are filled with thinly disguised reports of arrests and persecutions of "unpatriotic" Frenchmen, and it is a certainty that the growing pacifist movement has been sternly crushed. Even long before the outbreak of war, France, in the name of democracy, was suppressing its pacifist elements.

But in the early days of the war, at any rate, Great Britain has on the whole manifested toward its sincere dissidents a consideration which deserves credit. The veteran pacifist, George Lansbury, has pointed out that Mr. Chamberlain himself having long been a Unitarian and being made to understand in England what it is to receive a certain amount of scorn for a minority position, has shown a personal understanding of the pacifist point of view which has occasionally caused concern to his more hard-boiled colleagues.

With the tightening up of the British censorship, no doubt pacifist utterances will be few and far between, in the public eye. But not even the widespread antipathy to everything represented by the Nazis and their acts, has moved the bulk of British pacifists from their conviction that war is untenable and that this one was not necessary; that all the opportunities to create a basis of enduring peace were left untried at crucial moments because French and British imperialists were unwilling to make major adjustments or sacrifices.

Not only do the authorities thus merit a certain amount of praise for their official attitudes to date, but so do those who have responsibly, and with poise and firmness, upheld in Britain a point of view which will be submerged for the duration of the war, but almost positively will arise with increased vigour once the war is over. Not only are these pacifists maintaining their intellectual position, but they are busying themselves with all sorts of good works, both in an effort to perform any healing function that they can, short of assistance to war, and to convince their fellow-countrymen that in no true sense is their philosophy one of mere negation. Lansbury, for instance, has been heading up a Polish Refugee Fund, particularly to help children.

The fellowship of Conscientious Objectors has raised its age limit for members, in view of the draft which extends from 18 to 41 years of age; to cover all actual or potential war resisters.

The tribunals are revealing sufficient numbers of war resisters to surprise those who had convinced themselves that once the war drums rolled, practically all of the war resisters would fall into line. Canon Stuart. D. Morris, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, lost no time, after the outbreak of the war, in making his position clear. "We renounce war," he said, "and refuse to support or sanction another. We cannot sanction this war. We cannot approve of it. We do not believe that it is a just war. We do not believe that it is an inevitable war. Our pledge to humanity must stand...We have always advocated constructive proposals which we still believe could have saved Europe from this tragedy. If we have failed to avert the tragedy of war, we must try to save peoples from the tragedy of another peace similar to the last."

James Maxton, representative in Parliament of the Independent Labour Party, in opposing the Conscription Bill, said, "I enter my protest against the belief that war can achieve things. We are particularly against the view that any good can come to working-class people in any of the countries in Europe as a result of armed force either in this country or any other."

The Executive Committee of the National Peace Council has issued a statement to its affiliated organizations and to all individual sympathisers. "It can never have been of greater importance," it asserts, "that the influence of what we call 'the peace forces' should be maintained to its fullest extent than it is at this moment of war. The essential duty, therefore, of the peace movement and of the individual peace worker is at all costs to maintain unimpaired the vision, of a peaceful and co-operative world, to resume with a new dedication of spirit the task of reconciliation, and to labour unceasingly in the encouragement of every effort aimed at the promotion of a constructive peace."

No fewer than 300 delegates met in Glasgow, on Sunday, September 10, under the auspices of the No-Conscription League, resolved to work for independence of labour and anti-war organizations, for free speech and press; for respect towards individual anti-war convictions whether political or religious, and for the education of the public toward the ending of hostilities, with a constructive peace, at the first opportunity. Members of the governing committees include prominent representatives of the Women's International League, the Neutrality League, the Independent Labour Party, the Peace Pledge Union, the United Socialist Movement, the Co-operative Women's Section, the Society of Friends, and numerous other movements.

Expressing penitence for the "failure of its efforts to commend the Gospel of Christ's redemptive love and suffering as the more excellent way," the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, through Canon Charles E. Raven, Henry Carter and G. H. Macgregor,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has published a statement on the war which goes on to declare: "It is manifest that in these last days a spirit vastly different from that of 1914 has been revealed. Many in all nations, if they are not yet ready for the renunciation of their lust for power and reliance in violence, are deeply convinced of the wickedness and folly of war; of its destruction of all the true values of life; of its challenge to the personal and ecumenical claims of Christ's religion. Whatever the outcome in terms of national victory of defeat, the issue will be determined by the extent to which the fruit of the Spirit is fostered or corrupted. We see that today this conviction is felt far outside the ranks of professed pacifists."

If the various belligerents really wish to impress neutral countries with the superiority of their cause and conduct, one yard-stick that will be applied to their professions, both by thousands of pacifists all around the world and by many who are not pacifists also, will be the degree of their civilized responsiveness to such sincere appeals and activities as these. Thus far, assuredly Britain, if far from perfect, nevertheless comes off comparatively with honour.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Though she has been diligently benefitting herself through political turmoils and wars outside her borders, it is very strange that America should yet pose and make a show of humaneness and love of peace. During the last Great War, President Wilson started issuing manifestos expressing American abhorrence of war and man-slaughter and concern for the return of peace in Europe. On the eve of the present war, President Roosevelt also assumed the role of peace-lover, and issued appeals to certain persons whom he took to be at fault, to desist from warfare. But, during all this time, armament factories in America were in full operation, turning out war materials for shipment to quarrelling parties in Europe. When war actually broke out, those factories were worked overtime to increase their output, and American commercial magnates keenly busied themselves in securing orders from belligerent countries.

No doubt with considerable grandiloquence the country proclaimed its neutrality, but that was of course not to be allowed to stand in the way of its increasing war business with Europe. The sharp business acumen of the Americans evidently made them capable of putting up with anything—particularly in the nature of high-pitched moral sermons—except what might be restrictive of their trading interests. And, therefore, following the Rooseveltian broadcasts and the trumpeting of the Neutrality Act, the lifting of the embargo on arms supply to warring countries was incorporated in that Act. Even an embargo on a thing like poison gas was successfully argued against in the Senate, on the ground that its supply to one side would tend to deter the other side from its use in fear of reprisals.

To appreciate better American international philosophy, the Wilsonian days may be recalled again. After the world had heard nice sentiments about moral justice and human equality, and a comprehensive enunciation of the fourteen cardinal points, on which peace in Europe, and for the matter of that in the world, could stand with prospects of stability, it found America itself jumping into the war as soon as its trade with the Allies was threatened by the German submarines.

When the war was over, President Wilson proceeded to Europe to participate in the Peace deliberations, and to influence them, as it was supposed and expected by the defeated side as well as by the world outside, according to the principles embodied in his fourteen points. But those principles fizzled out and even the question of racial equality was effectively shelved and avoided in the settlement of issues arising out of a war, in which coloured races had shed blood as well as the white races. Moreover, the principle of self-determination, which he and his Versailles colleagues postulated and introduced into the enemy territory to weaken and break up the Central European Germanic bloc, was kept unapplied to countries of the non-European peoples, including the former colonies of Germany, which, with their population, were transferred to other masters, just as herds of cattle are given over to their purchasers in a market without any reference to their wishes and sentiment.

Thus the American President discharged the responsibility of translating into action the moral philosophy of his country in its international relationship, which it had professed and supported.

The freedom movement of countries like India, Egypt, Arabia, or Africa which has never received any support from America, and their political subjugation which has not evoked any condemnation by that country, need not be referred to here in further amplification of American internationalism and American sense of human justice. But, the Chinese war, which has apparently excited American sentiment against Japan, may be mentioned in passing. While denouncing Japan, President Roosevelt and his country said not a word to those holding territorial and all sorts of concessions in China which were obtained during that country's days of weakness and disorganization. These concessionists who excited natural jealousy in China's close neighbour, Japan, and whose monopolies and special rights and privileges stood in the way of Japan's interests, were not asked to forego their acquisitions in order to present Japan with an incontrovertible argument against her aggressiveness in China even though such concessions had no moral basis derivable either from any historical precedent or otherwise.

When again, Abyssina was taken by Italy, American moral sentiment evaporated in the heat of trade activity stimulated by the Abyssinian War.

America is a country, which had scope for building a culture and civilisation on new ground, detached from the old world, and uninfluenced by its prejudices, narrowness, entangling historical traditions and existing commitments, relationships and obligations. It is inhabited by settlers who wanted to leave their motherlands, some in disgust, some for adventure, some with ambition for prosperity, while still others in quest of peace and of a new culture that could suppress the unpleasant memories of the old and give the freshness of a new outlook; but all with enthusiasm for building something new, something great, something inspiring. The conditions for founding a great culture were thus present. A great thought, a deep realisation of the real human values, penetrating vision through and down to the bottom of the European materialistic civilisation, revealing its essential faults and shortcomings and its incapacity to bring the human flowers to perfect blossom,—that only was required but it was sadly missing. Perhaps the immigrants consisted only of business adventurers and exploiters, and not of any great thinker. The result was disastrous. The innocent age-old native population was driven out into the wilderness or beyond the sea coasts to meet its fate, and the evolutionary culture of the land was trampled down under the feet of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

new-comers who proved to be incapable of rearing up a better culture in its place.

Such has been the evolution of the New World civilisation, different aspects of which are reflected in the life and living of the Americans and in their relationship with the outer world. If it is to be allowed to follow its present course, it will have nothing to contribute to American welfare, not to say of human welfare; but, if it has to be turned to different direction, then much hard thinking will be necessary, by at least those Americans, who can transcend the infectious trading mentality of their countrymen.

SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDIA.

(By R. Srinivasa Aiyengar, Coimbatore.)

The agitation for the application of the principle of self-determination to India started soon after the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were set in motion, and was conducted by the Moderate politicians in organizing the National Convention. Though the terms 'Constituent Assembly' was not then used, the demand for Britain's recognising the principle of India's right to self-determination had the backing of distinguished politicians of the Liberal school of politics. The non-co-operators of these days are fighting to-day for the same right by their demand for the Constituent Assembly. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri communicated his views to 'New India' in 1922 for almost the first time about the application of the principle of self-determination to India:

"I would, at an early opportunity, probably on the eve of the next elections, which is only next year, persuade the Central and the Provincial Legislatures to appoint a Convention for the purpose of formulating a definite scheme of Dominion autonomy. I should hope that the Convention would include from the new Legislatures the most eminent men in the country who would have sought and obtained election. If by chance any eminent men were excluded from the new Legislatures they might be co-opted by the Convention or requested to attend as advisers. But the principal point is that the scheme would embody the best wisdom in the land, and be the work of the duly elected Legislatures. It could then be claimed for the Constitution that in a sense it was the result of Self-determination. In fact it appears to me difficult to conceive of Self-determination in any other sense as applicable to India, provided only the scheme reflected wise and statesmanlike opinion in India, and not the immature and unrestrained doctrines that find acceptance in tumultuous gatherings."

An editorial signed by 'Publicus' in the "Servant of India" commented on the above views of Mr. Sastri that if the Convention should have a chance of success, a declaration must be made by the Government of Britain that the scheme formulated by a duly constituted Convention would be placed before Parliament for adoption with such changes in detail that may be considered by the legal advisers of the Crown. The essential principle behind the demand made by the Liberals in 1922 and that of the Congress Working Committee today is more or less the same, though there are differences between the composition of the National Convention and that of the Constituent Assembly. Yet the response from the British Government even two decades after the late President Wilson's broadcasting the theory of self-determination, is not forthcoming.

An important issue now raised by Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the constitution of the Constituent Assembly is that the British in India should not claim to be a minority community. This issue is not altogether new, but was strongly pressed by the Liberals. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri wrote in "The Servant of India" in 1925, "The spokesman of the European Association (Col. Crawford) would indeed have discovered an indefeasible charter for delay if cooperation between Hindus and Muslims could be made a statutory condition for further reforms. The view is almost universal that the Britisher in India has no useful part to play in the settlement of the differences between the two great communities here. For many reasons the British community, especially the official section, still enjoy so much moral prestige and initiative that a large part of the Muslim population in India lean on them as a protection against the supposed tyranny of the Hindu majority. Politically the bureaucracy could tilt the balance still in their favour and put off the day of unity, if they would. Their example as a privileged community has a legitimate influence on the Muslim attitude. If they stand apart from the rest of the Indian people, refuse to coalesce with them, speak in scornful terms of a political nationality even in the future, and insist upon separate electorates and a disproportionately large representation, it is idle to pretend that they preserve neutrality and keep the balance true. As teachers of democracy in this country, the British community should voluntarily forgo their privileged position in our franchise law." A study of the history of our agitation for Swaraj in its various phases would indeed be very interesting. Gandhiji is now reiterating only what a distinguished Moderate politician urged in powerful language fourteen years ago—that the attitude of the British community in India should no longer be one of acquisition and consolidation, but of general renunciation, and salutary example in the subordination of communal to national interests. This revised attitude will be in accord with and hasten the day of recognition of India's rights to Self-Determination.

MONGOLIANS IN FINLAND.

A Reuter's telegram last Saturday reported that the Soviet Government were sending Mongolian troops to Finland as they are able to stand the Arctic cold better than Europeans. The following interesting account of the Finns and Estonians (both of Mongolian origin), their conquest by German knights, who converted them to Christianity and serfdom, was published in *World Youth* (Boston) of October 28:

Early this month observers were startled by another turn-about-face by Hitler, apparently acting under orders from Stalin. Soon after the Russians became dominant in the Baltic countries, it was announced that Germans in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania would be repatriated by the Reich. This is a radically different approach to the German minorities problem from that pursued, for example, in Czechoslovakia.

The Baltic Germans—15,000 in Estonia, 62,000 in Latvia, and 40,000 in Lithuania—have been for centuries the main land-owning, aristocratic group in these countries, with an almost unbroken record of exploitation of the native people. Presumably they are to be settled in Polish Pomorze and Poznan, territories taken from Poland last month.

These Baltic Barons are as a group descendants of the Teutonic Knights who entered the Baltics in the Middle ages, seized property and authority under the guise of Christianizing the heathen who had inhabited the land from time immemorial.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

These "heathen," were the Finns (now numbering 3,843,000) and the Estonians (now about 1,126,000), who belonged to what is called the Ugrian race, distantly related to the Hungarians and the Turks, a branch of the Mongolian race. In Latvia the "heathen" to be despoiled were the Letts (now numbering about 1,950,000) and the Lithuanians (about 2,540,000) who both belonged to the Indo-European racial group.

There were two groups of Teutonic Knights. The Knights of the Sword were first in possession. Their headquarters building, dating back to 1201, still stands in Riga, Latvia.

After these, came the Knights of the Cross, who had been fighting with no success against the Saracens in Palestine. They went up into the Baltics and found there simple peasants with good land, and established themselves in Marienburg on the Vistula. Making serfs of the Baltic peoples who remained alive after a period of deliberate extermination, the Knights of the Cross acquired great wealth and fame which they kept for centuries. They mastered the whole Southern Baltic and dominated East Prussia until 1919 as feudal lords of the cruellest sort. When Russia owned these countries (for about a century) the Barons nevertheless continued in power under an agreement made with Peter the Great. The Baltic nations became free after the war. Their independence was recognized by Communist Russia nineteen years ago, and their Governments broke the power of the landholding barons.

MECHANISATION OF AGRICULTURE.

An article by Mark A. Dowber headed the "Sharecropper" in the *Zion Herald* reproduced in *World Christianity* (which to the regret of many readers has ceased publication with the current issue) sums up some of the consequences of the Mechanisation of Agriculture in the U. S. A. Mr. Dowber writes :

> The rural landscape is strewn with abandoned houses, or, as in a section of Kansas with which I am personally acquainted, the farm homes are being pulled down to avoid taxes. Residents in Western Taxas explain as they point, "There used to be ten cropper families on that farm. The tractor got nine of them." "That farm has made a living for a dozen families, ever since the land was broke; now only three are living on it and two are getting just enough to get by. The tractors are keeping our families from making a living." Rural schools decline. Village merchants fail. Drought and poor cotton prices have undermined them. Class bitterness is stirred, and even the government programme intended to benefit the farmer has been an instrument of strife. This is the story of the machine riding ruthlessly over the lives of people, bringing bitterness and despair. Others not yet dispossessed are facing the same stark fear.

New machines are on trial and when they are perfected the results will be still worse. Mr. Dowber writes :

> The future displacement of sharecroppers when the mechanical cottonpicker shall have been perfected is well recognized. The serious displacement now in progress in the wake of the all-purpose farm tractor has been scarcely noted. Yet tenant farmers and farm labourers—whites and negroes alike—are being swept from the land and on to relief in some of the most important agricultural sections of the country.

What is the remedy? The prohibition of the use of labour-saving machinery is out of the question. Men must be relieved from the drudgery of physical toil before they can be educated to and have leisure for higher things. The remedy seems to lie in either co-operative or collective harming. The latter is being tried in Soviet Russia. In the United States co-operation with State aid seems to be finding favour. Mr. Dowber writes :

> The Farm Securities Administration is taking steps to assist there dispossessed tenants and share croppers to get a new start on Government-owned land. Under the Bankhead Jones Farm Tenant Act, it is buying farms and is experimenting in rural rehabilitation with various kinds of co-operative farm programme. The sharecropper colony at LaForge, Missouri, is an excellent illustration of what might be done in a more general way to solve the problem. Here one hundred former sharecropper families are located as tenants of the Government and are operating fifty-acre tracts which were part of a former plantation. The results of this project to date more than justify the adventure. A more stable agriculture is being established, and the former sharecropper has a feeling of greater security; he is better fed and housed and is coming to believe that he has a future. It is along some such lines as this LaForge project that the future of the tenant farmer and the sharecropper will lie. If the problems that are arising from mechanical agriculture and the evils of a one-crop agriculture are to be overcome, it will require the aid and guidance of government or private initiative.

"RIYASAT" ON THE "SERVANT OF INDIA."

The Editor of the *Riyasat*, Urdu weekly of Delhi, courteously sent us a comment as meriting our special attention. The following is an English translation of it :—

> We have painfully heard the news that the *Servant of India*, the official weekly organ of the Servants of India Society after serving the country for twenty-one years is closed down.
>
> The *Servant of India* was one of those journals of which Indian journalism in future will be proud. The paper rendered very great service advocating the establishment of responsible Government in the country, by raising the voice of Democracy to greater heights and towards the mitigation of social evils. One event, in the annals of the paper, will be writtten in prominent letters. The publication in the paper of only one article in connection with the Bawla murder case was the cause of the dethronement of Maharaja of Indore. In plain words Lord Reading was so impressed by the article that he invited the Maharaja to appear before a Commission of Inquiry. Accordingly, we remember that the late Mr. D. Nursingh Rao, the then Prime Minister of Indore, confessed to this writer that the article was entirely responsible for the ruination of Maharaja of Indore.
>
> The world has gone far ahead during the last twenty years and though Mr. Natarajan, the Editor of this journal, is one of the best journalists of India, the *Servant of India* continued to be published in the same poor (common, ordinary) form namely with a few pages and in a small size. The result was that there was a difference in its popularity. It could not keep pace with the world and the world deserted it and in consequence it was forced to close down.
>
> If it is possible it behoves the members of the Servants of India Society to restart this paper and with sufficient funds they should keep it alive along with other good and dignified papers so that this useful paper may be able to serve the country in future as well.

The reason for the Editor sending the article to us is evident in the mistaken reference to the Editor of the *Servant*. The credit of the achievement attributed to the *Servant of India's* single article belongs to Mr. S. G. Vaze for many years its able and intrepid Editor.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Subscription Rates.

Inland ... Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign ... Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 6 annas each, exclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please apply to :-

THE MANAGER,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA,

BOMBAY 20.

LIFE INSURANCE TRUST PLAN

THE outright payment of the Insurance money to the widow or children in one lump sum is a great mistake. To apply a real test you would only ask yourself how your wife would invest such a sum now without any help whatever from you. The woman who has been "All the Wife and Mother" is ill-equipped to invest and safeguard funds designed to her family's protection for many years.

Therefore take advantage of

OUR INVESTMENT TRUST PLAN

For further particulars apply to :—

THE SECRETARY

CENTRAL BANK EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE CO., LTD.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY MEMORIAL BUILDING,
9, Bakehouse, Lane, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Nasik).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(„ „).
Ahmednagar	„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahal).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	„ „
Kalyan	(„ „).	Akluj	(District Sholapur).

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).	K. V. Vichare, Esq.,
Prof. V. G. Kale.	D. J. Zunjarrao, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.	Rao Saheb V. C. Jadhav.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.	D. V. Potdar, Esq.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.	V. S. Basawanal, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar,	S. T. More, Esq.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq.,	Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
K. M. Thakor, Esq.,	

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	..8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	..,3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar ;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo ;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

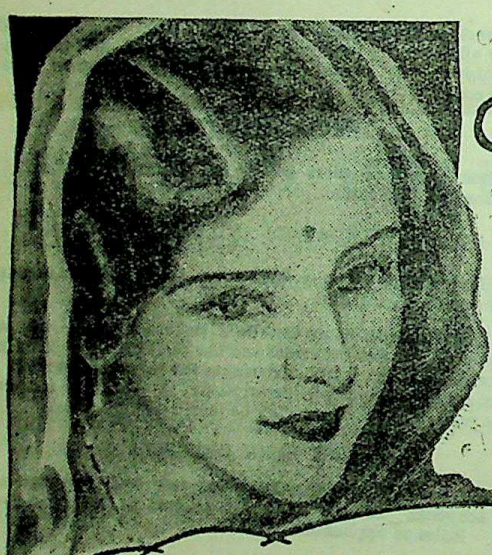
Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

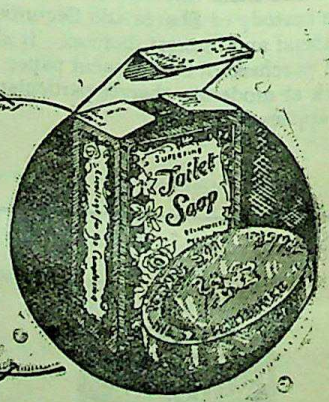


For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors:— K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office:- KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 9, 1939. No. 15

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

War Precautions.
War Propaganda.
Russia and Europe.
Bombay Sales Tax.
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Mr. Jinnah's Thanksgiving.
A Strange Appointment.
A Mysore Innovation.
Europe and the Colonial Question
Women and Marriage in India.
The Federal Court of India.
The Constituent Assembly.
Education in Hyderabad.

NOTES.

War Precautions:—The Bombay Government issued some days ago a statement explaining the need of dimming lights in Bombay. It was a wise and thoughtful statement. If it had been issued by the Congress Government, it would have been put down to want of administrative energy. The statement said that Government preferred the method of persuasion to that of punishment. The people of Bombay are not anxious to court annihilation by enemy bombs and they will not need much persuasion if they felt that there was imminent danger of it and that the methods recommended would be effective as a means of protection. Even in England where they are close to the scene of danger there is considerable discontent at the measures enforced as war precautions. The other day a distinguished retired Indian Civilian who had acted as Governor of a province, committed suicide after shooting dead his wife and his dog, one of the reasons given for his frenzied state of mind being the discomfort caused by billetting evacuees—a new word for the slum women and children transferred to the countryside in view of enemy bombers. Several letters in the *Spectator* and other journals complain bitterly of the hardships caused by this arrangement. The evacuees themselves are not happy and several of them are said to be returning to their homes preferring the chance of bombing to the mental distress caused by the break-up of family life. Lord Baldwin's opinion that there is no certain protection against air-raids except raiding the enemy-towns yourself, is endorsed by Bertrand Russell who cites expert authority. A correspondent points out that dimming of lights is a useless precaution as the enemy will be guided not by street lights but by maps and mathematical calculations. The Government statement admits that on moonlight nights, Bombay can not be rendered invisible to enemy ships at a distance of forty miles. But the moon does not leave us wholly for twenty out of thirty days in the lunar month. The special A. R. P. officer said in one of his broadcasts that the danger from gas attacks is not serious in Indian cities where there is plenty of open spaces to shift into. Worli in some evenings nowadays gives one a good foretaste of a gassed locality. While precautions are necessary, they defeat their own purpose when they are much in advance of the actual danger. People get tired and when the danger is actually upon them they do not remember where they kept their gas masks. If the ten virgins in the parable had kept their lamps lit many days before the bridegroom's coming, they would have exhausted their oil and would have been found sleeping at their posts when he came.

War Propaganda:—The London correspondent of the *Times of India*, Sir Stanley Reed, in his letter published on Monday said somethings about war propaganda, which very much needed saying. "I am growing to hate the word propaganda," he wrote. "For one reason I feel in my bones that its importance in neutral countries is overdone." Not only in neutral countries but also in parts of the British Empire, like India, where the emotional background which is so easily worked upon in the belligerent countries, does not exist with reference to this War. Among informed people who have read the literature pertaining to propaganda in the last war, there is a general distrust of all war news as propaganda. Persons who eagerly turned on the radio at all hours of the day in the hope of getting some news, have given up listening-in as waste of time. There is very little news but many extracts from speeches and newspaper articles. Even more than the liar, the propagandist has need of a good memory. If he finds it necessary to recognise the existence of a person whom he had announced as dead some days ago, he should at the least offer a few words of explanation as to how he came to make the mistake. If he were speaking at a public meeting, he could be heckled. On the air, the listener is entirely powerless to interrupt any torrent of mis-statement that may be inflicted on him by the man at the microphone. In India the feeling generally is that the Allies will win the war but there is anxiety about the state of mind which they would bring to the task of peace-making. If any propaganda is needed, it should concentrate on this point so far as India is concerned. So far there has been no endeavour made by British broadcasters to understand and respond to Indian requirements which are not the same as British

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or Canadian or Australian. For instance, informed opinion here is more affected by the Russian raid on Finland than it was by the German raid on Poland. The reason is that Poland by its grab on the occasion of the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, showed itself to be no better than the aggressor; whereas Czechoslovakia and Finland have proved themselves to be peace-loving nations the loss of whose independence is a loss to the cause of world peace. We suggest that it will be worth the while of the B. B. C to expand, if necessary, its personnel, so as to interest India in its broadcasts. If it be thought necessary to repeat and answer allegations regarding Indian conditions by Berlin or Moscow, it would be better done by someone who can produce a less clever but more accurate answer to the allegation of the existence of 40 million unemployed in this country. The B. B. C.'s reply was that there can not be 40 million unemployed in a country where there are only 25 million employed!

Russia and Europe :—Russia's aggression on Finland has overshadowed the War in Western Europe. The latest press messages state that three countries are helping Finland with war materials—the U. S. A. which has suspended the next payment of Finland's war debt, Britain and Italy. More, the Italian aeroplanes are being despatched, it is said, through Germany. Is it possible that we are to see, sequel to the undeclared war of recent years, an undeclared peace between the belligerents of Western Europe in resisting the encroachments of Soviet Russia? Even Japan after having set the pace, has denounced the Soviet State as guilty of wanton aggression. The Scandinavian countries which were considering how best they could give expression to their disapproval of Russian methods, are now apparently inclined to give active help. In this they have doubtless been encouraged by world opinion which has been unequivocal in its denunciation. Finland has appealed to the League of Nations which seems to be once more functioning as a political international organisation. Soviet Russia, however, refuses to recognise the constituted Government at Helsinki and has signed a treaty with a "People's Government" set up immediately after the first Russian invasion of Finnish territory. The treaty, the terms of which, we presume, were also offered to the Helsinki Government, contemplates an exchange of some 70,000 square kilometres of Soviet land for 3,500 square kilometres of Finnish territory and compensatory payment on a liberal scale by Soviet Russia. This shows clearly where the gulf exists between Russia and Finland. The Soviet negotiators apparently acted on economic calculations. The Finns have falsified once again the basic assumptions of Marxian theorists. The "People's Government" which is of doubtful representative value in so far as it came into being only after the Soviet invasion and on Soviet-occupied territory, issued a manifesto demanding the setting up of a parliament elected on equal, universal, direct, adult and secret franchise. It failed to declare under whose auspices the elections would take place. Political developments in the past twenty years have shown that it is as important to know who conducts an election as to ensure who votes at the polls. The first week of conflict has clearly revealed the Soviet fear of Leningrad being bombed from Finnish territory to be an irrational one. If it had been real Soviet Russia would have thought twice before launching out on its present policy. No one can deny that the provocation to retaliate has been great to the desperate Finns. If the Helsinki Government was made up of irresponsible desperadoes as Soviet propagandists would have us believe, Leningrad would have been in ruins by now.

Bombay Sales Tax :—His Excellency the Governor who is in sole charge of the administration since the resignation of the Congress Ministry, has decided not to enforce the Sales Tax on mill-made cloth which the late Ministry had levied as a part of its scheme for financing Prohibition. Though the Legislature had sanctioned the levy, arrangements for giving effect to it were not made when the Ministry went out of office. Many objections had been raised against the tax. The chief one, however, to our mind, is not the inconvenience to the trade but the incidence of the tax which, as in the case of indirect taxes generally, would be heaviest on the poor. Cloth as a necessity of life is on the same plane as food in the case of the poorer classes. The least increase in price will make itself felt among them. The actual amount of the Sales Tax is no criterion of the amount which the public will have to pay in consequence of it. Retail prices are always much in advance of wholesale prices and the addition due to the tax, 6¼ per cent, will mean about double that ratio to the poor consumer. For this reason alone the tax was objectionable even though the cause of Prohibition, which it was meant to serve, is a good one. The Tax was expected to bring in Rs. 25 lakhs in a full year and about Rs. 10 lakhs this year. But, owing to the difficulties connected with the collection, nothing has been so far collected on account of the tax. These difficulties are aggravated by the prevailing conditions. What the Governor has done would most probably have had to be done by the Congress Ministry if it had contained in office. We are not told how his Excellency proposes to meet the loss of revenue. The house tax and the special petrol cess have been collected on the understanding that the proceeds are to meet the loss on Prohibition. If for financial reasons the Governor thinks of suspending Prohibition as has been done in Bihar, it will be unfair to continue the levy of the rest of the taxes intended for the specific purpose of maintaining Prohibition. Since this was in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

type, it is stated that the loss on account of the Sales Tax involved in enforcing Prohibition, will be made good from the unexpended sum of Rs. 25 lakhs allotted to Village Improvement in the last budget. It is a thoroughly irregular arrangement to earmark large sums for projects which can not be in a sufficient state of preparation for being taken in hand six months after the passing of the estimates.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru :—It is obvious that Gandhiji is doing all he can to make Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru acceptable to all concerned, including British statesmen, as his successor on the Congress gadi, as a stepping-stone to higher things. The Pandit has several qualifications which fit him pre-eminently for leadership. But he has also a few which are likely to prove serious impediments unless corrected in time. Chief of these is his proneness to hasty generalisations on important questions on which his information is patently inadequate. The other day he was reported to have said in the course of a speech that Indian States are relics of the past, implying that there was no use for them at present. What is not a relic of the past? Even the moth which flutters about the candle in a desperate effort to fulfil its ephemeral destiny, has a past. It is not that the Pandit himself is lacking in the historical feeling. In another speech a day or two earlier he spoke of the importance of cherishing such monuments as the Taj Mahal at Agra, which he visited before attending the Meerut Conference, as they were sources of inspiration to many generations. And this notwithstanding that the Taj was raised by a ruler who had never heard of democracy or responsible Government. The Pandit would make no exceptions. Even the best-governed Indian State, in his judgment, is, like the worst-governed, a 'relic of the past' and therefore fit only for the revolutionary's axe. In another speech at about the same time, he held up all who did not agree with his proposed Constituent Assembly as "enemies of freedom." No better proof can be found for the inference that the Pandit resorted to this trick of the hustings politician because he is unable to meet the cogent reasons against his idea which have been advanced, by those who oppose it. To call people with whom you differ enemies of freedom' is nothing but incitement to violence which in the same breath you profess to renounce. It is as easy for those who do not pin their faith to a Constituent Assembly to denounce the Pandit as an enemy of commonsense, if they could stoop to this type of controversy. His attack on the bureaucracy, in a speech at Agra, as being mainly responsible for the difficulties of Congress governments, is in direct contradiction to the warm testimoney borne to the loyal and willing co-operation of the Civil Service by Ministers themselves.

Mr. Jinnah's Thanksgiving :—As president of the Muslim League, Mr. M. A. Jinnah has addressed a statement to his co-religionists to observe Decembr 22 as Thanksgiving Day as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments have ceased to function. A resolution which he has drafted denounces the Congress as anti-Muslim and accuses the Hindus, "mostly Congressmen," of ill-treating the Muslims. We do not know whether Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is still intending to carry on discussions with Mr. Jinnah for an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim. The fact that Congress Muslims have set their face against a "National Muslims" conference which was planned to set off the Muslim League propaganda, seems to indicate that they are still hoping for a miracle to take place. We cannot, we must confess, understand the position of the Congress Muslims. Have they a following in the country or have they been put up by the Congress? If, as they claim, they have a large following why do they hesitate to face the Muslim League? They seem at every crisis to play into the hands of their more energetic, if more narrow-minded, followers. The tenderness with which Congressmen approach the Muslim League forms a notable contrast to the animus with which Mr. Jinnah, sole spokesman for his party, invariably speaks of the Congress.

A Strange Appointment :—The announcement this week that a journalist of Australian birth and South African upbringing has been selected for the post of Director of Information in Bombay, came upon us with painful surprise. *The Reformer* is not as a rule interested in the game of jobs, but this has a special feature which raises a grave political issue. The two Dominions in which Mr. Claude Scott was born and had seen service, are notorious for their policy towards Indians. Australia pursuing a fanatical White Man's Land policy excludes Indians from its shores except as visitors. South Africa's treatment of Indians born in that country, descendants of those who built up the prosperity of Natal, is a crying scandal. The political status of India after the War is just engaging world-wide interest. Whatever it may be, it can not be surely such as to make India the happy hunting-ground of the Dominions which follow a policy of exclusion of the natives of this country. At present Governors are absolute rulers of the erstwhile Congress provinces but we expect that they would by their acts make the way smooth for the future. A selection such as this for a post which on every consideration would be best filled by an Indian, rubs Indian sentiment on the raw. The usual procedure of advertisement and reference to the Public Services Commission seems to have been dispensed with in this case.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, December 9, 1939.

A MYSORE INNOVATION.

The Nizam's Government in their scheme of constitutional reform have adopted representation by interests as the basis of their electoral system. It was, no doubt, originally intended that this should do away with the need for communal representation. But it has not done so. The communal principle has had to be superposed on the "interests" representation. The working of this novel scheme will be watched with interest. In Mysore, the Government have adopted another innovation. The new Constitution continues the existing two Chambers—the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council—but the Legislature will not be a two Chamber one. The Representative Assembly is the older body, having been started soon after the Rendition in 1881. It was to be the medium through which the Government of the Maharaja could make their measures better known and understood by the people. Since then from time to time its functions have been enlarged but the direction in which the Assembly has grown, has been, in the words of the Reforms Committee's Report, that of the extension of the representative principle in the selection of its members. Although the Assembly had no legislative functions, it has exerted a growing influence on the legislative measures of the State. The Legislative Council was established in 1907, with legislation for its sole function. In British India admission for purposes of legislation preceded the admission of non-officials to consultation in matters of administration. The Executive Council with some additional members became the Legislative Council. In Mysore the popular element was given access to administrative affairs before it was admitted to a share in legislation. In British India the Legislative Council has been enlarged into a Parliamentary body consisting of two Chambers. In Mysore the two bodies under the Reform scheme will continue to be independent of and unconnected with each other except through the Executive Government. In the words of the Government Order :

> The two Houses do not correspond to the two chambers of a bicameral legislature. It may be said that the Representative Assembly embodies the oriental conception of government, while the Legislative Council represents its occidental conception. The two stand in a peculiar relationship to each other. They are not strictly co-ordinate but supplement each other's functions.

The oriental conception of sovereignty—Hindu and Muslim—did not include the power of legislation. The sovereign had merely to execute the decisions of the tribunals which traditionally enjoyed the right of interpreting the Shastras and the Koran. The occidental conception was much the same almost down to the French Revolution. The Common Law of England like the Hindu and Mohamedan law was outside the authority of the Sovereign. The right of legislation is really the concomitant of a democratic constitution. It is nevertheless subject to the veto of the Head of the State though the power in practice may not and cannot be exercised. In Great Britain as in Mysore the two Houses originated at different times and for distinct purposes, so much so that by convention the one House is always referred to as "another place" and not by name in the other House. But when two bodies exist side by side they must either co-operate or clash with each other sooner or later. The struggle between the two Houses in Britain has been bitter. Deadlocks have been averted only by the threat of the creation of new peers by use of the Royal prerogative. A hereditary chamber is always at a disadvantage in a conflict with a popular Chamber. In the new Mysore constitution the Representative Assembly will, as at present, be wholly elected, while the Legislative Council will for the first time have a majority of elected representative. Although legislation will be the function of the Council, the Representative Assembly will have a hand in shaping it. Government express their entire sympathy with the recommendation of the Committee that in the case of legislative, financial and adminstrative measures under contemplation, Government should as far as possible consult the Assembly and ascertain its views on such measures before taking a final decision. Government have further accepted the recommendation that in addition to a statement of the principles underlying a proposed Bill the Bill itself should be placed before the Assembly and its opinion ascertained This is further emphasised in the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja by the express direction that "the opinion expressed on any legislative measure by the Assembly will ordinarily be accepted by my Government," and in exceptional cases where public interests demand it, the Government, before introducing the Bill in the Legislative Council, will state the reasons for over-riding the Assembly. It is clear that the Government of Mysore regard and intend that the Representative Assembly should be the more important Chamber in the constitution. The Maharaja's Proclamation seems to differ somewhat from the Government Order from which we have quoted above, in its view of the relative position of the two Houses. His Highness observes that the two Houses which were originally independent in origin and functions "will now be brought into integral relationship with one another." The Parliamentary system of Government has been found unequal to prompt and efficient action in respect of the complex functions of a modern Government. In times of crisis it has become the practice now to resort to national governments and in extreme cases to government by decrees. It is only by trial and experience that India can arrive at a workable model. Experiments, sueh as those intiated by the States, will enable us to do this.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EUROPE AND THE COLONIAL QUESTION.

Three of the "Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs"—No. 7. "Colonies and Raw Materials" by H. D. Henderson; No. 11. "The Dual Policy" by Sir Arthur Salter; and No. 12. "Encirclement" by Prof. J. B. Brierly—raise an issue which has a peculiar importance to all subject peoples in empire systems. In explaining British policy after Herr Hitler's march into Czecho-Slovakia, both Sir Arthur Salter and Prof. Brierly reduce the objections of the British Government to Germany's encroachments on the rights of other nations, to its opposition to allowing Hitler's Germany to dominate over people of another race or nation. No matter how much a German may detest Nazism, and no matter where he may be, he and his property, even immovable property in Central Europe, must be subject to Nazi laws, or may at any time have to submit to them. But the Nazi Government is not to be allowed to extend its authority over alien peoples. The connection between Britain's reaction to the Nazi march on Prague and Herr Hitler's demand for the return of German colonies is obvious. If the Anglo-French coalition could tolerate German domination of another European country, surely they could not withhold the old African colonies of the German Empire. The abandonment of appeasement dates accordingly from March 15, 1939. The new "dual policy" took its place. In registering his disapproval, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, declared publicly the resolve of his Government to resist aggression in the first place and, in the event of the nations of Europe showing proof of a genuine rejection of force in settling differences, of "reconstructing the international order on a broader and firmer foundation"—so far as the European is concerned. The Polish episode, thus, was only the "next act of aggression." There is convincing proof of this in the oft-reiterated "peace terms" which include the withdrawal of Nazi power from not only Poland but also Czechoslovakia—but significantly not from Austria.

As there was not any abandonment of force, the other alternative of strengthening the forces of resistance came into play. Prof. Brierly argues that "encirclement" which is a bad name for this policy, is not as black as the Germans paint it; it is defensive and not aggressive. He is rather naive in the argument he advances which is literally as follows:

> The vital difference between what *you* are doing and what *we* are doing is that *our* measures are defensive; we have every reason to fear that *you*, unless you are prevented, intend to impose your will on other independent nations by force, and we are, therefore, building up a "peace front" against you. You, on the other hand, have no reason to entertain any suspicions with regard to *our* intentions.

How does one carry out even one's peaceful intentions against an aggressor without "imposing one's will by force"? This has been for some time the disastrous search of the League powers. Sir Arthur Salter, on the other hand, plainly recognises that the fear of encirclement is real in German minds. This has subsequently been proved by the fact that a pact with the hated Bolsheviks was acceptable to the German masses as "a release from a closing-in circle." It is because of his appreciation of this factor that Sir Arthur sees the need for something more constructive than just sitting still and exuding good intentions. He looks forward to a United States of Europe and sees the need for working towards this end. His plea for a State paper on the plans for world reconstruction is a demand for a declaration of "war aims" made even before war was expected.

Sir Arthur is inclined to take the colonial problem rather lightly. Few in the colonies will share his over-optimistic view:—

> We have developed a colonial creed which was from an early stage one of paternal administration and soon developed into one which genuinely aims at its replacement by self-government. The Dominions have already become self-governing. India is far advanced upon the same path. Many colonies have reached differing stages of partial self-government, and the ultimate goal is aimed at for the rest...Until the recent decision to close the 'open door' we administered the colonies on the basic principle which was in the interests not only of the inhabitants but of the world as a whole.

Sir Arthur Salter is usually less of an apologist for colonialism than he is here. In an article on the Ottawa Conference immediately after the agreements were signed between different units of the Empire, he admitted that in the negotiations the colonies had received a "very subordinate consideration" and had been exploited by the self-governing Dominions. This meant nothing less than serving five masters instead of one. Now Sir Arthur talks of the interest of the world as a whole. It is an amusing fact that, as the colonial peoples grow in political consciousness, the imperialist nations are reciprocally awakening to the narrowness of nationalism and the world's right to share in the good things of life no matter where they may be found—outside Europe. Why should the world's interest come into the administration of backward peoples when it is completely ignored in the government of enlightened communities? The trustee analogy is often brought in. But who ever heard of a trustee pleading in addition to the interest of his charge, his own personal interest and that of the community in which they live? There is also a perhaps unconscious intention to persuade the "non-colonial" powers that colonies are a nuisance and a responsibility rather than assets to the ruling power. This idea is developed in Mr. Henderson's "Colonies and Raw Materials."

Mr. Henderson has restricted himself to the economic factors which arise in the relations of an empire country with its colonies. There is, therefore, no discussion of the political and administrative experience and employment which the ruling race enjoys and the opportunities it has for training its men. On the economic subject alone, Mr. Henderson arrives at the dismal conclusion that an imperial power spends more on, than it gains out of, its possessions and that industrial nations who have no possessions can well congratulate themselves on their freedom. He refers specially to sugar:

> So far are sugar colonies from being victims of imperialist exploitation that their whole standard of life is today dependent on the preferences that are given at the expense of the tax-payers or consuming publics of their metropolitan countries. Wretched by comparison is the plight of those tropical sugar-producing countries that are independent and do not form part of any preference-giving fiscal system.

He fails to realise in the first place, what he has mentioned himself in another connection, that "the control exercised by the British Government over the colonial empire has been of great benefit to British investors;" that, secondly, the preferences and the higher prices paid by the British for Empire products, go invariably, and in by far the largest proportion, to these investors and not to the inhabitants of the colonies; and that it is not in any way advantageous to any territory to have its economy—agriculture or industries—planned on the basis of an export market. If the test of modern imperialisms is to be how far they have prepared their colonies to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

stand by themselves, it must be admitted that all of them have failed miserably.

Dr. R. R. Kuczynski in "Living-Space and Population Problems," pamphlet No 8. in the series, has proved with devastating thoroughness that Germany cannot satisfy her desire for space even if she gets all her old colonies restored to her. He goes still further. He maintains that Germany does not need more space since she does not seek an outlet for her population but restricts emigration and recruits labour from her new territories. Dr. Kuczynski gives the example of the mandated British Cameroons, moreover, to show that for trade purposes there is no need for a country to have political dominion over another. There the old German plantations have been bought up by former German owners. In 1934, according to Lord Hailey, the larger part of the exports went to the United Kingdom, 98·8 per cent in fact. In 1937, so Dr. Kuczynski tells us, Germany's share in the exports of the Cameroons came to 47·7 per cent, greater than before the World War when it was a German Protectorate. What does this mean, assuming that the figures are correct? At first glance it would appear that the Cameroon Germans, like the pioneer settlers of America, had settled abroad under a more liberal Government. But as Dr. Kuczynski himself shows, there is a real bond between Germany and these colonists. It seems as though, under the Nazi regime, a very keen interest is shown in settling colonies in Africa. In the face of this, the objection that since Germany never settled large numbers of her people in her old colonies, therefore she was not likely to do so now, is untenable.

In what is decidedly the best of the series, "Economic Self-Sufficiency," Prof. A. G. B. Fisher discusses the problems of economic nationalism. His absolute freedom from cant and the complete national detachment he achieves, make his pamphlet an admirable study of the subject and an example which other writers might with advantage follow. Probably he owes this to the fact that he hails from New Zealand. He does not hesitate to point out the mistakes of both the democratic imperialisms and of the totalitarianisms. For example, he says:—

> It is difficult to draw any clear dividing line between the effects of conscious far-reaching plans of autarky, which we rightly condemn as damaging both to material welfare and international harmony, and the effects in every country of popular prejudice which, without any philosophical trimmings, takes the "common-sense" but in fact irrational view that we could usually manage our own affairs better if we were not so dependent upon the unpredictable vagaries of strange people in other parts of the world. It is a well-known British tradition to get ahead with practical policy without concerning ourselves much about its theoretical or philosophical foundations. This habit has its uses, but it may also have the dangerous effect of encouraging us to overlook the extent to which policies, which when formally expounded in other countries look dangerous, are at the same time being quietly practised by ourselves.

If there is to be a world conference and anything is to come out of it, it will be because of this spirit of self-criticism which still survives in the democracies, unhampered by governmental restrictions. Economic concessions, territorial adjustments and the other usual features of peace conferences can make little headway without such a feeling. The colonial system is the very antithesis of this, and its defence invariably lies on the ground that the sins of one country are more palatable than those of another because it is "my country." The war against Nazism is primarily a war to arrest the spread of colonialism into Europe. It cannot stop at that. What we in Asia and Africa demand is that colonialism be rejected throughout the world. And signs are not lacking to show that in that we have support of a considerable body of opinion in Europe itself.

WOMEN AND MARRIAGE IN INDIA.*

In the announcement printed on the flap of the dust cover, this book by Mr. P. Thomas is called an "objective sociological study," which is what it is not. An objective study does not take account of motives. It does not regard the object of study as anything but an object free from all subjective incidents. Mr. Thomas, however, is throughout obsessed with the villainy of the priestly class. He writes:

> Sanctity, everywhere, is an intimate friend of Mammon. That is why the European socialist who attacks orthodox theories of political economy without any idea of blaspheming finds himself face to face with the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury. That is why, too, the Indian reformer who advocates the economic independence of women finds himself accused of attacking the sanctity of the home and the hearth.

We suppose the European Socialist is no friend of Mammon. We claim to know something of the experience of Indian reformers, and we have not known of advocates of the economic independence of women being accused of attacking the sanctity of the home and the hearth. Then, again, the women of the working classes everywhere and in India as well, are economically independent and there is no need for reformers to advocate it for them. They are the majority of women. As for women of the professional classes, Mr. Thomas should know that the projects of reform of the law of women's property have in this country been generally sponsored and supported by lawyers and business men who otherwise are inclined to throw in their lot with conservative and orthodox elements. As a matter of fact, in default of legislation many parents and husbands make sure that part of their property goes to daughters and wives, and several modifications favouring this end have already been made in the law. We can only conclude from Mr. Thomas' omission to note the great changes that have been already made both by legislation, and by the decisions of High Courts and the Privy Council whieh have materially improved the position of women relating to women's property rights, that he is out of touch with recent developments. The picture of marriage in India as "a cruel form of organized inhumanity" can only be characterised as an outrage on facts. Under the guise of an objective sociological study, Mr. Thomas runs amuck against everything connected with religion, particularly Hinduism. Here is a sample:

> In India the religious idea ran riot even with greater wildness (than in Arabia). Our motherland produced thirty-three crores and three gods which, judging from the then population of India, must work up to at least three deities per head of human beings (Mr. Thomas can not keep out his pre-occupation with averages even here.) Our kings were beggars in comparison with the priests, so that freebooters like Mahommed of Ghazni were content to rob temples and leave kings alone.

The loot which the Ghaznivite carried away was not the property of the priests but that of the temple. Otherwise, he could have found it where he did. The passage is illustrative of the hatred for the priesthood which is the chief underlying theme of this "objective sociological study."

* Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London. Price 7 s. 6 d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The same theme crops up in Mr. Thomas's account of the matriarchate in Malabar. He writes:

It is true that poor Nayar women pressed by economic necessity, form transient connections, especially with the Tamil Brahmins who come to Malabar for trading purposes. This should be regarded as a form of prostitution.

Mr. Thomas distorts facts. It is not poor Nayar women pressed by poverty that resorted (because the custom has practically died out where it has not been prohibited by legislation) to sambhandhams with Brahmins—not traders from the East Coast but Nambudri Brahmins of Malabar. It was the aristocratic families in which the custom was firmly rooted. As for the nature of the relation created by sambhandham, it is a libel to call it prostitution. Many highly cultured and respected Nayars, among them Dewan Bahadur C. Karunakara Menon, bitterly resented legislation for the registration of sambandhams as they maintained that they were as sacred and as solemnly binding as sacramental marriages.

The error of Mr. Thomas and those who think whith him, is to assume that the institution of marriage was created by law and can be altered, abrogated or penalised by law. This is directly due to their conception of marriage as a merely sexual relation. Marriage, however, it has been aptly observed, begins where the sexual relation ends. Mere sexual relationship does not constitute marriage. The existence of a permanent relation between the male and the female mating together for the protection of the offspring of the union, has been observed among birds and some animals. That is to say, the marriage relation has been evolved even among sub-humans as a biological necessity. It is not surprising and it is to be expected that among human beings a similar result should follow under similar circumstances. Even among patriarchal Hindus a woman refers to her husband as the father of her son. Hindu law is largely the embodiment of customs which prevailed at various times and different parts of the country. The priest in the Hindu system has nothing to do with the compilation or enforcement of the law.

The fact is Mr. Thomas is quite out of touch with and singularly ill-qualified to write objectively of the social system of India. If the passages quoted above do not show this, here is one which makes it plain as a pike-staff. Mr. Thomas complains that Indian children have "very little of the healthy wickedness of normal children, such as scaring dogs, hunting for birds and butterflies, and throwing stones at sanyasis and madmen." How did Mr. Thomas find his normal child?

THE FEDERAL COURT OF INDIA.

(By B. Banerji, Delhi.)

Provincial autonomy under the Constitution Act was inaugurated on the 1st of April 1937. This was the first step taken to break up a unitary government into federal fragments. While the executive government of the country was thus being shared between the provinces and the Centre, the establishment of the Federal Court a few months later meant a step in the opposite direction, that is towards the unification of the judiciary in the country. Not that there was not a Court over all the High Courts in India, exercising a general control over them all. There was the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which entertained appeals from the different High Courts in British India and which laid down the law which they were bound to follow. But situated beyond 'the seven seas and the thirteen rivers' it was hardly anything but a name to the masses in the country. The Federal Court was the first all-India Court of Law on Indian soil. It marked the attainment of India's self-government in the judicial branch of the government. Its location in Delhi made Delhi once more the supreme fountain-head of justice which it had been all through its long and glorious history except for an interregnum.

The significance of the event has not been appreciated fully in this country. The reason has been two-fold. One reason has been the association of the world "Federal" with this the highest court in the land. The vocal section of public opinion had been so grievously dissatisfied with the federal scheme of the Government of India Act that everything "federal" appeared to be tainted in the popular imagination. I asked a prominent lawyer Congressman why he had not taken part in the inaugural ceremonies of the Federal Court as the Court had nothing to do with the federal scheme of Government. He replied that his action might have been misunderstood in the temper prevailing in political circles. Since then eminent Congress lawyers have got themselves enrolled as advocates of the Federal Court.

Another reason for the absence of enthusiastic interest in the Court is its extremely limited jurisdiction. In its original side it hears and decides disputes between the Federal units. Let there be no mistake about it that since the introduction of the Constitution Act there exists a Federation of India, "not indeed that greater Federation, whatever form it may ultimately assume, which the future holds in trust for us," to quote from Sir Maurice Gwyer's inaugural address, "but a federation of eleven provinces associated together in an organic union." In its appellate side it hears only those appeals in which the High Court concerned certifies that a substantial question of constitutional law is involved. Narrow and strait is the path that leads to this highest court of law in the land and very few in number are those who are privileged to tread it. Even during the short period of its existence many have turned away disappointed from its portals, for the judges, with all their implicit faith in the old maxim that it is the part of a good judge to enlarge his jurisdiction, have found it impossible to open them wide, their hands being tied by the stringent provisions of the statute.

It is not easy to understand why Parliament should have thought it wise to start the Federal Court in its career with such a limited jurisdiction. In the Round Table Conference eminent lawyers, like (the late) Sir Muhummad Shafi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Sultan Ahmad earnestly pleaded for the investment of the Central Court with full powers. Mahatma Gandhi, the sole representative of the Indian National Congress, expressed his opinion as follows: "I feel that the Federal Court should be a court of the widest jurisdiction possible and not decide cases only that arise from the administration of federal laws. Federal laws, of course, will be there, but it should have the amplest jurisdiction to try all the cases that may come from the four corners of India. Seeing that the Congress holds the view that this Federal Court or Supreme Court —whichever you call it—will occupy the position of the highest tribunal beyond which no man who is an inhabitant of India can go, its jurisdiction in my opinion will be limitless. It will have jurisdiction, so far as federal matters are concerned, to the extent that the princes are also willing; but I can not possibly imagine that we shall have two supreme courts—one in order to deal with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

merely federal law and another to deal with all the other matters that are not covered by the federal administration or the Federal Government. Because, at the present moment, I suppose, as things go the Federal Government will concern itself with the minimum of subjects, matters of the highest moment will be extra-federal. Who is to adjudicate upon these extra-federal matters if not this very Supreme Court? Therefore this Supreme Court or Federal Court will exercise double jurisdiction, if necessary treble jurisdiction. *The greater the power that we give to this Federal Court, I think, the greater the confidence we shall be able to inspire in the world and also in the nation itself.*"

Anyone who is intimately connected with the Federal Court will testify to the wisdom of Mahatma Gandhi's last observation. The Federal Court does suffer in prestige and in the confidence of the people because of the very limited sphere in which it can make itself effective. It is no reply that the Supreme Court in the United States remained idle for three years before its first case came in. That was a hundred and fifty years ago. And moreover—and this is a significant difference—in America mutually exclusive States were, for the first time, owning allegiance to a central institution. Here, in India, we have always had centralised institutions, and a supreme court, which is unable to intervene in 99 per cent of justiciable questions, strikes us as an anomaly.

One thing, however, is crystal clear and that is the personal prestige enjoyed by the judges who compose the Federal Court. In the Round Table Conference, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru emphasised that character, integrity and independence counted for more in the judges than learning, ability and experience. The great jurist himself expressed satisfaction, in his speech on its inauguration, that the Court commanded the confidence of all. Since these words were spoken, eminent members of the Bar from all over the country have had occasion to appear before the Court and it can be said without fear of contradiction that the Bench of the Federal Court enjoys, in a unique measure, the confidence and the respect of the Bar of the entire country. There are few outside legal circles who can fully understand how exacting the test of the Bar is. What is more striking, however, is the implicit confidence of the lay-public in the sense of impartiality and fairness of the judges of the Federal Court. It is not given to every great judge to be a great popular figure. But the present Chief Justice of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, seems to be an exception. In his first public utterance he expressed his hope that the Federal Court would "declare and interpret the law in no spirit of formal or barren legalism." Judgments of the Court, whether in disputes between Governments or whether in deciding questions brought before it by litigants too poor even to engage counsel, show that his hopes have not gone in vain. But this spirit of formal and barren legalism has no hold on him even outside the court-room. I know that when he accepted the Viceroy's offer to arbitrate on the Rajkot dispute, hoary heads, with an immense amount of legal learning in them, shook in doubt. Is this a task which the Chief Justice of India should consent to undertake? Is there any precedent of any Chief Justice of any Federal Court doing a similar thing? Such were the questions asked, but these were not the legalistic doubts that assailed Sir Maurice. If there was no precedent, he would create the precedent. He acted in the spirit of the following noble words of Mahatma Gandhi uttered during the debate on the question of the Federal Court in the Round Table Conference: "The Privy Council here is an ancie institution, and an institution which justly comman very great regard and respect; but, in spite of a the respect that I have for the Privy Council, cannot bring myself to believe that we will n be able to have a Privy Council of our own whi will command universal esteem..... Our beginnin may be very small, but if we have strong, true an honest hearts to give decisions, it does not matte in the slightest degree that we have not got th legal traditions which the Judges in England claim and very properly boast of before the whole world." When Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian National Congress, suggested that Sir Maurice Gwyer should adjudicate on the Muslim grievances in the Congress Provinces, he expressed the country's tribute to the broadmindedness of the eminent head of the judiciary in India.

When the feeling in the country is as Mahatma Gandhi authoritatively expressed it and when we have got a Bench on the Federal Court which commands universal esteem, it is an unjustifiabl waste of national money to keep the judges compul sorily idle for the major portion of the year. "The Privy Council's portals," said Mahatmaji, "if it is really to give relief to the poor people in matters of the highest importance, should be open to the poorest people in the land and I think it is impossible if the Privy Council (in England) is to decide our fate in the matters of greatest importance." The Constitution Act does provide for the enlargement of the appellate powers of the Federal Court though they are not quite so wide as was demanded by the majority of the delegates to the Round Table Conference. For instance, regular appeals in criminal cases do not lie to the Federal Court at all under the Constitution Act. But there is an over-whelming case for investing the Court with the powers that the Act provides for, but which provision has not yet been put into force.

I do not propose to examine in detail all the objections that are made against the extension of the Court's appellate powers. The real and the main obstacle seems to be the opposition of the vested interests in London. On an average one hundred appeals go from India to the Privy Council in a year and Mahatmaji gave his opinion that each appeal on an average cost £ 2,000. Should this be allowed to continue, if there is help for it?

Now that the Federation of British India and the Indian States has receded to the background, there is all the less likelihood of the Court's time being fully occupied with, what I may for the sake of convenience describe as, the Federal cases. With communications becoming more and more difficult with the progress of the war, it is becoming increasingly more difficult for the litigants to take their cases to the Privy Council in London. Apart from the very natural aspiration of the people to be judicially self-sufficient, there are weighty reasons which by themselves call for and justify the enlargement of the appellate powers of the Federal Court as provided for in the Constitution Act.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

I had formulated in *The Indian Social Reformer* a series of questions on the Constituent Assembly which have got to be answered before any Government in power could consider it to be an adequate and satisfactory method. Some of these questions have since been answered by Mr. Rajagopalacharya. But many questions have not been answered, and these are the more important ones. No one has stated in so many words that the subjects of the States will not be represented in this Assembly,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

but the inference to be drawn from the various pronouncements appears to be that; and it is a fatal omission. The British Indian people have no manner of right, political or moral, to frame a Constitution which would be binding on the people of the States through an Assembly in which their representatives are not members. The other questions left out are equally important—*viz.*, the manner of election, the number of delegates, and the actual method by which minorities would be satisfied—do they vote separately on every question affecting their interests; who decides what are such questions; and are such decisions to conclude the matter? If a Working Committee is to do the spade work how is that Committee to be constituted so as to satisfy minorities?

Even the *Hindu* which is a Congress paper, considers that Gandhiji has not adequately appreciated the magnitude of the difficulties inherent in the notion. *The Indian Social Reformer* in its issue of the 25th November, appears to have arrived at the conclusions which follow from my articles and questionnaire in that paper. The conclusion is that a Constituent Assembly which would be acceptable to all interests is difficult and that the same result could be achieved by agreement between leaders. The object of this article, however, is to get a 'move on.' Although Gandhiji's knowledge of constitutional details is not profound, his prestige is immense and he has the formidable weapon of civil disobedience. Hence it seems to me that he might be asked to put up a really detailed scheme for consideration. Such a scheme must obviously have the previous consent of the Moslem League and other important minorities and of representatives of the subjects of the States. British interests are justiciable interests and could be settled fairly and equitably by an impartial tribunal like the Chief Justice of the Federal Court. If Paramountcy is allowed to become an Indian concern as suggested already, and if the Princes are told that autocracy has to cease, and that the smaller States must combine into larger units, the question of the status of the Princes in Federal India although complex, is capable of settlement. Any justiciable questions such as Customs might be referred to the above impartial tribunal. The only remaining problem is that of Defence, which is a matter for settlement by mutual agreement.

Thus, instead of condemning a constituent Assembly outright, it seems to be wiser to agree to the idea in principle, provided the manner of overcoming the inherent difficulties is also suggested by those who have made the proposal.

A gesture of this kind will at once take the wind out of the sails of England's enemies and critics, and will also make it a function of the Congress which is admittedly the most important political organisation, to come to terms with other parties and interests. Such a course will not in the slightest degree affect any vital interest of Great Britain.

As the most powerful person in India has become an advocate of the Constituent Assembly, I am unable to think of any other solution. What the result would be, I can guess—but my point is that it is not a difficult matter to put on his mettle or defence the great Saint and politician of India.

It would probably be sufficient, as a matter of practical politics to ask Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah whether they could agree concerning the constitution and method of functioning of the proposed Assembly and to propose a time-limit for such agreement. In all probability this very first hurdle will bring down this favourite of the Congress. If that should be the case, there are other alternatives mentioned below, which are open to Government. After making it quite clear that Dominion Status would be established, and steps taken thereto as soon as there is agreement between Hindus and Moslems, the Congress might be given the option of two alternatives,—*viz.*, to agree to Coalition governments in all the Provinces and a Coalition Cabinet at the Centre—the two ideas are constitutionally related the one to the other; or to resume office as Congress governments but after agreeing to co-operate in the prosecution of the war, and agreeing also to serve, along with members of other parties and representatives of the Princes in a War Cabinet at the Centre; this Cabinet being responsible for all war measures and for Defence. Such a Cabinet could also sit together for framing a Dominion constitution for India.

Should Gandhiji fail to come to an agreement with Mr. Jinnah concerning the Constituent Assembly and should the Congress decline to agree to either of the other two alternatives, all reasonable men in India would, it is hoped, come to the conclusion that the Congress is determined to be a totalitarian party in India. And perhaps, in several of the Congress provinces, it might be possible after *re-election*, to establish coalition governments commanding a stable majority—provided that leaders are forthcoming to explain clearly to the electors that failure to adopt a reasonable and commonsense attitude and to vote for candidates who wish to co-operate in winning the war, would show up Indian voters as not possessing the mental discipline which is necessary for Democracy. It is easy to follow Hitler or Stalin or Gandhiji blindly. It is much more difficult to cultivate self-discipline and co-operation of equally free and self-respecting minds.

The Congress Ministries, although they have been eminently successful, have not exhibited the real democratic spirit in the matter of tolerance for other views, or respect for the leaders of the opposition. In spite of assertions to the contrary, it is a moot point whether Congress leaders are really democratically minded. The essence of that mind is to ascribe to the other fellow an equal capacity for political thinking and political action as for oneself. I cannot conceive of Abraham Lincoln, John Bright, W. E. Gladstone, or even Lloyd George and Ramsay MacDonald, giving utterance to the following sentiment, "The Congress becomes a non-violent army in war-time In this capacity it has no voting power. Its will is expressed by the General whoever he may be. Every unit has to tender him willing obedience in thought, word and deed. Yes, even in thought since the fight is non-violent." These words are apt for Hitler and Stalin if violent is substituted for non-violent. It is the sum and substance of the totalitarian ideology. Satyagraha is difficult to understand in spite of many explanations, but if it included obedience in thought to any single person it stands self-condemned.

These observations are only of the nature of feelers towards Peace. Other and better suggestions could always be made by competent persons; but I hope it has been shown that it is possible to get a move on without in any manner infringing the domain of righteousness.

Congress leaders as practical men ought to realize that after England wins the war without support from them, and without co-operation in the manner indicated above or in any other manner, their prestige and leverage for bargaining with the British would be very greatly lessened.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EDUCATION IN HYDERABAD.

(By A. Padmanabha Iyer, Trivandrum).

The Director of Public Instruction in the Nizam's Dominions has just released a report on the working of his Department during the year 1347 F (1937-38 A. D.), an elaborate document dealing with all branches. He has started a new line by taking up such subjects as the education of the deaf, the dumb and the blind, the children of the nomadic hill tribes and the depressed classes and also for the eradication of malnutrition among school children.

The total number of schools of all kinds during the year was 5,131 as against 4,768 in the previous year, and the number of scholars was 3,81,018 as against 3,67,768. In addition to these there were 889 private schools with 24,777 pupils, as against 872 schools and 24,337 scholars in the preceding year. It will be thus seen that there were on the whole 6,028 schools with 4,05,795 pupils as against 5,640 schools and 3,92,605 scholars in the previous year. In the Dominions there is a serious obstacle in the way of educational progress. There is a large area of 25,000 square miles of territory, or nearly one-third of the total area of the State, under the jurisdiction of Jagirs, Samasthanams and Paighas. This is a backward tract of country where no serious efforts are made to spread education. The serious nature of the problem is best understood when it is stated that out of 5,132 schools only 108 schools are situated in this area which has a population of three millions or more than one-fifth of the entire population of the State. In other words, while in those parts of the Dominions for which the Department is directly responsible as far as education is concerned there is one school for every 17 square miles, the areas covered by jaghirs, Samasthanams and paighas have one school for every 231 square miles. When, therefore, one takes into account the *educacional condition of Hyderabad*, this drag on the State Department of Education has to be considered. It is all the more surprising when one recognises the fact that this area is inhabited by landed magnates who ought to be able to find the money necessary for bringing about a higher percentage of literacy. The percentage of scholars under instruction to the population of school-going age was 18·7, as against 18·1 in 1346 F, that of boys being 31·6 and that of girls 5·3.

The State has a population of two lakhs of wandering hill tribes among whom literacy is nil. As the children belonging to these classes move about from place to place with their parents who do not settle down permanently anywhere, the hope of bringing them under the influence of ordinary schools has to be given up. At the same time the Department has taken measures to educate them. Inspectors have been asked to collect information and report on the types of these wandering tribes, their mode of living, their means of livelihood, etc, with a view, if possible, to provide special facilities for the children of these classes. After obtaining the necessary information, the Department proposes to prepare a scheme for providing either a special type of school or a band of itinerant teachers for the education of children belonging to these nomadic tribes.

The number of children in the primary section of the Department has increased to such an extent as to necessitate the separation of this section from High Schools so as afford better control and supervision. In pursuance of the policy laid down by Government, the Department has been endeavouring to expand primary education as far as possible, while, in the realm of secondary education, it has been directing its efforts towards improving the existing secondary schools.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: 9, Bakehouse Lane, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Nasik).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(„ „).
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Shiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahals).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	„ „
Kalyan	(„ „).	Akluj	(District Sholapur).

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
Prof. V. G. Kale.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar,
S. N. Jamdar, Esq.,
K. M. Thakor, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq.,
D. J. Zunjarrao, Esq.
Rao Saheb V. C. Jadhav.
D. V. Potdar, Esq.
V. S. Basawanal, Esq.
S. T. More, Esq.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co., Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, t is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma : —

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,

SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd

PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office : KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY DECEMBER 2, 1939. No. 14

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Europe the Key Continent.
Britain and Imperialism.
The Sinking of the Rawalpindi.
Sidelights on Burma.
Moscow Over Finland.
Communist-Imperialism.
British Administration in India.
World Politics.
When East and West did not Meet.
The Refugee Problem.
Vaishnava Caste Marks.
Swords to Ploughs.
Kamala Nehru Memorial.

NOTES.

Europe, the Key Continent :—In his reply in the House of Commons to Mr. Attlee who desired that the benefits gained from the war should be extended to Asia and Africa as well as to Europe, and in his broadcast on Sunday last, the Prime Minister, maintained that peace in Europe was the first and primary object of the War. The extension of the scope of the war as desired by the Leader of the Opposition to Asia and Africa, would entail the Allies taking upon themselves the obligation to restore the independence of Ethiopia and the expulsion of Japan from China. But the Prime Minister did not, of course, urge these practical difficulties against Mr. Attlee's suggestion. And there is India. He argued that Europe was the key continent and the establishment of stable conditions in Europe was, therefore, their immediate purpose. Would the establishment or rather re-establishment of the Concert of Europe be any more beneficial to the rest of the world or to Europe itself than it was during the one hundred years prior to the last War? We are afraid that Mr. Chamberlain is in for a great disillusionment. In the last analysis the causes of the present war are to be traced to the rivalry of the European nations in Asia and Africa. Europe as a whole is not self-sufficient. It has to draw its sustenance from the two great continents and she must do so by trade or coercion. All through the last century and still to no small extent, Europe gets her requirements through coercion, open and veiled. She is able to do so because up to now she has the practical monopoly of the manufacture, and skill in the use, of the weapons of destruction—bombing planes, submarines, poison gas. Japan has caught up with her and others will do so in time. To the non-European onlooker the deepest interest of the present European conflict lies in the way in which the barriers between races and continents are being broken down. General Franco had Moorish troops to help him to crush the Spanish Republicans. France has a large number of Algerian and other African soldiers fighting on the Western Front against another White race. Indian troops are in Egypt and in the last war they were the first to rush to the defence of Paris. What is more, Soviet Russia is extending her arms on one side to Finland and on the other to Central Asia and the Pacific, and doing so absolutely without any distinction of race, colour or creed. Through war and bloodshed, God's great purpose, the unification of the human race, is being fulfilled against man's obstinacy. The Federation of the World which the Poet foresaw as the sequel to "the nations' aerial navies grappling in the central blue," is being earnestly discussed on a hundred platforms and in a score of books. The British Prime Minister, however, prefers not to look beyond his nose. There is a certain simplicity, not to say naivete, in his plan to make a better world by expelling the bullying mentality out of Europe.

Britain and Imperialism :—In his famous speech on the Congress demand in the House of Commons, Sir Samuel Hoare made the startling but welcome declaration that the Conservative Party had abandoned Imperialism long ago. A few days later, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in a broadcast to the Colonies repeated the assurance with the saving clause, "if we ever had it." Both these Ministers, it is clear, had a definite idea of what Imperialism is when they repudiated it. The Prime Minister this week professed that he did not know what Imperialism was. Mr. Neville Chamberlain proceeded tentatively to supply a definition. If, he said,

> Imperialism means the assertion of racial superiority, if it means the suppression of political and economic freedom of other peoples, if it means the exploitation of resources by other countries for the benefit of an Imperialist country, then I say that those are not the characteristics of this country (cheers), but they are the characteristics of the present administration in Germany.

Mr. Chamberlain's definition is right so far as it goes. But it is not exhaustive. Anyhow everybody understands what Imperialism means except Mr. Chamberlain, and he has less reason than others for his ignorance because he began his distinguished career in Jamaica or some other West Indian colony which is neither geographically nor ethnically a part of Great Britain. But there is a certain force in his contention, if that was what he meant, that *Imperialism is a German and not a British product. Britain,*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

however, borrowed it from Germany. When on his return from the Berlin Congress, Lord Beaconsfield proposed to embellish the British Crown by adding to it the Imperial title in order to keep it on a level with the dignity of the then recently created German Emperor, Mr. Gladstone vehemently protested against the change as being alien and repugnant to the genius and traditions of the British people. In passing, is it Mr. Chamberlain's intention to drop the Imperial title which applies only to India and not to the Dominions nor even to the Colonies? Perhaps, Mr. Chamberlain has heard of a poet-novelist named Rudyard Kipling and his famous song, about "The White Man's Burden." Mr. Chamberlain's profession of ignorance of what Imperialism was and his repudiation of it as having any concern with Great Britain, was received with applause by the House of Commons. Let us hope that this German product will be completely cast out of the British system into which it was imported about sixty years ago against the protest of the greatest English statesman of the Victorian era.

The Sinking of the "Rawalpindi":—The appointment of Mr. Winston Churchill to the Admiralty was expected to produce great results. He has been in office for more than three months and still in the operations on the seas the Germans have not been deprived of all initiative. The latest tragedy is the sinking of the "Rawalpindi," a converted passenger ship engaged in patrol work in the Arctic Ocean to prevent contraband goods from being carried to enemy ports. Except for 30, the whole crew of 300 went down with the ship. The "Rawalpindi" was attacked by two German warships one of which was the pocket battleship "Deutschland" which was heard of not long ago as prowling one time near the South American and at another near the South African coast. The behaviour of the Rawalpindi may be applauded as heroic or criticised as fool-hardy according to individual proclivities. She sighted the "Deutschland" six miles away and knew at once that she was at a disadvantage as the German guns had a longer range than her own. Instead, however, of trying to increase the distance between herself and the enemy ship, the "Rawalpindi" deliberately moved closer so as to get the latter within range of her own guns. While the fight was fierce, another German ship appeared on the scene and opened fire on the "Rawalpindi." Caught between the two fires, there was no hope now. The U-boat menace has been controlled but the Germans have started sowing what are called "magnetic mines" which are attracted towards ships near neutral coasts. The sinking of the "Rawalpindi" by this daring raider shows that the First Lord of the Admiralty has not still full control of the situation, or that he is no longer the dynamic personality that he was reputed to be.

Sidelights on Burma:—Interesting sidelights on conditions in Burma were thrown in a paper read by Mr. Burton Leach and the discussion which followed thereon at the East India Association in London last June. Mr. Burton Leach is a former Chief Secretary to the Government of Burma who on retirement became a member of the Rangoon non-official European community and one of their principal spokesmen. His paper was headed "Autonomy on trial in Burma," to which Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham right took exception. Autonomy might have collapsed in Burma as some of the other speakers, and the facts, collected in Mr. Leach's paper, suggested But there was nothing else to take its place. Sir Geoffrey, who is a Bombay man, was inspired by the inveterate Bombay optimism to regard the troubles described by the lecturer as "growing pains." He added, "We ought to be careful to avoid saying or doing anything which might give the impression to our Burmese friends that we are sabre-rattling." The lecturer, and practically all the speakers, agreed that the "political monk" was the most serious factor in Burma's politics. Two Ministers had expressly stated that their conduct in accepting and resigning office was due to clerical pressure. Sir Id. Lloyd asserted that each political party in Burma had an ecclesiastical caucus behind it to dictate its platform and methods. The Burman was a happy-go-lucky individual, that is to say he did not, as his European critics did, regard money-making as the be-all and end-all of life. One of the speakers had the candour to observe that in the same conditions which obtained in Burma, a fertile soil and a slow-going population Englishmen would not have been more money minded than the Burmans. Another speaker contrasted the high birthrate in India with the low one in Burma. Mr. Abraham asked if the lecturer could explain the difference between over-populated India and comfortably populated Burma. Mr. Leach pleaded that he could not. There was a difference of opinion among the speakers as to whether Burmans were capable of working democratic institutions. While some, including the lecturer, were inclined to think that they were not, Mr. Abraham advanced the paradox that this was because Burma was the most democratic, in the sense of equalitarian, country in the world. There were no castes as in India and no classes as in England. With comparatively few exceptions, all Burmans had much the same level of education, wealth and standard of living. There was, therefore, no cleavage between the "haves" and the "have nots," Mr. Abraham added, which would normally form the basis of the Party system. Parliamentary democracy can not work where here is social equality!

Moscow Over Finland:—In her aggression on Finland, Soviet Russia has brought into play every political weapon she could lay hold of drawing from the Nazis, the Fascists and in parody, Mr. Chamberlain. The Soviet press initiated last week a campaign of attack on the heads of the Finnish State which, if it was more restrained than the language used by Nazi propagandists in the past, was infinitely more deadly in so far as it poured ridicule on the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

present Finnish leaders. One of the charges against the Finnish Premier was that he was playing the buffoon. At the same time M. Molotov uttered a last word on the night of November 29, in which, picking the best plums of Mr. Chamberlain's war speeches, he blandly announced that he had no quarrel with the Finnish people but that it was utterly beyond Russian endurance to bear with the present Government and that any military action Russia might be forced into would be with a view to setting up a better Government in Finland with which peace terms could be settled to the advantage of both peoples. As an inducement he held out the promise that with a friendly Finnish Government, Russia was prepared to go more than half-way; Russia, he asserted, was even prepared to unite the Finns in Russian territory with their "blood-brothers" in Finland in an independent national State. In the face of the existing Government's obstinacy, M. Molotov regretted that Moscow had to break off all diplomatic relations with her small neighbour. Eight hours after the speech, on Thursday morning at eight, Russian troops marched against Finland while her air force raided Helsinski and other towns, and the Soviet navy prepared for action. Following the historic Fascist example of Wal-Wal, the Soviet official agency justified the invasion on the ground of three frontier incidents, at 2 a. m., 3 a. m., and 4 a. m. on Thursday when Soviet outposts where "attacked" by Finnish troops. Finland reacted to the first attacks with a strengthened determination to resist, the Parliament expressing by a unanimous vote its complete confidence in the Cabinet and the Government resolving to function until the destruction of its members in Helsinski itself. A second air raid, however, brought about a changed attitude in the Cabinet. As we go to press, news comes through that the Cabinet has resigned in the hope that a new Government will be able to negotiate with Finland's powerful neighbour. As one reads this one remembers that not so long ago Dr. Schuschnigg of Austria gave way to Herr Hitler on the understanding that a pro-Nazi Government in Vienna could alone preserve an independent Austria; that to preserve Czechoslovak independence Dr. Benes had made way for Dr. Hachha. One remembers too that both sacrifices were in vain. It remains to be seen how far exactly the Soviet State will follow in the footsteps of its Nazi preceptor.

Communist-Imperialism :– The attitude of Soviet Russia must be perplexing to a good many people, particularly to those who had concluded from the abandonment of "world revolution" that the Russian Government wanted nothing so much as to live peacefully with its neighbours. There must be a certain ironic satisfaction, however, to the surviving Trotskyites in contemplating this further confirmation of Trotsky's suspicion that M. Stalin disguises an incapacity for original thought by appropriating the schemes of his more brilliant colleagues after first destroying them. But the new technique is different from anything which Trotsky conceived and Herr Hitler has put into operation so successfully. That was to intervene in the affairs of a foreign country on behalf of an ideological, racial or national minority and often on the "invitation" of such a minority. The Stalin method goes further: It is intervention not so much on behalf of, as for the good of, the people of a foreign country who are not particularly willing to have such intervention. In the case of Poland there was at least the semblance of freeing the workers from economic exploitation. Finland, however, shares with other Scandinavian countries a high economic standard and has no need for Moscow help in adjusting inequalities. Here the naked imperialism of the present Soviet policy is clearly revealed, the suggestion that Moscow knows better and has more closely at heart the good of the Finnish people than her own leaders. We know that indiscriminate admirers of the Soviet State will have many extenuating circumstances to set forth. That it is not possible for Soviet Russia, nor is it right on our part to expect, her to maintain a higher international standard than her capitalist neighbours; that had the other countries not excommunicated the Soviet State, there would have been no need now for Russia to protect herself against possible aggression; and that Finland by her very suspicions in the past has been led into anti-Soviet policies. We are not concerned with these nor with the unrelenting critics of the Russian regime who always saw the worst even when it was not there. They both after all have some consolation in the thought that Russia is no better or worse than other capitalist States. It is those who had expected Russia to advance new standards in international relations and who now see the abandonment in this part of the world of all claims to idealism, whose loss is really great. And there is more than the mere fact of territorial accessions. Even if Russia now withdraws, after the Finnish gesture, from her compaign, she cannot get over the fact that her Government sanctioned a punitive expedition against the Finnish people. Italy stands on her admission for the restoration of Imperial Rome. Nazi Germany looks solely to setting up the German people as supreme on earth, Herr Hitler having repeatedly repudiated any responsibility to non-German races. But it is a peculiarly tragic spectacle to see the Soviet State, which declares its undying interest in the workers of the world, launching air raids on the capital of another State because it cannot have its own way with it. If Soviet Russia had really the Finnish people at heart, military action would never have been resorted to, much less on the flimsiest of pretexts. The Finnish Cabinet, on the other hand, would seem to have subordinated their first inclination to resist aggression, to their natural anxiety to avert a calamity from Finnish homes.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, December 2, 1939.

BRITISH ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA.

One of the ablest and most devoted men who have served India was Sir William Meyer. He was Finance Member of the Government of India when the last war broke out and his strenuous resistance to the pressure brought to bear on the Government of India for war contributions by his co-religionist, the late Mr. Edwin Montagu, then Secretary of State for India, also a warm friend of India in his own way, was well-known. He was promoted first High Commissioner for India in London and died a tragic death through being run over by a heavy vehicle. In his last Will he bequeathed to the University of Madras in which he took a deep interest since his early service in that Presidency, an endowment of a lectureship on problems of Indian administration. The Sir William Meyer Lectures for 1936-37 were delivered by Professor M. Rutnaswami. They have been published in a single volume* under the caption, "Some Influences that made the British Administrative System in India." The lectures reveal a vast amount of research into neglected sources and much reflection on their significance. No tribute will be too high to pay to the conscientious and accurate studies which are embodied in this volume. The title is rather forbidding but we suspect that Professor Rutnaswami purposely refrained from giving a more catching title to his work as he might have easily done. The lectures were meant for post-graduate students who are themselves engaged in similar research and a sensational title would have repelled rather attracted them to the book. The six lectures relate to the Commercial Origin of the Administration, the Army in relation to the Administration, Land Revenue as Maker of the Administration, the Hold of the Frontier, the State made by the Administration, and Social and Political Ideas forged by the Administration. There is finally an Epilogue in which Professor Rutnaswami attempts a dip into the future. The origin of the East India Company and of the British rule in this country as commercial concerns, are familiar to every school-boy. Professor Rutnaswami's opinion that "the commercial motive influenced the course of English policy and administration from the beginning till almost the end," however, is open to question. By "the end," of course, he means the end of the East India Company. Surely long before 1858, the Company's Government had forgotten its commercial origin and was in a fair way to establish itself as a national government. Elphinstone, Munro and Malcolm never thought of themselves as commercial agents. On the contrary, these men were the strongest protagonists of fostering Indian trade and industry and making India self-sufficient in matters of administration. The fundamental error of Mr. Rutnaswami's treatment of British rule is that he fails to see that, although it began as a foreign and commercial enterprise, it had, at the earliest moment possible after the period of consolidation, begun to link up with Indian life. "The plan I have proposed" wrote Elphinstone of his scheme based on the Panchayats, "has many obvious and palpable defects, and many more will no doubt appear when its operations are fully observed. It has this advantage, that it leaves unimpaired the institutions, the opinions and the feelings that have hitherto kept the community together; and that, as its fault is meddling too little, it may be gradually remedied by interfering when urgently required." Elphinstone felt, writes Forrest, that the object of the conquerors ought not to be to destroy the native system, but to take measures to remove the abuses and revive its energy. Elphinstone and the school of statesmen who laid the foundations of the Indian Empire, realised that political institutions and social usages which had lasted for centuries could not be entirely devoid of merit. Their great endeavour was, in the words of Elphinstone, "to show the people that they are to expect no change but in the better administration of their former laws." To those of us who insist that the educational system was primarily intended to produce clerks, may be commended Elphinstone's insistence on the obligation of the rulers "to raise the natives by education and public trust to a level with their present rulers." The influence of this school which may be aptly called that of Indian nationalism, continued to dominate the administration up to the last days of the Company. Macaulay himself belonged to the school. Writing soon after the transfer of the Government from the Company to the Crown, Sir Henry Maine said that the theory has always been that India *is* ruled according to her own ideas. In view of these authoritative declarations it is startling to read Professor Rutnaswani's assertion that the British Indian administrator had nothing to guide him and had to evolve principles from his own inner consciousness as it reacted to the circumstances around him. The Professor observes :—

> Cut off by physical and intellectual distance from the main currents of European thought, with noses hold to the grind-stone of the most detailed and complicated administration of the world, called upon to the administration of an alien people whose ideas and constitutional modes were not his own, it was no wonder that the English administrator in India has had to rely on Indian facts and circumstances to teach him the ideas that were necessary to supply the motive power of the administrative machinery that he had set up in India.

Professor Rutnawsami forgets that the Indian administration was taken up as a going concern by the British. Lord Hailey in a recent address in London on India said that the British found in India institutions similar to those to which

*Luzac and Co., London, Price, Rs. 10.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

they were accustomed in their own land. The men who built up the Empire when they were "cut off by physical and intellectual distance from Europe," did not seek for any theories to import from abroad. They found that the best guidance they could have was from the ideas and institutions of the country itself. The administrator who starts with abstract theories which have no relation to local conditions, is sure to share the fate of King Amanullah of Afghanistan. When the Indian administrator ceased to be cut off by physical and intellectual distance from Europe, British rule changed its character and became an economic imperialism. Against the last act of the transition, the whole Government of India protested and the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, resigned. But this is another story.

WORLD POLITICS.

A welcome innovation in political publications is the 3d. series started by the Oxford University Press under the general title, "Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs." The first thirteen of these have been released to the public and the range of subject is from politics to socio-economic questions. The treatment has been, as far as it is possible with such controversial subjects as the Treaty of Versailles and the future of Civilisation, general and on the whole optimistic. In the first of the series Sir Alfred Zimmern discusses "The Prospects of Civilization." He deplores the general pessimism of the day and seeks a readjustment of mental attitudes. He divides the problems of international relations into three groups, the moral, the political and the economic. In the first field he argues that the advance in communications and the multiplication of contacts has made it more difficult to bring moral standards to bear on men and women than under the older conditions; that the recognition of a "Christian" standard in the international sphere was more general even twenty years ago and there was some shame in openly transgressing it; and that in politics, as in medicine, there is an etiquette by which the moral life of the individual is adjusted to politics. All these statements are but part of the reality. If the advance of communications has made the application of moral standards difficult, it has also thrown the white light of publicity on the acts of rulers. It is not for nothing that press and radio scream forth denials and charges and counter-charges almost every day; the moral judgment of the world is today in a stronger position to express itself. If the Christian standard is not so generally accepted today, there is, to balance this, the diminution in numbers and importance in the present War of the priest who blessed his country's soldiers as they went out to fight. Medical etiquette is not the unmixed good Sir Alfred would have us think it is. In America and in Britain there are already experiments in medical service which go beyond the rules of etiquette and are looked down upon by orthodox medical practitioners. Business morality is a term which has grown to be as opprobrious as the politician's honesty. Though one does not agree with Sir Alfred's arguments, one must accept his conclusion that the gap between promise and performance must be closed and every effort must be directed to this end. The next aspect, the economic, is one of adjustment. Sir Alfred visualises the problem as one of primitive man in the modern world. Here the question as he sees it is, what is the smallest change that is necessary for the average man to reap the benefits of the present age. And then he ends on the political problem, the immediate one of settling with Germany. Sir Alfred wrote in June and he seems to have foreseen the inevitability of this war. "Then," he says, "the process of rational and neighbourly discussion can be resumed between the peoples of Europe, great and small." Sir Alfred is rather tired of German aggressiveness which in the past eighty years has already waged four European wars—has Britain a poorer record?—and wishes to settle this "chronic condition." From the phrase he uses "political immaturity," one is led to infer that the next treaty in his opinion will succeed only if the German people pass through a period of political education under the Anglo-French political experts. This is a somewhat larger objective than Mr. Chamberlain's modest one to overthrow Hitlerism; it is in fact something approaching very near Hitlerism itself. We cannot see in what other way Europe can ensure that Germany will be administered in a manner contrary to her traditions.

* * *

In pamphlet No. 6 on "The Fourteen Points and the Treaty of Versailles," Mr. G. M. Gathorne Hardy considers the first attempt to "educate" Germany politically. Mr. Gathorne-Hardy's contention that the Treaty of Versailles is not as black as it is painted, is based not on the argument that the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk imposed by Germany on Russia was worse but on the thesis that it did not differ materially from the Fourteen Points of Wilson. In proving this, the author has adopted the doubtful expedient of bringing down the Fourteen Points to the level of the Versailles Treaty. On some of the Points, Mr. Gathorne-Hardy claims that President Wilson himself modified his earlier idealism on grounds of impracticability, thereby granting absolution to the Allies. It is poor consolation to victims of the Treaty to know that the originator of the idea of a better peace himself approved of certain departures from his basic demands. At the same time the writer confers a certain rigidity on the Versailles Treaty by absolving it from the sins of the many departures from its terms which its framers tolerated. In other words, the framers of the Versailles Treaty brought about the de-idealisation of the Fourteen Points before the Treaty and after it they went on to ignore the inconvenient sections of the Treaty. The pamphlet has a value for its clarification of ideas on the subject, provided the reader is careful to draw the distinction that the arguments advanced are not in justification of the consequences of that peace-making.

* * * *

From Sir Alfred Zimmern's survey it is an easy transition to Mr. H. V. Hodson's "The British Empire," the second in the series. Mr. Hodson's view of the Empire is a rosy one. Mr. Hodson hurries the India skeleton back into the cupboard after a brief mention that there is autonomy in the provinces. There is a remark on race which is not altogether justified by facts. Mr. Hodson after saying that the United Kingdom does not discriminate on grounds of race or colour in regard to the entry of British subjects, and that the Dominions do in some cases prohibit non-white peoples (and in others treat them brutally), points out that the race problem will grow more acute as the non-white races rise to self-governing status and expresses his opinion that their existence within the British Empire is a help to a solution of the race problem. Mr. Hodson specially mentions India. It is possible he has reasons for holding this

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

opinion. But it has been mentioned more than once by Indians in South Africa, for example, that the Japanese are able to get better treatment out of the Union Government than Indian fellow-subjects of the British Empire. Mr. Hodson is on surer ground when he writes :

> The British Empire is far from perfect. It has come into being through historical events not all of which were creditable. The policies of its members in economic, political, racial, and colonial affairs are doubtless often open to criticism—criticism which they are constantly undergoing from its own citizens, individually or by way of their press, parliaments, and institutions. Through all its affairs blows the keen and cleansing wind of democracy, based on freedom of speech, of the press, and of association. These are the fundamentals of the British Empire way of life. If they were to go it would not matter that the Empire was physically strong or economically prosperous; for it would have abandoned its message and lost its value for the world.

One can understand that this is sufficient for a subject who is in the United Kingdom. For the rest, the further question arises does the system permit of national, peaceful growth from dependency to nationhood.

* * *

Mr. Julian Huxley in No. 5, "Race in Europe," spoils an otherwise admirable exposure of the Race myth by his hesitation in rejecting the exclusive policies of Australia and America. He writes :

> So long as nationalist ideas, even in modified form, continue to dominate the world scene, the large scale segregation of areas, each developing its own general type of culture, may be the policy to pursue. If unrestricted immigration seems likely to upset such a policy, restriction is justifiable, as with Asiatic races in Australia and the United States. But do not let us in such cases make it a question of 'race', or become mystical on the subject, or justify ourselves on false biological grounds.

We do not think that a policy of persecution becomes any the more justifiable if it is undertaken on the ground that it interferes with the programme of a particular State than it is when it it is unscientifically directed against a "race." Mr. Huxley advocates a surrender of national sovereign rights as a cure for Europe's race problems. It is significant that he does not suggest a world-wide application of his remedy. Mr. Huxley's pamphlet is otherwise a convincing answer to the race politician of the day.

* * * *

From this exposure of the ideas underlying the policy of race-nationalism followed in Germany to the thirteenth pamphlet, "The Refugee Question" by Sir John Hope Simpson, is a logical transition. Sir John gives the result of Nazi policy and political persecution in Germany and elsewhere. Sir John's contribution is an objective one written unemotionally and it is invaluable as a suggestive record of the different steps taken to meet the problem. There are certain questions which arise out of the treatment of refugees in the countries in which they seek protection, which Sir John just hints at the close without dwelling on them. He asks why countries which suffer, for example, from a shortage of school-children should not take in the refugee children to make good the population lag. The obverse of this immediately occurs to any reader: What are those countries which are, all honour to them, so willing to help the refugee doing to remedy social inequalities and economic want in their own people? How does, again, Canada or Australia which have denied entry to Asiatic members of the same Empire with the same loyalties, now take in Central European refugees? There is another point. Sir John refers to the advantages gained by a country which takes in refugees. "The welcome," he writes, "extended by France to Russian and Armenian refugees has been repaid by the work done by them in the heavy industries" There is always the danger that that which is given in charity is often inferior to what is given as an obligation. It is the task of modern governments to see that too much is not expected from the gratitude of the refugee-citizen.

* * * *

An outstanding pamphlet in the series is the third one, R. C. K. Ensor on "Mein Kampf," an expanded report of his speech at Chatham House in May. The public in India is more familiar now than it was two years ago with the theories of Adolf Hitler but still the published accounts are one-sided. Mr. Ensor gives his readers, many of whom will have little inclination to go to the original book, a brief idea of the mainspring of Hitler's policies. There is a passage which will be read with special interest in India where we are witnessing a similar reaction in our national movement to the evils of city life. It runs :

> He is at heart country-bred; his hatred for what he saw and suffered in working-class Vienna is blistering; he regards great cities and factories as man-eaters, farms and craft-trades as man-makers. Beyond the industries required to provide war-material, he does not want any more than will create an autarkic reciprocity between town and country, each deriving all that it needs from the other and consuming the whole of the other's output.

WHEN EAST AND WEST DID NOT MEET.

(By Cautious Indian)

An article like the one, "In an Indian Home" published in last week's *Reformer*, loses a good deal of its importance owing to the writer's reticence. We have also not the other side of the case. For all her seeming frankness, "Suzanne Marye" has suppressed a good deal, no doubt out of consideration for her hosts. The inferences one can make are few. She had more than one host, though only one person emerges clearly out of her article, her friend; there is one servant—at the least—and a cook; a driver—since there is a car and the hostess-friend is able to say, "The car is back"; and a family cat. For the furniture, one plush chair and presumably more than one; a dining table; a table in the guest's room; a bed perhaps; a cupboard in the kitchen. The house has two floors. The bathroom is equipped in Indian style and a spartan one at that, with buckets of hot and cold water and a heavy brass lota. The guest had taken with her, we know for certain, one bottle of milk of magnesia. It should not be difficult to locate the town, since it has a theatre—"Suzanne Marye" actually mentions more than one theatre and many cinemas in her second paragraph, though she describes only one visit—in which the language used is polished Urdu; a lunatic asylum and a river. Even the tea tells a tale. Down South the drink would have been coffee. In Bombay the tea would have been strong and hot, not weak and tepid except in some obscure districts; and this the town certainly is not with its cinemas and its lunatic asylum. "Suzanne Marye's" reactions to the "cool marble slab" in the bathroom give us approximately the season—obviously cold weather.

I turn from the properties to the characteristics of the "Indian home." The hosts are not orthodox

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or "Suzanne Marye" would not have found herself among them. They are not westernised in their ways, or else one might assume that there would have been a bath tub to delight the heart of their guest. They do not stint themselves in matters that concern a guest—*e. g.*, the motor car, probably hired for the stay, the "lot of money" they spend to entertain one week-end Western guest. Yet living as they do in a city where it would not be difficult to fit up a comfortable bathroom, they do not seem to have provided for more than one bucket of hot water and one of cold. "Suzanne Marye" has allowed her horror at the marble slab to overcome her objective outlook. She does not mention the inevitable tap and surely the brass lota must have been less heavy than it looked. Europeans feel in their first contact with metal vessels that they must be unliftable. Had "Suzanne Marye" put her fears to the test she would have had a bath and faced the world more cheerfully. I wonder what her hostess must have thought when she saw the still full buckets of hot and cold water after the guest's "bath." As for the coldness of the slab, may I give a word of advice to those who might want to sit on it? One lotaful of hot water at the most, poured on the slab before settling down on it should suffice to keep the slab comfortable until it has taken on the body's heat. Those who question this, need not sit on the stab at all. The etiquette of the Indian bath does not compel one to sit on cold slabs.

Then as regards the food. The times for eating are perplexing in the extreme. Breakfast at ten o'clock for the guest, presumably earlier for the rest of the house; and certainly for "Suzanne Marye" and her hostess a long wait till three-thirty in the afternoon; tea any time between 3-45 and 4-30; and dinner not ready till near ten. The attitude of the hostess towards food seems neither Indian nor Western. No Indian would conceivably permit, much less compel, anyone to bathe immediately on top of a meal, there being a deep-rooted superstition against it. Still more inexplicable is the hostess' suggestion that rather than be late for the theatre they should skip the night meal. The Indian weakness is to overfeed a guest. Had "Suzanne Marye" been in a typical Indian home which was not used to the peculiarities of a Western guest, she would have had to go back time and again to her milk of magnesia but never to the kitchen cupboard for three tomatoes. By the way, the fact that there were just three tomatoes again the next day or rather night, indicates that the cook did believe it was an evil spirit which had eaten up the first three and had put in another lot to avert mischief.

At first thought one is inclined to think that the house to which the two friends went, was a picnic place—a house rigged up for the week-end. But then the incident would scarcely happen in the heart of a city,—the house is only fifteen minutes away from a theatre. As one discards this explanation, another, more possible one, takes its place: It seems very much as if "Suzanne Marye" is confusing two distinct experiences. The clapping of hands to call the servants, the indifference to the guest's hunger, have been imbibed from club gossip with fellow Europeans. The bathroom, the efforts to get something ready which might prove palatable to the foreign guest, the whole household upset out of its normal eating hours, belong to an actual visit. The first has the authentic club-room touch of lavish but incompetent hospitality which is rather fashionable since Aldous Huxley set down his impressions. The second is pure middle-class. If one reads the article in this light, it is understandable.

In the relations between the Indian girl and the French, there is much that is only explicable on the ground that the effusions of the Occidental,—there are two "dear's" in the conversation, both used by "Suzanne Marye"—gave the Indian girl the impression that they were better known to each other than they actually were. The general complaint of Europeans is that Indians are rather reluctant to ask them to their homes, however friendly they might be. If this Indian girl did so, she did it under the impression that it was more than a question of knowing each other "fairly well." On the other hand, the Frenchwoman took it as just another conventional invitation in which no one need get in the other's way. The Indian girl saw her mistake and tried to live up to her friend's conception. Then again the impression does strike one that, having invited her friend, the Indian hostess found either that her relations at home did not want to meet the friend or that she did not want her friend to see too much of, or be seen too much by, them. So she kept her out of the house as long as she could and, when she couldn't, kept them out of "Suzanne Marye's" way. This is not just the disillusionment of a Western visitor. One feels sorry also for the Indian girl whose impulsive invitation ended so disastrously. Things went wrong from the start and, if that was obvious to "Suzanne Marye," how much more must it have been to her who was evidently trying hard to fit a guest into her home. Had the guest stepped out of her contemplation of her own sorrows and thought a little of her friend's tribulations, the gulf might have been bridged. Water set for the guest's bath—and no bath! An elaborate dinner got ready, and no time to eat it in! And a weary cheerless guest all the time, for surely the hostess must have observed the reactions of her guest.

The moral is plain :—Entertaining is an art and not to be lightly undertaken. Indians who ask foreigners home, might do well to spend the first half-hour of the visit in discreetly pumping their guests on their personal habits. The less discreet the response of the guest, the better for all concerned.

THE REFUGEE PROBLEM.

Although exact figures of the number of refugees who left German territory during 1938 are not available, the report of the High Commissioner for Refugees to be submitted to the Assembly of the League of Nations at its next meeting puts the number at not less than 120,000 and notes that some estimates place it as high as 140,000. Many of these have not yet found a permanent home or obtained permission to earn their own livelihood. Large numbers are in countries of refuge awaiting facilities for emigration, and in Europe alone there are 60,000 persons who are wholly or partly dependent on private organisations for their maintenance. Many in desperation, the report continues, have left Germany for places such as Shanghai, where facilities for employment are quite inadequate for the number who have taken refuge there. At least 60,000 who left German territory in 1938 have found new homes and means of livelihood, being taken into other countries by infiltration, which, in contrast to the settlement of large groups, depends on the absorption of individuals into the various trades and occupations.

The United States of America, and Palestine, Australia and the countries of South America were the main contributors, but there are few places in the world which did not receive some of these unfortunate persons during the past year.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In regard to the possibility of a scheme of settlement in British Guiana, the High Commissioner summarises the position thus: A commission of specialists has reported that the possibilities are sufficiently good to justify the carrying out of experimental settlements and while it did not feel justified in giving any assurance regarding the success of these settlements, it does consider that if they are successful the ultimate prospects of the territory as an area for settlement on a big scale are very large. Practical plans for trial settlement are now being considered by the organisations concerned and, provided that the necessary funds can be raised, it is hoped that a beginning may be made in the near feature.

The High Commissioner concludes his report with a reference to the needs for a fund from which he can from time to time help the private organisations which are concerned with the refugees from Germany. By the decision of the Assembly, he cannot derive direct assistance from his humanitarian funds for refugees, but he is authorised to make allotments among such organisations as he may consider best qualified to administer such help. He points out, however, that urgent cases sometimes arise where immediate financial help would be more satisfactory and promptly performed if he were in a position to make a contribution. In addition, there is great scope for improving and extending the system of training in various countries; but, with the very heavy calls on their resources, the private organisations are unable to give adequate financial assistance, much as they would like to do so. The High Commissioner thinks that the League of Nations would be in a much stronger position to exercise its influence and to extend its part in this great humanitarian work if its representative were able from time to time to give some financial assistance to the private bodies which now have to bear practically the whole of the burden. The High Commissioner pays warm tribute to the magnificent work which these bodies are doing in difficult and depressing circumstances, and he adds that one of the very few redeeming features of the present tragedy is the manner in which thousands of workers are tackling the problem, which tends to increase rather than diminish.

VAISHNAVA CASTE MARKS.

(By N. C. Narsimha Acharya, Bombay.)

I am aware that many orthodox Vaishnavaites ignore a modern social reformer as belonging to a different sect of his own. But the Vaishnava religion itself claims to be a reformist religion broadbased on social uplift and social justice. One can now picture in his mind what must have been the feelings of the then orthodox against whose views the Vaishnava religion itself was started centuries ago. A religion that claims millions of votaries, has necessarily to be viewed from different angles. Such features of it as assume undue importance must necessarily be subjected to timely criticism in this modern age. A social reformer who moves in society, has got to take count of the ugly features that rear their head although he may not please the votaries of a religion by what may be regarded as unnecessary interference.

The South led the way to Vaishnavism which assumed different forms in various parts of the country. The Vaishnava followers of Sri Ramanujacharya have been for long divided into two sects—*viz.*, the Vadagalais and the Thengalais. The Vadagalais are the northern sect and the Thengalais represent the southern sect. They count their adherents by millions throughout India and not merely in the Madras Presidency. The popularity of the Vaishnava religion can be traced to its unique appeal to the heart. The numerous sects and sub-sects professing Vaishnavism having its original root in the South all have this simplicity of its appeal to the heart in common. There is no doubt it is a growing religion. But the votaries of this great religion in the South are divided into two sects. Though in essence and spirit of religion they are one, they regard themselves as enemies on account of superficial differences. Tolerance has for long become conspicuous by its absence amongst them. At present the most outstanding difference is one of external marks. The adherents of the Thengalai sect wear a kind of mark popularly known as the "Y" mark. Those of the Vadagalai sect are distinguished by a mark approximately resembling the shape of "U." These marks have been for centuries the cause of serious differences between them. The other real differences in the essentials of religion have paled into insignificance before them. These marks have assumed an importance which has no parallel in any other province or country. Not a few of the ceaseless battles between the sects have been fought on account of them. They are the cause of an unbridgeable gulf that separates these two sects. Besides physical fights that usually mark processions and other important religious functions associated with the distribution of prasad, tirtha and other honours and emoluments of office in Vaishnava temples, even legal wars have been the order in the British courts of justice. I need not say that fabulous sums have been spent on both sides from time to time.

These wars and feuds show no signs of abatemen On the other hand the external marks perpetuate and prolong them in public places of religion as well as in law courts. Not a few of the Vaishnavas are led to regard these fights as surely a part of religious duty on account of the distinctive marks they are enjoined to wear. They do not care to regard the spirit of religion as of any importance. The only thing of importance for all practical purposes is the caste mark, which feeds and perpetuates the acrimony between them and leads sometimes to unseemly fights.

Whatever justification for these external differences once existed, in these days of modern enlightenment, one can not regard with equanimity the idea of law courts being used for purposes of settling differences between religious sects on the basis of their external marks of religion if other methods of physical violence have not sufficiently answered the purpose of these warring sects. It is a pity that educated Vaishnavas and other legal gentlemen espouse these respective causes and lend the weight of their support to carry these fights to their bitter end. One would wish these differences—if differences they at all are—settled by the force of a healthy public opinion.

The Hindu-Muslim differences are already commencing to be regarded as insurmountable. But the sight of people of the same religion perpetuating differences leading to fights attended with violence and to legal battles in courts of law—the differences being based not in essentials but in subsidiaries and superficial marks—is deplorable indeed. Quite recently leave was applied for and granted by the Madras High Court on behalf of the head of one sect who felt dissatisfied with the decision of the Madras High Court to appeal to the Privy Council therefrom.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There the question was as regards which form of religious songs sung by the votaries of these respective sects should be sung first and which last in the famous Tirupati temple which draws millions of Vaishnavas from all parts of the country. Here again there was no dispute as to the songs themselves but as to which of them should be sung first—one party contending that songs should precede mantras and the other pleading for a vice versa procedure. The highest tribunal of the British Empire is to determine which order is to be followed, the Vaishnavas of both the sects anxiously awaiting the decision in the meanwhile.

The fact which I would like to emphasise, is that the root cause of dispute is of such a superficial character as to originate in the kind of marks these rival sects wear. They are the marks and monuments of religion which eclipse and render nugatory the essentials of religion professed by them and that lead to ceaseless struggle and strife. In short, it is these external marks that constantly relight and fan the flame of bitterness and division between them and make them blind to the realities of the religion professed by them. One should pause at this stage and ask, without meaning any offence to the present day exponents of the tenets of these rival sects, whether they could not in these matters of mere form devise a mark—if a mark they should wear, and it be considered at all necessary—which may be regarded as common to both these sects. Is it not desirable that a joint conference presided over by the respective religious heads, should meet and devise a method whereby such a form may be selected as would appeal to both these warring sects? My view is that enlightened people and the educated people in the modern sense of the world, ought to see before it is too late that these battles over caste marks do end and their efforts lead to a rational way of understanding the essentials of religion.

SWORDS TO PLOUGHS.*

To keep our orientation in a warlike world: Guns can be very very useful to science and industry. There is the deep-sea gun which shoots samples out of the bottom of the ocean, to find radium perhaps, but more important by far—to determine the constitution of seven-tenths of the earth's crust, that land which lies beneath water—about which we are abysmally ignorant.

There is the gun that shoots holes in the casings of oil wells being drilled thousands of feet in the ground when it is desired to tap the liquid gold that is petroleum. And the gun that shoots open a clogged blast furnace outlet plugged with frozen slag. And the gun that shoots aloft distress signals from ships in distress, or the gun that flings the first rescuing line to wrecked ships.

Two agricultural inventions, barbed wire and tanks which are tractors under their armour skin, are of prime importance in war. Miles upon miles of the spiky wire hedges in European frontiers today.

Barbed wire is a U. S. A. invention in 1874. It was created to keep cattle at home. Now about 2,000,000 tons are produced a year,—about seven miles of wire to the ton.

Tanks evolved from tractors during the World War. Since then, tractors and trucks have mechanized armies, putting artillery and cavalry horses out of jobs—just as do tractors on the farms.

Showing how one invention stalemates another—tanks are the one good weapon for smashing down barbed wire entanglements, so infantry can get through.

Remember the Chinese invented gunpowder. But they used it mainly for fireworks during a thousand years—to celebrate weddings and the birth of children—proving it is not the thing, but the attitude of mind in those who use the thing.

Effective air disarmament is possible without interfering with the peacetime development or use of the airplane, the British Air Ministry's research director said only last month.

A previous technical stumbling block to abolition of the bomber has been eliminated by the last ten years of aviation progress.

Ten years ago, military and civil planes were so nearly alike, commercial craft could be easily converted into bombers so that any international limitation of bombers alone meant little.

Now, however, he asserted, commercial planes are so much slower than military ships that the commercial planes cannot be used in war. A limit on bombers might stick.

*World Youth.

KAMALA NEHRU MEMORIAL.

"On the 19th instant," writes Gandhiji in *Harijan* "I had the privilege of laying the foundation stone of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad before a large gathering. This hospital will be not only a fitting remembrance of the memory of a true devotee of her country and a woman of great spiritual beauty, it will be a redemption of the promise made to her by me that I would do what lay in my power to see that the work for which she had made herself responsible was carried on even after her death. She was going to Europe in search of health. The visit proved to be a search of death. As she was going she had invited me, if I could, either to join her for a brief talk during part of her journey to Bombay or to see her in Bombay. I went to Bombay. During the time that I was able to give her, she asked me, if she died in Europe, to try to see that the hospital which Jawaharlal had commenced in Swaraj Bhavan and which she had laboured to keep alive was put on a permanent footing. I told her I would do what I could. That promise was partly the foundation for the appeal, to which I had become party, for funds for the Memorial." The following passage is reproduced from the appeal: "All may not know that she was deeply interested in the work of the Congress Hospital opened in Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad. She was a great humanitarian. She knew no distinction between caste and caste. Harijans were as much her care as other human beings. Her parting message to friends when she left India in search of a cure for the disease that was to take her away from our midst, was that the Congress Hospital should be maintained." The first donation received in response to this appeal was a house and a piece of land from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Subscription Rates.

nland ... Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign ... Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 6 annas each, exclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please apply to :-

THE MANAGER,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA,

BOMBAY 20.

LIFE INSURANCE TRUST PLAN

THE outright payment of the Insurance money to the widow or children in one lump sum is a great mistake. To apply a real test you would only ask yourself how your wife would invest such a sum now without any help whatever from you. The woman who has been "All the Wife and Mother" is ill-equipped to invest and safeguard funds designed to her family's protection for many years.

Therefore take advantage of

OUR INVESTMENT TRUST PLAN

For further particulars apply to :—

THE SECRETARY

CENTRAL BANK EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE CO., LTD.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: 9, Bakehouse, Lane, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara)	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(" ").	Dondaicha	(" ").
Tasgaon	(" ").	Nandurbar	(" ").
Satara	(" ").	Shirpur	(" ").
Kirloskarwadi	(" ").	Shahada	(" ").
Shirala	(" ").	Sakri	(" ").
Koregaon	(" ").	Sindkheda	(" ").
Wai	(" ").	Taloda	(" ").
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Nasik).
Shevgaon	(" ").	Satara	(" ").
Ahmednagar	(" ").	Kalwan	(" ").
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahals).
Palghar	(" ").	Kalol	" "
Kalyan	(" ").	Akluj	(District Sholapur).

DIRECTORS

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
Prof. V. G. Kale.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar,
S. N. Jamdar, Esq.,
K. M. Thakor, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq.,
D. J. Zunjarrao, Esq.
Rao Saheb V. C. Jadhav.
D. V. Potdar, Esq.
V. S. Basawanal, Esq.
S. T. More, Esq.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad. Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mensana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

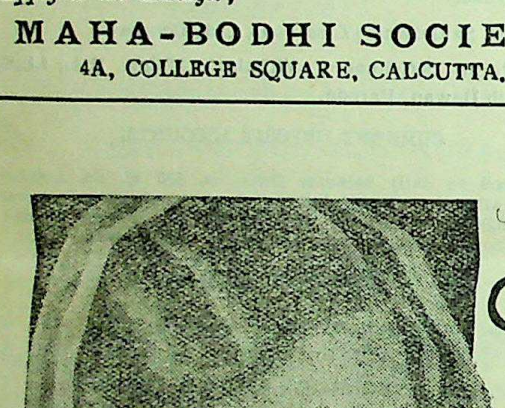
(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.

The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.



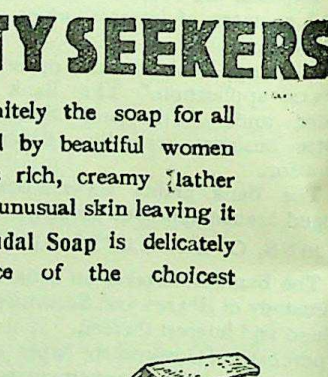
For

BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE *Sandal* **SOAP**

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

scheme of this kind was drafted by Dr. Besant with the help of experts and was, we believe, even introduced in the House of Commons. The Nehru Committee's Report also can provide many useful suggestions.

Congress Policies and the Provinces:—The attitude of the press in the recent Congress governed provinces is interesting. A section of the press

News and Views in War:—We publish this week an illuminating article on "War and Propaganda" by the Devere Allens, Editors of the *No-Frontier News Service* of Chicago, now operating from Brussels. The Allens have, however, omitted an important point in preparing the public against propaganda: Though at all times the difference between

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

As Others See Us.
Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital.
Sir S. Reed on Safeguards.
Constituent Assembly.
Congress Policies and the Provinces.
Congress Working Committee on the Situation.
News and Views in War.
Congress and Social Reform.
War and Propaganda.
Communal Unity in India.
Kamala Nehru.
In an Indian Home.
Ramakrishna Mission President in Bombay.
All India Educational Conference.

NOTES.

As Others See Us:—We reprint from the *Spectator* an account by a Frenchwoman of her experiences and impressions of Indian home life formed on a two days' visit at the home of an Indian friend whom she "rather liked." The Indian home was evidently that of a wealthy Zemindar of the old school. In middle class homes they do not clap hands to call the attention of servants. The guest, it would seem, was not lodged in the actual home of the family but in a guest house set apart for foreign guests. An Indian home at eight in the morning is not deserted. It is bustling with activity, the chatter of children, the goings to and fro of servants, the preparations for the day's crowded routine. The hostess's excuse that she believed that Europeans slept up to eleven o'clock in the morning, was true. Indians as a rule are early risers; and we remember a friend remarking half in joke that only the working classes got up so early in European countries. Whatever may be the case in Europe, in India few Europeans remain in bed until noon. The hostess evidently had learnt her notions of European habits at second-hand and not from actual observation. As regards the hours of meals, although not so punctilious as in European homes, there are meal-times, but as a rule Indian hosts consider it a part of hospitality not to insist on their observance by foreign guests and generally leave them free to follow their own habits. The same idea of hospitality often induces the Indian host to provide his foreign guest with food and drink which he and his family would not take. We heard recently from a friend that he had specially procured two bottles of champagne for the entertainment of a European guest, the unconsumed portion of which he afterwards poured down the sink. In an increasing number of cases nowadays Indian hosts do not adopt such devices, and it is being recognised by Indian hosts and European guests alike that such departures from the household custom are contrary to true hospitality. Our object in reprinting this article is that both sides should understand how small things may lead to misunderstanding and that a little preliminary explanation frankly asked and given would effectively prevent such misunderstanding. We should like to add that the case of the writer in the *Spectator* is so exceptional that our first impulse was that the whole thing was fictitious. Speaking generally, the routine of an Indian home is far less rigid than that of the European home, especially in the matter of meals. There are, as we have said, customary hours but no guest would have to go hungry because he came at an odd hour. Indians regard the clock as a convenience and not as a controller. Some of the finest Indians are by common assent allowed an unlimited latitude in the matter of time by their friends and relatives. In one case a much-loved friend who was expected for meals at eight in the evening turned up with two women friends at half past ten at night and smilingly ordered the sleepy hostess to bring out whatever was to be found in the house. This was cheerfully done and the memory of it remains fresh and fragrant. The friend, alas, is no more to shake up the house with his surprise visits.

Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital:—Gandhiji laid last Sunday at Allahabad the corner-stone of a Maternity Hospital which is [illegible] completion, in memory of the late [illegible] Kamala Nehru whose death four years ago [illegible] after a protracted illness at the early age of 37 [illegible] much sorrow and sympathy for her bereaved husband. A short sketch of her life and work is given in the brochure issued by the Memorial Committee. We reprint it elsewhere. Notwithstanding precarious health, Mrs. Nehru threw herself heart and soul into the movement into which her redoubtable father-in-law had drawn his whole family; and in so doing displayed both loyalty and courage which won the admiration of a large circle of fellow workers. But in this respect hers is by no means a unique record. What was exceptional in her case was that she was the valiant helpmate of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Hospital is thus a memorial as much to the Pandit as to Mrs. Nehru. The lot of the wife of an active politician in these days, is hard. It is particularly so when the politics professed is revolutionary in colour if not in content. Brought up in conservative and exclusive surroundings, Mrs. Nehru bravely

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 25, 1939.

CONGRESS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

A Correspondent writes: "Mr. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, has been insisting the world is a special feature.

movement like the older Congress, it should have left the question of temple entry alone. It can not play fast and loose with principles."

Our correspondent might have added that the very fact that the Congress is negotiating with the Moslem League about concessions to Muslims instead of relying on its own Nationalist Musiim [illegible] The Premier Indian has not stood firmly

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara). Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

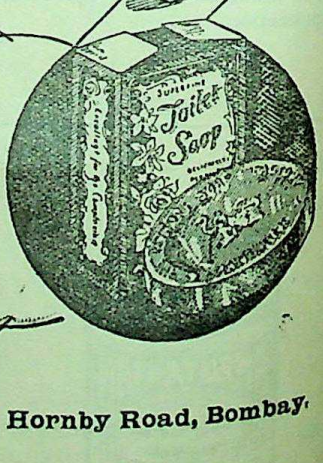
For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.



For
BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP
GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.
For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ervice by agitating about the number of seats in the Legislature and the proportion of jobs in the public services. It is to the credit of the Congress that it has come to realise the importance of social reform as the foundation of a healthy national life and stable political institutions.

WAR AND PROPAGANDA.

French semi-official press agencies, alike to suppress portions of President Roosevelt's radio talk on American neutrality. That striking final sentence, which we heard here toward the early morning hours with our ears, about the hope that there would be no black-out of peace in America, has not yet been heard by more than a handful of European individuals. What a pity that America cannot send a squadron of airplanes over Great Britain, France, Italy, Poland, Germany

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 25, 1939. No. 13

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

As Others See Us.
Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital.
Sir S. Reed on Safeguards.
Constituent Assembly.
Congress Policies and the Provinces.
Congress Working Committee on the Situation.
News and Views in War.
Congress and Social Reform.
War and Propaganda.
Communal Unity in India.
Kamala Nehru.
In an Indian Home.
Ramakrishna Mission President in Bombay.
All India Educational Conference.

NOTES.

As Others See Us :—We reprint from the *Spectator* an account by a Frenchwoman of her experiences and impressions of Indian home life formed on a two days' visit at the home of an Indian friend whom she "rather liked." The Indian home was evidently that of a wealthy Zemindar of the old school. In middle class homes they do not clap hands to call the attention of servants. The guest, it would seem, was not lodged in the actual home of the family but in a guest house set apart for foreign guests. An Indian home at eight in the morning is not deserted. It is bustling with activity, the chatter of children, the goings to and fro of servants, the preparations for the day's crowded routine. The hostess's excuse that she believed that Europeans slept up to eleven o'clock in the morning, was true. Indians as a rule are early risers; and we remember a friend remarking half in joke that only the working classes got up so early in European countries. Whatever may be the case in Europe, in India few Europeans remain in bed until noon. The hostess evidently had learnt her notions of European habits at second-hand and not from actual observation. As regards the hours of meals, although not so punctilious as in European homes, there are meal-times, but as a rule Indian hosts consider it a part of hospitality not to insist on their observance by foreign guests and generally leave them free to follow their own habits. The same idea of hospitality often induces the Indian host to provide his foreign guest with food and drink which he and his family would not take. We heard recently from a friend that he had specially procured two bottles of champagne for the entertainment of a European guest, the unconsumed portion of which he afterwards poured down the sink. In an increasing number of cases nowadays Indian hosts do not adopt such devices, and it is being recognised by Indian hosts and European guests alike that such departures from the household custom are contrary to true hospitality. Our object in reprinting this article is that both sides should understand how small things may lead to misunderstanding and that a little preliminary explanation frankly asked and given would effectively prevent such misunderstanding. We should like to add that the case of the writer in the *Spectator* is so exceptional that our first impulse was that the whole thing was fictitious. Speaking generally, the routine of an Indian home is far less rigid than that of the European home, especially in the matter of meals. There are, as we have said, customary hours but no guest would have to go hungry because he came at an odd hour. Indians regard the clock as a convenience and not as a controller. Some of the finest Indians are by common assent allowed an unlimited latitude in the matter of time by their friends and relatives. In one case a much-loved friend who was expected for meals at eight in the evening turned up with two women friends at half past ten at night and smilingly ordered the sleepy hostess to bring out whatever was to be found in the house. This was cheerfully done and the memory of it remains fresh and fragrant. The friend, alas, is no more to shake up the house with his surprise visits.

Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital :—Gandhiji laid last Sunday at Allahabad the corner-stone of a Maternity Hospital which is [illegible] completion, in memory of the late [illegible] Kamala Nehru whose death four years ago [illegible] after a protracted illness at the early age of 37 [illegible] much sorrow and sympathy for her bereaved husband. A short sketch of her life and work is given in the brochure issued by the Memorial Committee. We reprint it elsewhere. Notwithstanding precarious health, Mrs. Nehru threw herself heart and soul into the movement into which her redoubtable father-in-law had drawn his whole family; and in so doing displayed both loyalty and courage which won the admiration of a large circle of fellow workers. But in this respect hers is by no means a unique record. What was exceptional in her case was that she was the valiant helpmate of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Hospital is thus a memorial as much to the Pandit as to Mrs. Nehru. The lot of the wife of an active politician in these days, is hard. It is particularly so when the politics professed is revolutionary in colour if not in content. Brought up in conservative and exclusive surroundings, Mrs. Nehru bravely

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 25, 1939.

CONGRESS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

A Correspondent writes: "Mr. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, has been insisting strenuous nationalism. We want to conquer the world not only without arms but with a minimum of the amenities which are needed to nourish our bodies and to keep alive our souls. We are writing generally: that these amenities were not wanting in this particular case does not affect our argument. If we had paid better heed to these things, we might have had Mrs. Nehru and many others who had paid the price similarly, still with us. Who can say? From the sketch of her life we do not gather that Mrs. Nehru was specially interested in or connected with maternity work. A memorial must be specifically related to the work of the person intended to be commemorated. There are few towns in India where a Maternity Home would be superfluous. They appropriately lay within the sphere of the local and Municipal administration. A memorial for Mrs. Nehru would in the hands of an imaginative artist have symbolised the awakening of the womanhood of India and of the world, to the dawn of a new era of opportunities for the service of humanity.

***Sir S. Reed on Safeguards*:**—The current number of the *Journal of the East India Association*, publishes a paper read by Sir William Barton at a meeting held last July and the discussion thereon under the Chairmanship of Sir Stanley Reed. Sir William Barton did his best to be impartial in his presentation of his subject, but he could not altogether veil the fact that his sympathies were with the Princes in their demand for more safeguards. He took the half dozen best-governed States and, without saying so, he throughout implied that they were a fair sam[illegible] of the five hundred and odd States. Nearly a[illegible] British speakers at the meeting were incline[illegible] to the same line except Miss Agatha H[illegible]son who rather grudgingly recognised that there were States "where the Princes have pioneered in a different kind of administration." For the rest, she saw only the gulf which separated the rulers from the ruled. The Maharaja of Burdwan reiterated a suggestion which he had made some years ago, to transfer the administration of British India to "the families to whom the country had belonged, without interfering with Indian or British trade or defence at all." He added: "If most of India were under the Indian States the demands of the Congress for complete independence could not be sustained, and the country on present lines must continue." The Maharaja did not realize that such a system would not be different from what has been ridiculed as "the puppet State" of Manchukuo in relation to Japan. The most striking contribution to the debate came from

> inadequacy of the safeguards (and finally dissolving Federation). If there is one word, I have learnt to hate and abominate it is the word "safeguards." I think that history teaches us this: the more the safeguards, the less the safety, and that it is far better to pin your security to a few broad general principles than it is to set up a multitude of irritating, futile, entirely useless restrictions which cause a maximum of dissatisfaction and give a minimum of protection.

This is admirably put and, as Sir Stanley Reed, during his long career in India and since has been noted for his sympathetic handling of Indian States problems, and as he is in a better position than any of the retired politicals who spoke at the meeting to guage the present temper of the British public, Indian rulers will be wise to heed his warning.

Constituent Assembly:—The *Tribune* of Lahore commenting on a recent statement of Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, late Prime Minister of Madras, that in electing representatives to the proposed Constituent Assembly separate electorates would be allowed to communities which desire them, points out that this practically amounts to abandoning one of the fundamental tenets of the Congress and would inevitably lead to the retention of separate electorates in the Constitution framed by an Assembly so constituted. We have heard it remarked in reply to similar objections, that when the Nazis had no difficulty about making up with the Bolsheviks whom they had until a few months ago been denouncing in the bitterest terms, Congress leaders should not hesitate to give up some of their cherished principles in order to present a united front in support of the Constituent Assembly. The argument is unanswerable if it is conceded that the Congress in relation to the Muslim League stands in the same relation as the National Socialist Party to the Comintern. But our objections to the Constituent Assembly are that it is difficult to convene, that, if convened, it can not frame a constitution for India which will be accepted by all concerned, and that without it a perfectly satisfactory constitution can be framed by men who have studied constructive politics, from the material available. In other words, it is not consent of an Assembly which under existing circumstances must be more or less a packed one, but the conditions and requirements of the country which should determine the form of the Constitution. The adoption of adult suffrage would automatically solve the question of communal electorates. The adoption of the indirect method, that is to say, election of representatives to the Legislature not by the voters directly but through delegates, would bring the system within workable proportions.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

service by agitating about the number of seats in the Legislature and the proportion of jobs in the public services. It is to the credit of the Congress that it has come to realise the importance of social reform as the foundation of a healthy national life and stable political institutions.

WAR AND PROPAGANDA

which had subdued its anti-Congress tendencies during the two and a quarter years of provincial autonomy, is now finding out the weaknesses of the old administration, when the party cannot profit by the criticism. On the other hand, the newspapers which are friendly to the Congress, display the gravest anxiety lest the Governors should reverse the policies initiated by Congress ministries. In Bihar, we are told, the first steps have been taken to abandon the social programmes set on foot by Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha and his colleagues. This is not surprising and the other provinces may have to go through the same process. If the Congress regarded its social and economic measures as all-important, its ministries should not have left their posts on what is after all a political issue. It would be too much to expect that the Governors, many of whom probably do not believe in the policies they acquiesced in under popular administrations, should now strain every nerve to pursue Congress policies when the Congress itself has relegated them to second place in relation to its pursuit of a political objective. As a matter of fact one cannot resist the thought that had the political aims of the Congress been conceded by the British, today the Congress provincial ministries might themselves have accepted great modifications of their constructive schemes in order to help in the prosecution of the war.

Congress Working Committee on the situation:—The resolution of the Congress Working Committee passed at its meeting at Allahabad on Thursday is characterised, so far as it relates to the present political situation, by almost unexpected self-restraint and sobriety. We trust that Lord Zetland will not be misled by it into believing that Indian opinion has been cowed down by his "strong" line. The Congress has a difficult task in controlling its following brought up in the tradition of non-co-operation. Its immediate concern is to restrain it from starting on the routine of non-co-operation now that the Congress Ministries have returned to the wilderness. It will be extremely unwise for the British Government not to take advantage of the door which the Working Committee has deliberately left open for further negotiations. Already trouble is reported from Bihar which may spread easily to other provinces. The social programme of Congress Governments is in danger of being scrapped on the ground of financial stringency, which is not altogether ungrounded. A timely gesture at this juncture will go far to ease the situation and we earnestly trust it will not be withheld.

French semi-official press agencies, alike to suppress portions of President Roosevelt's radio talk on American neutrality. That striking final sentence, which we heard here toward the early morning hours with our ears, about the hope that there would be no black-out of peace in America, has not yet been heard by more than a handful of European individuals. What a pity that America cannot send a squadron of airplanes over Great Britain the time-lag between opinion and fact is rather vague, the tendency particularly in a modern war is for all facts to become a matter of opinion. The public had many examples of this during the active stages of the Sino-Japanese conflict, and journalists in Europe and America regarded the contradictions in the Chinese and the Japanese accounts of engagements as a peculiarly amusing feature of Oriental warfare. As a matter of fact, the humour of the situation largely arose out of the immediate and side-by-side publication of "official" accounts released by two combatants, greatly assisted by the attitude of sceptical detachment adopted in the first place by the neutral press. As for the distortion of reports to which the Editors refer, much of it seems obviously ill-advised. There was a particularly unhappy instance of this in India. In reviewing the first month of the War in a broadcast speech on October 1, Mr. Winston Churchill made a reference to the attitude of the Empire in the War. He said:

> We have other resources. We have the oceans, and with the oceans the assurance that we can bring the vast latent power of the British and French Empires to bear upon the decisive points. We have the freely-given ardent support of the 20 millions of British citizens in the self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. We have, I believe, the heart and the moral conviction of India on our side. We believe we are entitled to the respect and goodwill of the world, and particularly of the United States.—*The Listener*, October 5, 1939; Page 679.

In the reports published in India the words, "I believe," which qualified the reference to India were dropped. That this was not inspired by a desire to economise on words, appears from the fact that the "we believe" of the next sentence was not similarly omitted. It was not unnatural for Indians to infer from Mr. Churchill's reported speech that he and other British politicians assumed direct responsibility for India's support to Britain. Mr. Churchill's past utterances on India, we must concede, do lead one to accept as authentic any report which represents him as claiming a special and unique knowledge of India's wishes and opinions. This makes it all the more necessary that his speeches should be reported accurately in this country, in justice to him. No one who reads the passage which we have quoted above, can miss the distinction between the certainty of the support from the Empire units which have received self-government, and the hesitancy with which Mr. Churchill assesses India's attitude. Mr. Churchill is an artist in words. He would not have introduced into his speech phrases which bring vividly the difference between self-government and dependence unless he intended to produce this effect. Much less would he have done so inadvertently.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 25, 1939.

CONGRESS AND SOCIAL REFORM.

A Correspondent writes: "Mr. Jinnah, President of the Moslem League, has been insisting that the Indian National Congress is a Hindu organisation. Lord Zetland had recently repeated the same description. Gandhiji has written in the *Harijan* repudiating this description as unwarranted. Mr. Jinnah when he speaks of Congress being a Hindu movement, no doubt refers to the present Congress, the Congress as it has come to be. For he was himself a member of the Congress for many years, which he would not have been if it was a purely Hindu movement. For sometime past, present-day Congress leaders have been speaking of themselves as continuing the tradition of its founders although, as a matter of fact, the Liberals who are the real inheritors of the tradition are kept out of it. There is little that is common between the Congress today and the Congress before the Gandhiian era, except the name. The fundamental difference regarding the relation to British rule alone marks off the two as distinct bodies. Their attitude to the communal question is another. The original Congress deliberately excluded social and religious problems from its purview on the ground that they were peculiar to each community and must be dealt with by each community for itself. They could have no place in a national movement which should confine itself to subjects of common import. So strictly was this ban interpreted, that even the humanitarian proposal to raise the Age of Consent from 10 to 12 years, was ruled out as inadmissible on the Congress agenda. This is not the case now. The Congress though it still thinks of itself as a national movement, has been showing special concern for Hindu solidarity by its action in regard to the removal of untouchability, not only with reference to civil rights but with reference also to such an intimately socio-religious matter as entry into temples. This is all the more remarkable because the exclusion of antyajas from places of worship in Madras, for instance, is practised in several Christian Churches as regards converts from these classes. The Maharaja of Travancore based his famous Proclamation on his rights as a Hindu ruler. The Madras Government was composed of Hindus and non-Hindus, though the Premier and the majority of his colleagues were Hindus. The Congress majority in the Legislature which passed the law validating temple entry, was likewise a composite majority without any title to a religious mandate. The same is true of the Bombay legislation on the subject. In this matter the Congress Governments surely were conscious of standing in a special relation and possessing special responsibilities to the Hindu community. If it was a national non-communal movement like the older Congress, it should have left the question of temple entry alone. It can not play fast and loose with principles."

Our correspondent might have added that the very fact that the Congress is negotiating with the Moslem League about concessions to Muslims instead of relying on its own Nationalist Muslim members, shows that it does not stand upon its own national pedestal.

On analysing our correspondent's reasoning however, one is led to a conclusion quite the reverse of his. *The Reformer* from the very first regretted the abstention of the Congress from social questions. Indian nationalism with social questions left out has no meaning. The so-called political topics to which it confined itself, only superficially touched the life of the people. That being our view, the fact that Congress now deals with social questions is its best claim to be a national movement. That it has so far dealt only with Hindu social questions and only with one of them, and has completely ignored the same or similar questions relating to non-Hindus, is obviously due to its belief that while the temple question is ripe for solution among Hindus, the Church and mosque question is not yet ripe for it. When Christian opinion demands legislation regarding the rights of untouchable converts, the Congress, we are sure, will not hesitate to act as it has acted with reference to Hindu temples. As for negotiations with the Muslim League, we see from the papers that the Congress Working Committee is negotiating with Ahrars, Shias and other Muslim groups besides the Moslem League. As we have often said communal organisations are not necessarily anti-national. Social problems are more expeditiously solved only by means of them. The Muslim League would have been several times more significant than it is both for Muslims and for India as a whole, if it had not practically excluded social reform from its programme. Most problems are common to Hindus and Muslims. But while for over a century, Hindu reformers, have been agitating for reforms, Muslims have stood aloof, so much so that when the Age of Consent Committee reported that child marriages were prevalent also among Muslims, Mr. Jinnah confessed that the information surprised him as he had all along thought that child marriages were confined to Hindus. Purdah, polygamy and other disabilities of women are shared by Hindus and Muslims. But while the Hindus have been exerting themselves to get rid of them, Muslim leaders have maintained an attitude of indifference and have even sometimes opposed measures introduced by Hindu members in the Legislature. Women's franchise, age received much less support from Muslim than from Hindu leaders. The Muslim League has in all these directions much good work to do. Unless the Muslim League leaders take up these and other questions they will not be doing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

service by agitating about the number of seats in the Legislature and the proportion of jobs in the public services. It is to the credit of the Congress that it has come to realise the importance of social reform as the foundation of a healthy national life and stable political institutions.

WAR AND PROPAGANDA.

(By Devere and Marie H. Allen)

Bewilderment—no other word quite so adequately describes public opinion throughout most of the world as we slide into the first few weeks of our newest large-scale war. Bewilderment not so much because of fundamental ideas or of deep-lying emotions, certain to be rendered sharper as the fighting grows more intense. But bewilderment because the present war from its first hour has exceeded anything hitherto known in human history for the severity of censorship and the deliberately-fostered lack of information; and bewilderment, too because for weeks and even months in advance of the conflict, information had been suppressed or warped in the totalitarian countries completely and in the countries lined up against authoritarianism, almost as much.

Perhaps the most discouraging thing discernible anywhere is the pathetic fact that thousands of otherwise intelligent persons go through critical situations completely unaware of the world about them. Here in Brussels, where we have established the headquarters of the No-frontier News Service, Americans, Britons, Irish, Scandinavians and men and women of various other nationalities have stopped midway in panic-stricken flight from the war zones on their way to more familiar scenes. Pathetic are they, often, for the bitter circumstances of their flight; but pathetic in another sense, for a large percentage of them hardly knew what had been taking place for weeks before September 1st. Some of them had travelled thousands of miles through countries now at war but had not discussed political conditions with anyone and had not read a newspaper in any language since last spring. This, probably, is the most terrifying, or at any rate the most discouraging thing, about humanity—its resolute unwillingness to face facts and its continuous temptation to live in a world surrounded solely by one's own interests and desires.

But had these thousands wished to find the facts, they would have had their work cut out. "Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free," is a preachment that has long since been anathema to politicians and the press. Most of our really good newspaper correspondents from America are sincere, well-informed, hard-working and resourceful writers. Many of them, it is true, have been led by high fees from broadcasting corporations and by the very nature of thir trade, to let their histrionic impulses run riot in the face of growing tensity. But given a thousand perfect correspondents equipped with everything that could be needed for the discovery of truth: the picture they would have to paint of current happenings would be surrealistic, all the same.

Silence, the foreign offices believe, will win the war. They will soon learn better, for nothing is so devastating to the friendliness of neutral nations or the morale of war-shocked populations, as distrust of all the news they hear. And when the impression is steadfastly built up day after day that all the important happenings are known only to a few at the top, the result in the minds of the masses is unwholesome from everybody's point of view.

War-time exigencies, for example, led official British radio broadcasters, and one of the big French semi-official press agencies, alike to suppress portions of President Roosevelt's radio talk on American neutrality. That striking final sentence, which we heard here toward the early morning hours with our ears, about the hope that there would be no black-out of peace in America, has not yet been heard by more than a handful of European individuals. What a pity that America cannot send a squadron of airplanes over Great Britain, France, Italy, Poland, Germany, and other states totalitarian in the handling of news, whether in war or peace, and drop fifteen million leaflets setting forth the simple facts of international events!

Radio warfare has now grown more severe. Until the war broke out, German interference had often disrupted the broadcasting of British and French points of view by short-wave to foreign countries in their native tongues. Now the Germans are getting a stiff dose of their own medicine, and night after night, when German broadcasters attempt to speak in English or in French, to give their own distorted picture of events, their voices have a hard time breaking through the clamour and shriek of signals set up to drown them out completely.

Fairness must compel any honest observer to pay a certain tributes to the British. Once again they will become ardent propagandists, it is certain. But in the first days of the war, there was a balance in their official reports that was refreshing. They have not hesitated to state that reports of bombing of hospitals and civilians by the Germans might very well have been due not to planned terrrorization at all, but to the ease by which attacks on military objectives can, in modern war, result in grave injury to non-combatants. This is something new, compared to the first few days of the war a quarter of a century ago. May they keep it up! It will win them friends.

By a thousand, thousand examples, the tendencious character of pre-war publishing and reporting, could be shown. Sometimes the distortion is important, sometimes it is minor but even then revealing. When Mr. Hore Belisha spoke in Paris before the Association of Great Britain, in early August, he talked of "our General Gamelin – for you know he belongs to us as well." The official text of the speech appeared later, for public dissemination, with the word "our" struck out.

One of America's well-known columnists, who has been a persistent campaigner for war if need be to defeat Hitlerism, but who has done very little to promote the important underlying economic changes which might give a basis for a peaceful Europe, had this to say, weeks ago: "Since the Axis Powers are more or less sure of American intervention in a coming war, Hitler therefore is trying to sell Americans the thought that the United States in a European war would primarily serve British imperialist interests." You get the idea—anyone striving to keep America out of participation in the war is virtually doing Hitler's job.

The Week, a mimeographed newssheet sent out from London, recently ran an article showing that German oil and gasoline consumption in wartime would be 40 percent higher than Germans anticipated, and citing a report by oil experts in substantiation. The conclusion was drawn and paraded through that portion of American public opinion which feeds on such releases, that Germany would be so short of oil that its only recourse was the immediate conquest of Rumania. But not a word about the oil being sold in large quantities to Hitler and Mussolini by Soviet Russia. The *Week* is Stalinist in point of view and its editor, something not known widely in America even

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by those who use his writings in their pages, was correspondent for some time during the Spanish War, in Spain, for British Communist publications.

Take, for another example, the writings of Madame Genevieve Tabouis, whose brilliant work for the French paper "L'Oeuvre" has won her a world-wide reputation. It is not necessary to detract from much excellent work that she has done to point out that her remarkable prestige in America rests upon slender foundations. Regularly for months she has been making sensational "inside news" reports, and predictions of forthcoming events. Regularly and systematically she has been wrong. In the April 13th issue of her paper she stated definitely that Germany would invade Holland and Poland on April 15th. She recently reported in the British press what Britons naturally would like to believe, that Hitler had been forced by discontent within the ranks of his own party officials to inaugurate another purge – that some had been shot, and as many as 80,000 expelled from the Nazi party. Nobody else has heard of these events, least of all well-trained observers we have talked with since that time, and who have been in favourable positions to find out such happenings in Germany.

For many weeks before the war, the servile French press had published only what the government desired. The Paris satirical newspaper, "Le Canard Enchaine," with its usual rapier-like wit, ran a cartoon during the ministerial scandal that the war has now erased, depicting two friends in conversation. One of them says "Have you any news about the scandal?" The other replies, "No. I can't read English." True, the English press had commented on the affair, if very sketchily, but typical Frenchmen never heard of it.

The London "Times," Conservative and influential organ of the British upper classes, refused last summer to print letters from prominent British publicists, and national figures, pointing out how they had been misrepresented in its columns. The same paper, in reporting the proceedings at Teacher's College, New York, of the Congress on Education for Democracy, ignored the fact that speakers held different points of view on the role of the United States in a general war, and printed only the addresses of the British spokesmen. Such a distinguished figure as Dr. Charles A. Beard, who is known to hold dissenting views on such questions as those discussed by the British speakers, received not one line in this great British paper.

In France, certain corps of correspondents from neutral countries have gone so far as to offer their services to the French government *en masse*, to give their talents for what must clearly be official propaganda. We hold no brief for Congressman Hamilton Fish, and we do not necessarily approve of all his activities for American isolationism. But when he proposed a conference of European statesmen to avert war, he was met in the French press not with logical arguments but with a downpour of abuse, one paper going so far as to say, in great headlines, "When Hitler uses an American loud-speaker."

Whatever Americans may think about involvement in the war, whatever they may feel about staying out of war and yet shipping munitions to France and Britain, it seems reasonably clear that the more than 70 per cent who, in a recent poll of the Institute of Public Opinion, stated it would be their judgment that America would be dragged in, did so in full knowledge of the attitudes taken in the past by their President and their Secretary of State. Certainly it was a view of what might happen, not a wish. Vast sections of the European press in the countries now arrayed against Germany systematically distorted this poll, however, so that millions of Europeans are convinced that the American people want soon to enter the war.

But Americans need not look across the water for examples of the danger to which they are exposed. Remember the stories that came over the radio and through the American newspapers, last spring, about the overwhelming preponderance of the German air fleet? Remember that Lindbergh was supposed to have testified that the United States was vulnerable in the face of possible air raids from abroad? Remember the bitter attacks made in numerous circles in Washington and in the press, on Americans who disputed the fantastic figures that were being used, and who said that through a combination of technics and geography America was comparatively secure against aerial bombardment? Remember, too, though it was more or less buried in the inside pages and scarcely at all put over the air that at long last, Lindbergh himself found it necessary to tell a group of Congressmen that the United States was in no danger of attack by the air from abroad? Yet the fanfare had done its work, which was to prepare American public opinion for enormous aircraft appropriations, ostensibly to build a mammoth air fleet to make America safe from the air fleet she herself had built up, first of all, by export of motors and sale of licenses, in Hitler's Germany.

What is not covered at all by the press is often as significant as what is played up in large headlines. A regular staff writer of "*The New Statesman and Nation*," for example, asserts that at the Lima Conference, the entire British press was only represented by one local resident. He received the following telegraphic instructions: "Send 50 words on the opening of the Conference: nothing subsequently unless there is an assassination."

It will behoove everyone who cares for truth to be perpetually on the alert, not against honest opinions or emotions, but against the overpowering impact of what was admirably called by a British writer on the eve of war, "Hashish administered to make you feel happy about killing people who have got into the hands of the wrong party organizers."

COMMUNAL UNITY IN INDIA.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam)

If the Hindus and the Moslems come to terms, it is easy as I said to conclude terms with other minorities. There remain two other important interests, *viz* the British interests in India, and the interests of the Princes (presuming that the subjects of Indian States would be treated identically on the same terms as British Indians whether *via* a Constituent Assembly or otherwise). It is to be admitted that these interests stand on a different level from the interests of the various communities.

My own view is that both these interests being represented by persons who are out and out realists they are not likely to put up terms which could not be acceptable to a free India, that is to say the moment that a compromise is reached between Hindus and Moslems, these interests would cease to be a formidable obstacle to the freedom of India, such as could not be come to terms with.

I have advisedly used the expression 'coming to terms' because in my view the notion that these

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

interests have no rights, being creations of Imperialism, has no substance in real politics, or even in ethics. It is only a Soviet Republic which could entirely repudiate the past. Democracy and Hindu dharma does not.

Besides, excepting Gandhiji who is an absolute believer in Satyagraha as a political weapon in lieu of force, other Congress leaders do believe in the need for force for running governments, and as I have pointed out repeatedly, Congress Premiers depended on the police and the military and not Satyagraha during their distinguished regimes. The need for force being admitted, and the need also consequently admitted of the help of the British Navy and Air Force for many years to come, it follows, unless there is mental obscurity, that apart from other considerations, the British must, as pointed out by Lord Zetland, be a necessary part for arriving at any settlement concerning India, and hence necessarily with their 'creatures', namely British interests in India and the Princes. The only way in which the Congress would be enabled to get over the problem is through successful mass civil disobedience after winning over the Moslems and other political parties, so as to avoid what Gandhiji calls criminal war in India.

At the risk of being considered prolix let me state again that mass civil disobedience is a political weapon and is not satyagraha or soul force. It is not correct to say that satyagraha is responsible for the great strength of the Congress in India and for its having ruled eight provinces. It might just as well be argued that murder is responsible for Soviet Russia or Concentration Camps for the German and Italian governments. The real causes are more profound—namely the urge of different peoples in greater or less travail for self-expression and the uncanny powers of leadership possessed by Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and Gandhiji—powers which are beyond the capacity of abstract reasoning to explain except by saying that these men embodied, focussed and led those urges. The ideologies which they have severally advocated are easily capable of damaging criticism.

Taking satyagraha, complete non-violence and soul force cannot be an adequate tool for the government of a state or even of a family, as is proved by the instance of Congress ministries already quoted. If the British Government had allowed Gandhiji to administer through his disciples any single province without help from the Police and military, the administration of that province would have broken down during the course of a few weeks, if not days. Let me assert again that it is what may be called the decency of the British—that is their unwillingness to shoot down unarmed and non-violent men and women combined with the urge of the masses towards freedom and self-expression, and their faith in Gandhiji, which has led to this striking success. Non-violence was a streak of genius, but it was political genius. The Viceroy's statement dated 5th November concerning Provincial governments and the Central government is somewhat obscure unless it is the fact—although not admitted in so many words—that His Excellency has now realised the truth of what I wrote ten years ago, and what Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar has now been arguing, *viz*, that it is only if there are all-party governments in the Provinces that there could be an all party government at the centre at present. The Viceroy in that case is following the British example and probably, according to His Excellency's opinion, this is only a make-shift arrangement during the war, after which party governments would again take shape.

My view, on the other hand, is that this is the best form of government even during Peace and that, as stated by Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, it is the only form which is suited to a country like India, in which even the best of men have not ceased to put their community or religion in the first rank, and the nation second, in spite of loud assertions to the contrary. It is my firm belief that working together as a group and finding that religion and culture are protectable by the group concerned, communal differences would daily tend to diminish. If these ideas had been adopted ten years ago, India would have been a very different country and the Hindu-Moslem problem would not have been at all acute.

In case, however, the Congress should not agree to resume office, in the shape of coalition governments, and prefers to return to office as a party government, I hope that they and the Viceroy would find it possible to co-operate at the centre in a war cabinet with a fixed number of members instead of selections for each occasion and representing all parties. Such a cabinet could also greatly help in the framing of the new constitution.

In such a war cabinet the Princes would naturally be represented. In this connection, I hope to be excused for mentioning an instance of foresight on my part. I have already stated elsewhere that there are a dozen features in the memorandum leading to the Government of India Act which are just what I had advocated and that the omissions have given rise to great difficulties. One of these refer to Privy Councillors. What Lord Samuel said recently was one of the suggestions in my scheme also—under the British Constitution the Privy Councillors could be made use of to a greater extent than is the case; and in India by appointing representatives of the Princes and of the ministers as Privy Councillors, the questions of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Paramountcy could be settled in India. If the Congress does not contemplate an absolute break, these are lines along which Dominion Status could be established without violence to the British Constitution. I hope I could say now that, when it was stated in Parliament that no alternative scheme had been suggested by anyone, the meaning was that no elaborate scheme had been submitted and none from any responsible leader. The outlines of the Scheme submitted by me to the Secretary of the Simon Commission was an alternative scheme, and events have proved that at any rate it had the merit of attempting to tackle the difficulties probably better suited to India which have since arisen—communal difficulties, difficulties about Princes and Dominion Status.

Gandhiji has stated that although his creed is non-violence his desire is that the Allies should win. Why he allowed his followers to cease co-operating with a party which he desired to win, he has not explained. All wish that the war should cease at the earliest moment; but India's prestige will not diminish if she joins the Allies in full co-operation, in spite of any mistakes and blemishes. If Gandhiji persuades the Congress to co-operate, perhaps the leverage so obtained might stop the war earlier; and with this prestige he might be able to help in creating a world order less dependent on Force and with less hatred between nations and individuals. Non-co-operation might lead to India being split into rival warring communities.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

KAMALA NEHRU.

Kamala Nehru was the daughter of Pandit Jawahar Mal Kaul. She was born in Delhi on the 1st of August, 1899. In her seventeenth year she married Jawaharlal Nehru on Vasant Panchami Day, 6th February 1916. Their daughter and only child, Indira, was born on the 19th November 1917.

Exceptionally emotional and keen-minded, Kamala took an absorbing interest in the affairs around her. When Pandit Motilal Nehru joined the non-co-operation movement, Anand Bhawan became a throbbing centre of national activities. It became a second headquarters to the Satyagraha movement. Pandit Jawaharlal was always in the forefront of the struggle. Frequently Gandhiji was an honoured visitor. Kamala watched their activities with pride and imbibed her first lessons in patriotism and public service from these living models. A sensitive idealism enriched her emotional outlook and she was irresistibly drawn to the field of action. In 1922 she took active part in the movement for national freedom. It was mostly organisational work. She played no spectacular role.

In 1926 came the first serious breakdown in Kamala's health. Treatment in Europe was advised. So she went to Switzerland accompanied by her husband and her daughter Indira. She spent a year and nine months there and returned to India in December 1927.

Events in India began to move at a quicker pace and Kamala felt like a seasoned soldier returning to service. The launching of the Satyagraha movement in 1930 gave Kamala her longed-for opportunity. She threw herself into the work of organising volunteers. Her work won all-round admiration and revealed her remarkable powers of organisation. With her sister-in-law, Krishna Nehru, she herself donned the uniform of a volunteer and participated in processions and demonstrations of defiance. Her health though partially restored was still delicate, but she did not reckon with the risk. She was an embodiment of the awakened womanhood of the country and the passion for service was always over-powering. Government's method of dispersing meetings and processions by lathi charges left a large number of wounded Congressmen in every town who had to be carefully nursed back to health. In Allahabad Kamala took up the work. The Congress Hospital at Anand Bhawan was her chief care.

Early next year Kamala was nominated as a substitute member of the Working Committee. The Committee at that time was an unlawful association. She was arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

Kamala's strenuous activities had told upon her health. In jail it deteriorated. She was released before her time owing to the fatal illness of Pandit Motilal Nehru.

Kamala never recovered her health. The revived movement for freedom found her an invalid. From the ailing bed she could give to the struggle only her silent support.

The illness followed an erratic course. Distinguished doctors at Bombay, Calcutta, Allahabad and Lucknow were consulted and there were quick relapses. Kamala bore the frequent and prolonged separations from Jawaharlal occasioned by his imprisonments with cheerfulness and great fortitude. But such rigid self-control itself drained the energies she needed for fighting the disease. She grew steadily worse. In 1934 she went to Bhowali. Jawaharlal who was then in Almora Gaol was permitted to see occasionally.

In the summer of 1935 she was taken to Europe. She spent many months in a sanatorium in Badenweiler in the Black Forest of Germany. On receipt of the news that her condition was critical Jawaharlal was released from gaol on the 4th September 1935. He flew to Europe. For over five months he nursed her. After a few tantalising rallies, the end came peacefully on 28th February 1936.

IN AN INDIAN HOME.*

(By Suzanne Marye.)

Not long ago I received an invitation from a girl friend to come and pass some days with her and her people. As I knew her fairly well and rather liked her, I accepted the kindly offer with thanks.

Like most Indians, my hosts were charming. They tried to give me as good a time as they could. They took me to cinemas, theatres, excursions, without stop or cease. They were spending quite a lot of money to entertain me. Yet, to tell the truth, I was not enjoying my visit. My tribulations started from the very first morning. I had asked the previous night: "What time is breakfast?" "Don't you trouble about it," said my friend. "Any time that suits you will suit us. You have just to clap your hands three times and the maid will bring it up for you."

This sounded just perfect, but in the morning it proved disastrous. I woke up around eight, and clapped my hands thrice. Then I lay back, awaiting the arrival of the breakfast-tray. It didn't come. Well, I clapped my hands again, a little more loudly. No response of any kind. Perhaps it is too early, I said to myself, and tried to loll a little longer in the bed. Then I consulted my watch. Nine o'clock. Once more I clapped my hands. In vain. May be they are expecting me downstairs, I reflected. So, having hastily dressed, I made my way up into the dining-room. It was completely deserted. There was not even a cloth on the table. I went into the drawing-room. Only the family cat lay purring on a plush chair. Seeing me, she raised her head and uttered something quite impolite.

I returned to my room, and began to listen for voices. Not a sound, except the mad chirping of sparrows in the trees. I sat down at the table, and wrote a letter or two. Then, seeing that there was no way to make my presence felt, and badly wanting a cup of tea, I descended again and took to perambulating in the compound. The cat was there. I tried to caress her, but she sneezed in my face and rushed off, as though she was unused to human society. At last, when I had given up all hope of breakfast, my friend appeared, smiling in her usual pretty way. "Already up!" she cried. "We thought you Europeans slept until at least eleven. Well, your breakfast has been sent up. Do go and eat it or it will get cold."

I hurried back to my room. The tea was watery and quite cold. I groaned. However, I gulped down a cup. Then I took some toast. It tasted like rubber. I had no luck. I was ferociously hungry. I turned to an Indian dish. It smelled nice. I took a mouthful. Delicious. I gobbled up the whole lot. Soon after I began to feel ill. It was as though I had swallowed a ton of iron. I agonised for quite a while, and did not begin to feel myself until I had taken two stiff doses of milk of magnesia. The morning was completely spoiled for me. What would I not have given for a hot cup of real good tea!

Here a servant entered and announced that the bath was ready. A bath so soon after breakfast! "All right," I said, trying my best to look composed. I went into the bathroom, just to see what it looked

*The *Spectator*, October 6, 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

like. I was surprised. There was no tub. On the cement floor stood a marble slab, and by its side were two buckets of water, one hot and one cold, and a shining brass lota. Was I going to sit on that cold marble slab? And how was I going to manipulate that heavy brass lota? No, a bath was out of the question. I returned to my room in some perplexity. My friend was waiting for me there. "Well, you look fine," she said. "I hope you enjoyed your breakfast and bath?

"Fine!" I said.

"Well, the car is back. If you'll get ready, we'll go for a drive."

I thought she would leave me to complete my toilet; but on she remained where she was, watching interestedly everything I did. This was irksome.

We went to the public gardens, to the riverside, to the bazaars, to the local lunatic asylum, which, for some obscure reason, is considered a place worth visiting. It was nearly two-thirty in the afternoon when, tired and dusty, we returned home. I was very hungry. I wished they would hurry up and provide the luncheon. But it did not appear for another hour. By that time my appetite was gone. I could not eat anything. Hour of siesta. Scarcely had I closed my eyes when the maid came in with the tea-tray. This was too soon, I took a cup of tea all the same, but it was tepid and had a salty taste. A little later, my friend brought me a plateful of sweets and dried fruits. I longed to eat, but could only nibble. The meal hours seemed to me perfectly crazy. Nothing for a long time, and then an avalanche of food. I simply could not catch up with Indian ways.

Seven o'clock came and went. Eight, nine, yet no dinner. Then my friend burst into my room and said excitedly that we would be going to a theatre that evening. Would I be good and get dressed? When I entered the dining-room it was nine-thirty. The performance, I was told, would begin at ten. We had just time to have a bite. But nothing was ready. Everyone kept shouting at the cook. At a quarter to ten my friend, who found the delay unbearable, said to me: "We shall be late. I think we had better skip the meal. What do you think?" A nice question to ask a guest! I was hungry as hungry could be. Still, not to disappoint her, I said: "As you please, dear."

So we went to the theatre without any food. I was in no frame of mind to enjoy the play. In any case, I could not have understood it, for it was in polished Urdu. I was almost fainting with hunger when we returned home in the small hours of the morning. Indian performances are interminable affairs. However, I thought I should get something to eat. No, nothing. I could not sleep. I was far too hungry. I must have something to eat. I rose, put on my gown, and tip-toed down, not to awaken my host. The kitchen, the kitchen, I was looking for the kitchen! After groping in the dark, I found it at last. I turned on the light and looked round. I saw nothing to which I could help myself. I searched the cupboard. I discovered three tomatoes. With what joy I fell on these! I returned to my room. My hunger was by no means appeased, but I was feeling better. Soon I fell asleep, dreaming of some French dish.

The second day was an exact copy of the first. As my visit was drawing to a close, I said nothing, but I vowed within myself that if ever I accepted the invitation of an Indian friend I would take enough provisions with me to last a siege. I had again to steal three tomatoes. There were no more. As I climbed into the train, my friend, who had come to see me off, said laughingly: "Do you know what the cook has been saying? She thinks that a thief has been coming into the house and stealing tomatoes. Fancy stealing tomatoes!"

"Did she recognise the thief?"

"No. But she thought it was a spirit. The poor woman was so scared that she dared not approach. Do you think she was telling the truth?"

"Who knows, my dear, who knows? Very probably the good woman did see something."

Here our talk was interrupted because it was time for my friend to leave. A blast, and the train slowly pulled out of the station.

At the very next stop I ordered a copious luncheon. I don't think I have ever enjoyed a meal so much.

RAMAKRISHNA MISSION PRESIDENT IN BOMBAY.

His Holiness Swami Virajanandaji, President of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, is on a visit to Bombay this month. Inspired by the life and teachings of Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Virajananda renounced the world and joined the Ramakrishna Order in 1891, at the age of 17. He had the rare privilege of living with most of the direct disciples of the Master, and profiting by their life of intense spiritual practices. After Swami Vivekananda's return from the West in 1897, Swami Virajananda was initiated into 'sanyasa' and was sent to Eastern Bengal on a preaching tour. During the next few years he was in different parts of Northern India, particularly at the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, District Almora. He was made a trustee of the Belur Math in 1906, and that very year he was put in charge of the Mayavati Ashrama on the demise of its President Swami Swarupananda. He successfully held this Office till 1913, and in addition was the editor of the *Prabudha Bharata* the English monthly organ of the Order. During his regime the early volumes of the complete works and the life of Swami Vivekananda were published. The next year he founded, in the Almora district, a beautiful Retreat, called the Vivekananda Ashrama, at Shyamala Tal, where he passed many years in meditation amid the quiet and sublimity of the Himalayan forest. Since 1926 he has been actively in touch with the work of the Headquarters of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission, of which he was elected Secretary in 1934 and Vice-President in May 1938 and President in October the same year.

ALL INDIA EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Arrangements for reception of delegates to the All India Educational Conference to be held at Lucknow during the ensuing Christmas holidays from December 26th to 31st are being completed under the energetic direction of Dr. Rai Rajeshwari Bali, B. A., O. B. E., D. Litt., Ex-minister of Education, Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. L. K. Shah, M. A., Ph. D., its General Secretary. A comprehensive programme of papers, discussions and lectures under the general theme, "A National system of Education for India" in general sessions and sectional meetings; musical and dramatic entertainments and sight-seeing in and around the historic city is being drawn up and the traditional hospitality of the citizens of Lucknow should make the stay of guests during Christmas week at Lucknow enjoyable as well as instructive. Dr. Sir Radhakrishnan, Vice-chancellor of the Hindu University, Benares has kindly consented to preside. Printed brochures giving complete detailed information about the conference can be had from Dr. L. K. Shah, Lucknow Christian Training College, Lucknow, U. P.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Subscription Rates.

nland ... Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign ... Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 6 annas each, exclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please apply to :-

THE MANAGER,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA,

BOMBAY 20.

LIFE INSURANCE TRUST PLAN

THE outright payment of the Insurance money to the widow or children in one lump sum is a great mistake. To apply a real test you would only ask yourself how your wife would invest such a sum now without any help whatever from you. The woman who has been "All the Wife and Mother" is ill-equipped to invest and safeguard funds designed to her family's protection for many years.

Therefore take advantage of

OUR INVESTMENT TRUST PLAN

For further particulars apply to :—

THE SECRETARY

CENTRAL BANK EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE CO., LTD.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: 9, Bakehouse, Lane, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Wai (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar (" ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha (" ").
Nandurbar (" ").
Shirpur (" ").
Shahada (" ").
Sakri (" ").
Sindkheda (" ").
Taloda (" ").
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara (" ").
Kalwan (" ").
Dohad (District Panch Mahal).
Kalol " "
Akluj (District Sholapur).

DIRECTORS,

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
Prof. V. G. Kale.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar,
S. N. Jamdar, Esq.,
K. M. Thakor, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq.,
D. J. Zunjarrao, Esq.
Rao Saheb V. C. Jadhav.
D. V. Potdar, Esq.
V. S. Basawanal, Esq.
S. T. More, Esq.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq.,
(Managing Director).

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches —
- BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
- BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
- CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
- ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
- MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
- KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
- AHMEDABAD.
- AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
- CALCUTTA.
- CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
- CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
- JAMSHEDPUR.
- NAGPUR CITY.
- NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
- POONA.
- POONA CITY.
- RAJKOT.
- SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad. Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & **MADRAS.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, t is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma : —

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,

SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd

PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 18, 1939. No. 12

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Mysore Constitutional Reform.
The Peace Move.
Personalities in History.
Freedom and Totalitarianism.
India and War News.
Sir Frank Noyce's Advice.
Indians in Natal.
The Constituent Assembly.
From Republic to Dictatorship.
Mr. Jinnah on Islam.
Rethinking Christianity in India.
The Russian Sphinx.
Democracy and Dictatorship.
Indian Music.
Some Pointers Towards Political Peace.

NOTES.

Mysore Constitutional Reform :—The scheme of Mysore constitutional reform includes enlargement of the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly both as regards their constitution and functions, and the nomination of two elected members to membership of the Executive Council of the State. The two members so nominated, however, will be responsible to His Highness the Maharaja and not to the Legislature, that is to say, they will not be removable from office on an adverse vote in the Legislature. The arrangement can not be dismissed as unworkable but its successful working will depend on the existence of a cordial spirit of co-operation between the Government and the Legislature, unattainable under a Party system. The franchise has been lowered and the number of voters to the Assembly will be nearly twice as many as at present. Separate electorates have been assigned to Muslims at their request. This is but just. But, as we pointed out recently, this would be an effective barrier in the way of the minority, by ability and force of character, acquiring an effective influence in directing the course of policy. The Muslims may come to realise this by experience. The vicious principle of weightage has been adopted, though only to a small extent, but even with weightage, Muslims will still be a minority. The fact that they have been given a weightage can not but detract from the sense of responsibility of the more broad-minded section of the majority for the well-being of the whole population including the minority. Whatever may be the uses of weightages in British India, in Mysore where the Maharaja remains the balance-wheel controlling the whole machinery, they are unlikely to be anything better than an encumbrance. The outside world will judge the new constitution by the high standard set by the one which it supplants. Mysore has been fortunate in enjoying continuity of administration for over two generations. Much credit is due to the able administrators who served the Maharajas as Dewans during this period. Even more credit is due to the rulers themselves for trusting them, and according them their full support while they were in office. In all but name Mysore has in these respects been a constitutional monarchy. If the politically-minded people of Mysore appreciate this fact and work the new constitution with an earnest desire to maintain this continuity, the future of the State will surely be even more progressive and be fraught with great blessings to its people and be, moreover, an object-lesson to the whole country.

The Peace Move :—The endeavour of the Queen of Holland and the King of Belgium to persuade the belligerents in the present War to agree to have their claims against each other settled by means of negotiation, has not led to any change in the situation. The British Sovereign and the French President have sent separate replies to their Majesties. Herr Hitler's reply is a polite refusal to negotiate for Peace since the replies of the British and French Governments advanced terms which Germany can not even discuss, much less accept. The British reply does not specify any terms. It repeats generally the formula of Mr. Chamberlain, namely, that the aim of the Allies is "to secure that Europe is redeemed from the perpetually recurring fear of German aggression, to enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence, and liberties and to prevent the resort to force instead of pacific means for the settlement of international disputes." This is exactly what the two Sovereigns who have most reason to make sure of their independence, invited the belligerents to do. The British reply, therefore, amounts to a refusal to negotiate with the present German Government. More specifically the French President insists that reparation should be made for the injustice done to Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. If he means that these countries must be restored to their pre-Munich status, it would mean that not only the evacuation of the parts of Poland now permanently incorporated in Soviet Russia but also the surrender of the Sudeten district of Czechoslovakia annexed by Germany with the consent of the British and French Governments. An International tribunal is the most suitable agency for the adjudication of these and other questions which are likely to arise out of them. King George prefaces his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

reply by mentioning that the Dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa have been consulted and that his reply embodies their views as well as that of the British Government. Eire is omitted from the list, because she has declared her neutrality in this war. India is omitted because she has no independent status in the Commonwealth.

Personalities in History:—In an article which is given the leading place in the current *Political Quarterly*, Mr. Leonard Woolf urges that the political problems of Europe are not, as popularly supposed, the outcome of the acts of individuals but of forces of which the individual is a symptom and a symbol. Mr. Woolf observes:

> If there is one certain fact about the determination of historical events in the past, it is that the individuals who at first sight appear to be the ultimate causes, in reality played a very minor role. A Napoleon and a Hitler, even a Pericles and an Augustus, were the puppets or symbols of deep social forces. If you want to know why things happened or why they did not happen, you must investigate not the individuals, but these forces which jerked their arms and legs and minds one way or another.

This is a new version of the old theory that the great man is the son of his time and not its father and progenitor. Against this, we have the theory that history is largely the biography of great men. While it is certainly true that the great man does not come like a bolt from the blue but is moulded out of the circumstances of his time and environment, it is at the same time difficult to deny that he has a definite influence in directing the minds of his contemporaries and thus moulding the shape of things to come. In India hero-worship is fostered by the religious doctrine of avatars. Every man of some distinction in any walk of life, more especially in religion or what resembles religion, runs the risk of being dubbed an Avatar and relegated to the national pantheon. What is more, he himself is liable to develop the notion that he represents the Divine Being. Here, therefore, we have to be on guard against being imposed by the belief in history as the expression of personal factors. But it is idle to deny that great personalities do shape the course of history if only to give it a bent or bias towards one rather than towards another ideal. In India, for example, Gandhiji's influence in popularising the ideal of non-violence has been very great. It may not be lasting and may give way to some other personal influence. That is another question.

Freedom and Totalitarianism:—Mr. J. M. Ganguli in his article on "Democracy and Dictatorship" which we publish this week, warns readers not be led away by phrases. It is apparent that familiarity with the operation of democracy has turned him away from the theory of democracy. On the other hand, the social and economic achievements of totalitarianism—it is clear he means just this by "dictatorship"—have compelled him to ask whether after all there is not a redeeming feature to Nazism. It is interesting to note that Gandhiji's *Harijan* is following a similar trend of thought in a series of articles headed rather apologetically "Even Hitler may teach." It is rather unfortunate that the realisation should have come at a time when the chances of the democracies "learning" from Herr Hitler are very remote. An earlier and wider recognition of this might have averted the present war. When Mr. Ganguli argues that there is not much to choose in the actual working of Governments, whether democratic or Fascist, and that, therefore, the acid test is in the immediate results in economic and social amelioration, he ignores the subtle influence of the declared principles of a government on its policies. The reason why democracy and dictatorship shade into each other is largely because neither totalitarianism nor democracy is complete in itself. All government involves some coercion. The fact that it has to be exercised over men and women by men and women necessarily implies that the coercion can not be complete at any time. Even the most democratic administration has to employ repressive measures at times. All totalitarian regimes claim to rest on the will of their peoples. The democratic imperialisms occupy a peculiar position: They exercise absolute power over their colonial possessions, but it has been subject to a certain responsibility to opinion in their own countries or, after the experiment of the mandates system, to the League of Nations. Where the conflict between their autocratic regime and the wishes of the people was too glaring, they always urged the greater interests of the races they ruled over, sometimes even calling it "educating the subject peoples to democracy." These factors are calculated to confuse the issues and to blur all distinctions. It is only when we turn from systems to the individual that we can appreciate the basic difference between Totalitarianism and Democracy. That the ideals of Democracy have been but imperfectly achieved is no argument for their abandonment.

India and War News:—The paucity of war news and the fact that the House of Commons has so far twice discussed the subject of censorship of Indian news, are likely to create the impression that much more news is available in Britain than there is out here. The last mails from Britain have brought us the journals issued early in October and so far as we can make out they have nothing new to give by way of information. What is remarkable, however, in the great freedom allowed to writers in Britain to express all shades of opinion on the war with Germany. There could have been no better argument for the democratic system. In the first discussion on the censorship on cables sent to India, it was clear that the reference was more to the expression of certain views than to the publication of news. Now the Under-Secretary for India explained that it might be advisable to adopt a different policy in India even as regards news, to what is followed in Britain. It is obvious

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that the censoring must relate to messages which are of special interest to India and not, as the debate on November 9 indicated, to criticism of the conduct of neutral countries. It is difficult otherwise to see why the publication of news released freely in Britain should be indiscreet in India.

Sir Frank Noyce's Advice :—Sir Frank Noyce is an able and distinguished retired member of the Indian Civil Service. This unfortunately is not a qualification for any one who undertakes to advise India on her national aims and aspirations. The Indian Civil Service man is by his interests, training and habits precluded almost physically from regarding the Indian except as a person destined to remain perpetually under the benevolent protection of the British bureaucracy composed of men like himself. He is unable, like most Englishmen who have interests in India, to imagine that the Indian may have the same ambitions and aspirations as the Englishman and the Scotsman. Although British economic and industrial policy in this country has been notoriously self-interested, the retired Englishman is ever proclaiming the duty of Indians to place above everything else the economic advantage of this country. Reuter sent us this week a summary of an address which Sir Frank delivered at the East India Association in London. We have seldom come across a more muddled summary of what was presumably an interesting address by an exceptionally able administrator. We are told Sir Frank thought that modern India was faced with the same problems and temptations as Germany (of all countries). One day Lord Samuel tells the world that Hinduism and Hitlerism are as poles asunder. The next day, an experienced Englishman who has spent the best part of his life in the Indian Civil Service tells us that we are beset by the same temptation as Herr Hitler, implying that we are likely to succumb to it like Herr Hitler. Now, what are Germany's temptations? She wants to be a world power like Great Britain and France. Do Indians have any such aspiration? Herr Hitler wants colonies in Africa. Indians, on the other hand, have to struggle everyday of their lives to maintain their position as law-abiding citizens who only wish to be allowed to make their living in that Continent. Sir Frank also compared us to Russia. In his opinion these two countries are foolish in spending a large part of their wealth on military preparations, which they might save if they attached themselves presumably to the British Commonwealth or the United of America. "If," he said, "she (India) elects to stand alone, she will, like Germany and Russia, dissipate an increasing margin of her wealth brought about by technical progress, in directions of singularly little value to a great majority of her citizens." India does not aspire to be a military power. She has no quarrel with any Power and does not intend to have one hereafter. As a nation, she has always been devoted to peace and she is greatly vexed when without any excuse on her part she is required to develop a war mentality. But is not Great Britain also using up a large part of her wealth on objects which are of no benefit but of great risk to a great majority of her citizens?

Indians in Natal :—A Reuter's telegram from Johannesburg says :—

> The executive committee of the new Natal Indian Association recently formed by amalgamation of the Natal Colonial-Born and Settlers Indian Association has adopted as a resolution that, while opposed to segregation or separation of races, it is prepared, with a view to establishing more cordial relations between European and Indian communities, to do everything in its power to prevent purchase of any property by Indians in any predominantly European residential area.
>
> The resolution, subject to confirmation by the general meeting of the Association, also accepted the Minister of Interior's suggestion to appoint a sub-committee to work in co-operation with the housing committee of the Durban City Council. The Association believes that this step will enable the City Council to obtain an insight into the housing needs and difficulties of the Indian community and ultimately result in a satisfactory solution of the problem of penetration without recourse to legislation.

We welcome this arrangement which, if carried out in the friendly spirit by which it is inspired, should ensure the provision to Indians of the same amenities in their residential areas as are enjoyed by Europeans in theirs. Otherwise, it will be of no good either to the Indians or the Whites. The great thing is to guard against the creation of slums which ghettos invariably tend to become. It is natural for people of one community or class to prefer to live amidst others of the same class.

The Constituent Assembly :—The late Prime Minister of Madras, Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya in a speech in Madras, sought to remove some misconceptions regarding the Constituent Assembly which the Congress wants to be called to frame a constitution for India. He said that it was not intended that the Assembly should be composed only of representatives of the Congress and the Moslem League. It would, on the contrary, include all parties, interests and communities. Just how this is to be done is the first and greatest problem in convening such an Assembly. Mr. Rajagopalacharya seems to have some sort of election by popular electorates in view. But popular electorates are not expected to be versed in constitutional principles and machinery. They will elect more or less the same representatives as they returned to the Legislatures. Mr. Rajagopala's faith in popular bodies varies with their attitude to his party. If they support it, they are the voice of the people and the voice of God. If they oppose him, as in respect of compulsory Hindi in middle schools, they are riff-raff and may be repressed with all the powers of the old bureaucracy. This comes out clearly in his objection to the States being represented in the Constituent Assembly. They represent, he says, only Governments and not the people, as if there can be a people without a Government.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 18, 1939.

FROM REPUBLIC TO DICTATORSHIP.

The emergence of military dictatorships in Europe from the chaos and confusion left behind by the last War, is not, as is commonly thought, a new or strange phenomenon. The Roman Republic which at its best was a model of integrity, was succeeded by a military dictatorship just as ruthless as the dictatorships in Europe. The transition from Republic to dictatorship in Rome did not come suddenly. It covered nearly two centuries. While historians have given us glimpses of the transition period, there has not been any systematic study so far of the steps by which the transition took place. We are indebted to the Illinois University in its famous series of Studies in the Social Sciences for supplying this omission. The latest volume in the series, entitled "Mob Violence in the late Roman Republic, 133-49 B. C.," maintains the high standard of the Studies. It is fully documented as all these Studies are. In his brief Preface, the author of this monograph, Professor John Wesley Heaton, notes that many of the problems are obviously parallel to situations which are troubling our own modern life, and among these are the rise of a class of gangsters and the increasing frequency of mob violence. He sums up the main originating factors of the period in a weighty paragraph. He writes—

> This development is part of the larger story of how the Roman city state expanded into a world empire and of the political, social and economic problems which resulted. Although embracing practically all the peoples of the Mediterranean area, the government had been unable to adapt itself to changing conditions and continued to struggle along under an outmoded constitution. Many were demanding political representation and equality; others wanted work and the sustenance of life, amid the general plenty; still others fought against class distinctions and the bondage of slavery. All these demands are represented in the violent disorders which occurred in the State from the time of the Gracchi to the beginning of the empire.

In his first chapter, Professor Heaton traces the origin and growth of the Roman proletariat which was the chief factor in undermining the pure republican spirit of the Romans and eventually of the destruction of the Republic. The stages by which the Roman small farmers of the early Republic noted for their piety, dutifulness, and patriotism, were transformed into the "plebs urbana" of the first century, who centred their ambitions on "panem et circenses" are described in the first chapter which furnishes the background of the whole Study.

Wars played a great part in the demoralisation of Roman society. After the Punic Wars, Professor Heaton observes, owing chiefly to the acquisition of the riches of the Mediterranean lands, there came a precipitate change in Roman life, similar to that experienced by many modern nations following the World War. The introduction of wealth and a luxurious mode of living, exercised a great influence upon the development of the proletariat. But, as Professor Heaton, the masses shared to greater degree in this material improvement really were worse off than before because of consequent increase in urban costs. In other words, there was considerable unemployment which was aggravated by the existence of the institution of slavery. The Wars took a heavy toll of citizens. Their place had to be filled by slaves for whom there grew up a steadily increasing demand from employers. More than 10,000 slaves were sold in a single day in Delos, the chief emporium of the trade. Slaves were allowed to marry and multiply and were thus a source of great gain to the large landowners. In fact, it was no unusual thing for slaves to be bred for the market from selected slaves much like cattle. Gladiators served as stud bulls and were paid for the service. The doctrine of race purity was not a modern invention. Among the causes of the decline of the republican spirit in Rome historians have given a prominent place to the influx of aliens and their intermixture with the citizens. To meet the problem of unemployment grain doles were regularly given to the people which led to large numbers from the country side pouring into Rome and swelling the ranks of the proletariat. The following profound observation may be well pondered over by the student of current politics in many countries including our own :

> Another cause of the degradation of the proletariat lay in the quality of its leadership, for it may be taken as axiomatic that popular groups tend to correspond to the type of men who command them. As Cicero says, the character of prominent individuals is usually reproduced in the whole state.

It is not the purpose of a study like the present to indicate how the problems of the Romans should or could have been better solved with the knowledge and resources at their disposal. But it is clear that in Professor Heaton's opinion a more discriminate extension of the Roman franchise might have averted some of the worst incidents of the transition period.

> The election practices of the day served to exaggerate the importance of the proletariat and to degrade further the lower elements. The small shopkeepers and workmen, clients and dependents, the loafers and beggers, were the objects of special attention in order to attract their votes.

We may conclude this short and cursory notice of an important contribution to social and historical studies, with a passage in which Professor Heaton refers to the influx of Oriental religious ideas as a cause of the demoralisation of the Roman people :

> An additional factor in the degradation of the masses was the decay of the old Roman religion and the entry of Oriental mystic conceptions and practices. The old state rites became more and more a political figment especially following the Aelian and Fufian laws of about 150 B. C., and were used by the nobility for invalidating the wishes of the people. On the other hand, Oriental religions were coming into Rome in the second and first centuries being disseminated by the Eastern slaves and by many Romans who had been in contact with the East. These religions made

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

great emotional appeal to the multitude through their orgiastic rites and colourful processions. While the conservative nobility tried at various times to stop their progress, yet these influences, especially among the masses, increaed by leaps and bounds. Among others, the cults of Magna Mater, Bellona, Isis and Osiris, Jewry, astronomy and astrology, all had their devoted followers.

MR. JINNAH ON ISLAM.

When it was announced two days ago that Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, had kindly consented to broadcast from the Bombay station, without the subject being mentioned, one's first feeling was that the Director of the Bombay Station was initiating a departure from established precedent, which was bound to lead to controversy. That Monday on which Mr. Jinnah was to broadcast was Id day and that his observations would have reference to the religious significance of the festival, did not, though obvious, suggest itself. Mr. Jinnah has not been known to be interested in anything outside his profession and politics. Latterly his political activities had thrown even his professional life in the shade. Not only was Mr. Jinnah not known to be particularly interested in religion. He was even thought to be indifferent to it. But appearances in such matters are nearly always deceptive. Profoundly religious men do not parade their religion. Mr. Jinnah, it is clear, belongs to this class. His broadcast was really a sermon on Islam. It showed that Mr. Jinnah was deeply versed in and had pondered on the things of the spirit. His statement of the essence of Islam. his emphasis on its tolerance and charity, and his incidental exposition of the bearing of these qualities on the duty of Indian Muslims to their country and their non-Muslim countrymen, were inspired by a lofty idealism. It was a sermon which, with a few verbal alterations, might have been pronounced from a Hindu mandir or a Christian pulpit. In their higher reaches all great religions proclaim the same truths. There is a beautiful story in illustration of the harmony of religious experience. A Muslim Fakir came to a city where a Hindu Sadhu had pitched his tent. The Sadhu to intimate to the Fakir that he was already in possession sent the latter by a chela a bowl brimful of milk. The Fakir, no doubt a Persian versed in the lore of flowers, returned the milk with a few rose petals floating on the top, implying that his presence would affect the Sadhu as little as would the rose petals, the weight or volume of the milk. If all religious leaders were men of religious experience and not merely practitioners who had learnt their theology second and third hand, there would be no dissensions on account of religion. Religion would then be the greatest harmonising factor in the world.

Mr. Jinnah interpreted Islam to mean Action. We have always understood it to mean surrender to the Will of God. Pickthall in his English translation of the Koran adopts this sense. There is, of course, a sense in which the distinction between action and inaction ceases to exist. The most intense activity seems to onlookers like complete inactivity. A top at the height of its spin is a fine illustration. Tennyson's lines of the tide which moving seems asleep too full for sound or foam is another. A modern economic-minded young man reproached for doing nothing a Sadhu whom he saw sitting day after day motionless in the temple precints. The Sadhu replied by requesting the economist to still sit by his side for a while. The young man found it difficult to remain in one posture for more than a few minutes. After about ten or fifteen minutes he gave up trying and confessed to the Sadhu that, though economically unremunerative, to sit still was no easy job. You can not be still unless your mind is concentrated. And concentration of mind is the most intense form of human activity. And concentration is possible only as an act of Surrender. Therefore, Islam as Surrender to the will of God is also Islam as Action. But to the ordinary man, Action means a displacement of one thing by another or from one place to another—a movement in space. Action is very difficult to define. But the chief objection to accepting Action as a religious principle is that all action is liable to reaction. How to perform Action without its leading to Reactions inconsistent with the purpose of the Action, is the great problem of Mechanics as well as of Religion. The qualities which make a good Mussulman as defined by the Prophet of Arabia are precisely the same as those which other religions demand of their votaries. Subjectively, the requirements of a good Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Christian or Zoroastrian are identical. Mr. Jinnah in his sermon said that at the root of all forms of activity there should be religious enlightenment in order to make them productive of good to humanity. This is a sound principle and we welcome it as coming from the President of the Muslim League.

RETHINKING CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.*

The last two words in the title of this volume of Essays by seven earnest and thoughtful Indian Christians restrict the Rethinking of Christianity to the situation in this country. But the great fact about Christianity today is its rejection, avowed or tacit, by the nations of Europe and America which have professed it for a thousand years and have sent missionaries to non-Christian lands to convert their peoples to the several sects prevalent in them. For the last one hundred years Christianity in non-Christian countries has been identified with European civilisation with its predominantly commercial and political outlook. Livingstone had to hold out the prospect of extending the market for Manchester cloth in order to interest the British Government in his mission to Africa. Christian Missions nowadays are a part of the paraphernalia of that curious compound, democratic Imperialism. Even countries like France and Portugal which are anti-clerical at home, maintain missionaries in Asia, Africa and Oceania. It is obvious, therefore, that Christianity will today stand at the bar of history side by side with the political and economic nationalism of Europe and America, unless it boldly assumes the role of accuser itself. This should properly be undertaken by some eminent representative of European Christianity. His Holiness the Pope occasionally issues a non-committal encyclical deploring the murder of Peace in the name of Civilisation. The Archbishop of Canterbury does not do this even. His Grace has on the other hand adopted and proclaimed the doctrine that force must be met by force. In India foreign missionaries continue to magnify the mote in Hindu eyes totally unmindful of the beam in the eyes of Westernism. In default of an European or American John Knox to denounce the failure of Christianity in Europe, it is incumbent on Indian Christians to take the unpleasant duty on themselves. Their omission to do so is a disappointing feature of "Re-thinking Christianity." The fact that all the contributors to this volume are South Indians, is significant. Only in South India is there a real and earnest endeavour to treat Christianity

*Edited by Messrs. D. N. Devasahayam and Mr. A. N. Sudarisanam. Madras. Price Rs. 2/8/0.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

as a spiritual asset. In Northern India, Indian Christians are quarrelling with Missonaries over the possession of Church property which apparently they value most. There is no mistaking the zeal, the earnestness and the enthusiasm of the contributors to this volume in their endeavour to link up Christianity with India's religious tradition. It is not difficult to do so if you approach the task from the right angle. But their way of approach is bound to multiply difficulties. As a Hindu, one can accept any religious teacher or teaching without a qualm of conscience. As a Christian, as the term is commonly understood, you cannot do so. There is nothing in any of these papers which a Hindu writer could not have written. In fact, the standpoint of these writers is essentially Hindu. And yet one is surprised to read the statement of Mr. Job—the only writer with a non-Hindu name in the galaxy—that Swami Vivekananda's teaching that one can be a good Christian and a good Muslim as well as a good Hindu in the scheme of the Vedanta, rests on a confusion of thought. Mr. Job's belief that there was at any time a fear that Christianity is the only serious rival to Hinduism, might have been true of the early years of the last century. Raja Ram Mohan Roy certainly felt so and exerted his powerful influence to stop the tide of conversion which had set in. And he succeeded. The founding of the Brahmo Samaj effectively choked up the stream of proselytes from among caste Hindus. Today Christianity is not thought of as a serious competitor. Its failure in Europe has deprived it of its prestige as a religion and as the road to material prosperity and political predominance. The Hindu-Muslim controversy has further sidetracked the Hindu-Christian rivalry, so much so that a friend remarked some time back that if, as proposed by Dr. Ambedkar, the scheduled castes should change their religion, he would rather that they became Christians than Muslims.

THE RUSSIAN SPHINX.

(By a Reader).

If it is not impertinent I should like to congratulate *The Reformer* on its note on M. Molotov's speech. It is in striking contrast to the opinion expressed by most papers in India regarding the Soviet betrayal of Poland and its subsequent waving of the big stick in regard to the Baltic States. If M. Molotov means by a free hand in international affairs that Russia has decided to become master of all it surveyed, then advocates of the "New Order," among whom may be included India, with its detached outlook on world affairs, should call a spade a spade and courageously face the issue being raised by the Soviet's relapse into dynamic politics.

During the five years which have elapsed since Russia's entry into the League of Nations—the reported move to get out of it is quite consistent with its change of front—the spokesmen of that country earned such a name for balanced thinking by manly protests against any form of oppression of small nations, that one thought that the march to the democratic fold would be sure and steady. Two years ago, Prof. Barker pointed out in the course of a remarkable paper on ideologies: "Communist Russia now seeks to take her place by the side of the Liberal-Democratic States in defending the cause of a static ideology in international affairs. Perhaps the new company which she is seeking to keep has been the great factor which has tended of late to draw Russia, even in the sphere of her own internal life, towards a formal approximation to the general democratic system of ideas." The political orphan was thus admitted into the League after a good deal of hesitation, but Russia showed by its conduct that it was safe and sound as far as international affairs were concerned. Even before that, Russia had qualified for admission by its declaration at the Disarmament Conference in favour of general and complete disarmament, though, of course, it received short shrift. As a matter of fact, its fanciful intention had even earlier been proclaimed to the world in the Treaty of 1929, to which Poland and Russia, among others, were parties, of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy; and in 1934 it had agreed to such a meticulous definition of aggression that, to an impartial mind, not versed in the intricate, involved and capricious logic of totalitarian minds, the march into Poland on the 17th September in the year of grace 1939, appears to be a cynically brutal violation of that principle in every particular. As late as September of last year, the Foreign Commissar of U. S. S. R., Comrade Litvinoff, who has gone the way of those who dared to oppose Stalin, stated in the League that Russia was ready to fulfil her obligation with France to Czechoslovakia in the event of an unprovoked aggression. It is unnecessary to speculate whether, if Mr. Chamberlain had not been inspired with the thought of appeasing Her Hitler Russia would have fulfilled her obligations. Probably she would have. As regards the Abyssinian affair, the U. S. S. R. had earlier protested against Italian action.

In the face of these soul-satisfying declarations, why did Russia invade Poland; why has it loyally adopted the tactics and technique of Germany; and why has it threatened the three Baltic States of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia into submission, the three latter being forced to receive 75,000 Russian soldiers; and why is Finland being coerced? India's opinion generally adverse to Mr. Chamberlain's handling of the international situation, denounced him for not taking Russia into consultation as regards the crisis of September 1938. The sequel, however, would appear to justify, to some extent, the British Premier's suspicions of Russia and his long-drawn out negotiations with that country for a pact of mutual assistance in case of an unprovoked aggression against Poland and Rumania.

A probable explanation is that the heart of the Soviet Republic had not changed, though its intellect gained mastery for some time. It must have been all along hugging the view that treaties are there to be broken and that the only thing that mattered was self-interest, enlightened or disinterested or otherwise. Great Britain has not been free from this taint; far from it. There has been a serious decline in British moral standards, as Sir Alfred Zimmern has pointed out. For what else is the case of Ethiopia? And since Sir Alfred spoke, there have been other instances—Czechoslovakia, Albania, Austria. But one must admit that there is considerable force in what Sir Alfred says, "For many generations past humanitarian considerations have never been entirely absent from British policy.....of how many other European Powers, great and small, could that be said?" In 1830 Russian took away the constitution it had granted to Poland because, forsooth, the Polish rebellion justified that step. Only a thin dividing line there is between autocracy and dictatorship and Stalin has followed this example by invading Poland and annexing a third of it because Poland had been unsuccessful in resisting German onslaught, thereby threatening the very existence of her blood-brothers, the White-Russian and the Ukrainian! If she was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

peacefully inclined, could she not have assisted Poland, or at any rate, asked Germany to try the method of negotiation? Three years ago Bertrand Russell wrote: "There is no impossibility in an alliance between Germany and Russia leading to a new partition of Poland.....Everything possible is being done by Stalin to show that no question of principle divides him from Hitler, and I cannot doubt that he would be glad if the differences between the two countries could be composed at the expense of the traditional victim." A prophecy, not inferred from the conjunction of stars and planets, but made by a severely critical and intellectual judgment of national trends and it has come true! The fact is Soviet foreign policy which appeared at one time to have changed, has really not undergone any transformation. Two outstanding facts have to be remembered in this connection. One is that though the ideologies of Nazis and Communists differ in some important respects, they agree in a great many others. As Mr. Frank Newnes pointed out in a recent issue of *The Times*, the similarities extend to (1) dictatorship, (2) controlled press, (3) formidable secret police, (4) horrible concentration camps, (5) compulsory service, (6) persecution of hated people—Jews in one case and the higher classes in the other, (7) farcical elections. Other points may be mentioned, but these are the more important, and the two countries, unburdened by any lofty principles of State action and quite indifferent to world appraisement, adopt such tactics, methods and expedients as suit them or their leaders, or their prestige at the moment. And both are under Sphinxes whose intentions are not known and whose actions are unknowable except when they act. Of Stalin, S. Domitrievsky said (according to Stephen Graham): "Calm and immobile sits Stalin, with the stone face of a large historic dragon, in which alone the eyes are living. His thoughts, wishes, plans, crowd upon his mind..... He knows all that is happening in the spaces of immense Russia. But nothing agitates him. He has no doubts." No one knows his mind: He is a Sphinx.

M. Molotov, Stalin's "shadow," as he has been called, has, as *The Reformer* very correctly pointed out, very plainly hinted that Russia would not hesitate to go to war with the Allies if any attempt were made to revive that unwanted child, the Versailles Treaty. And yet is it not the duty of the Allies to restore the portion of Poland which Russia has now filched? In the name of all that is fair and just what does this callous remark mean? One understands the danger of alienating Russia: there is Germany to fight against, the Suez to guard and India to save. And India quite appreciates the necessity to guard against Russian aggression but all that does not hide the hideous reality of Russian help to Germany—materials, food and, if the "shadow's" veiled reference is true, man power tomorrow. Germany, Mussolini and General Hertzog ask why, if the Allies are waging an ideological war and desire, in pursuance thereof, to restore Poland, they have not declared war against Russia. The charge is mischievious, devilish and all that. But has it not some foundation? Why, in the name of commonsense should we ignore this aspect? War has its surprises and anything may happen. But we, who are for the enthronement of truth and justice in the direction of the affairs of the world, should look facts in the face and not bury our heads, like the ostrich, in the sand, as the Allied statesmen are doing.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

The words democracy and dictatorship have been much in the press and on the lips of persons of late. The political regimes in some of the European States which have been augmenting and strengthening their national forces with a view to share more advantageously than at present the political, economic and territorial rights, privileges and possessions of the world with those who have them now, have been denounced as high-handed and irresponsible dictatorships, and have been adversely contrasted with their own governments by the latter powers, who want to keep their possessions and advantages undisturbed. These powers have eulogised their own systems of government as democratic, which, in its commonly understood significance, implies representative of the will of people, whereas the dictatorships, they point out, are subversive of the same. In as much as a single man's personality has a more or less dominating influence in a dictatorship, it can well be said that its acts and doings do not truly reflect the mind of the people; but, then, in the case of a democracy also it can be urged that it is controlled, if not by a single person, by a small group forming the government. If it be bad system for one man to run a country's policy and administration, it cannot be better for a small group in a country of millions of men to do the same. There is little real difference between the two. The point is only to what extent the ruling man or the ruling group is in possession of public respect and confidence, and how far its conduct of State affairs receives people's approbation. In this respect what a democracy may have to say in its favour can easily be repeated by a dictatorship with no less plausibility. If the will and support of people are said to be the sanction behind a democracy, a dictator can also point to the same behind him; for, as a democracy endures on the sufferance of people, a dictatorship has likewise to depend on it. Both Hitler and Mussolini, for instance, can well assert that they command much greater public support than, say the present British or French governments., for, if the people of those countries be asked to vote for or against their respective governments, surely a much greater percentage would vote for Hitler and Mussolini than for the French or British Governments.

As regards the question of responsibility to their people, the German and Italian dictators are responsible to their parliaments, where they enjoy majority support, as the French and British ministries are to their parliaments, where they have majority backing. If the dictators have been invested with greater discretionary powers than the other governments, that rather shows the greater confidence, which they have of their parliaments and of the people whom those parliaments represent.

Moreover, against the claim of the democratic governments of their responsibility to the people, the dictators can very pertinently refer to the complete absence of such responsibility in the imperial possessions of the democratic states. Millions of people in these possessions are ruled by governments, which constitutionally do not owe any responsibility to them, but only to their distant home governments; such utter irresponsibility is not merely a glaring inconsistency, but it completely removes the ground, on which imperial goverments can take their stand for making protestations of even the essential principles of democracy.

Not to give in, the democracies will perhaps submit that they came to power constitutionally through proper elections. But, unlike the days of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Cromwell, in these days, dictators, like, say Hitler or Stalin, have also come through elective organisations, with one remarkable difference that whereas the democratic governments can only count on more or less working popular support in their countries and in their parliaments, the dictators confidently ride on overwhelming public and parliamentary popularity.

These facts and considerations come to mind when one sits down to judge deeply and dispassionately the merits and demerits of the one form of government against the other. There appears little to choose between the two. When looking at the dark side of one, black spots in the other come to view. Constitutional defects or lack of justification of one counterpoise those of the other.

To compare them and appraise them rightly and correctly, therefore, there can be only one criterion, namely, that of their actual record of service and administration. So far as such record in their imperial and extra-territorial possessions is concerned, none of them can hold its head high in confidence of receiving the verdict of impartial critics of unselfish and benevolent service to subjugated people and countries, or can produce its hands unsoiled by the crime of their oppression and exploitation.

In their own countries, however, they show different results. While the democratic states have generally remained in restful and unthinking contentment, letting domestic things and tendencies take their own unguided course and only anxious to maintain the existing political *status quo*, the dictatorships have been up and doing, thinking out and effecting improvements, augmenting national strength and stimulating national confidence, and even discouraging tendencies which weaken and demoralise individuals and nations. Thus, in Italy and Germany, loose, immoral tendencies in modern European society have been discouraged, and settled married life has been given economic premium. Industrial life has been comparatively purified by Hitler's advice to women to return to their home life and domestic work, an advice which is very far-sighted from all points of view of social welfare. Women doing domestic work in the peaceful atmosphere of their home are not only physically and mentally better off than those labouring hard in the vicious environments of factories and workshops, but they become better mothers also and birth-givers of better children. Recently Hitler has asked the German women returning home from Holland to give up their Parisian modes and fashions, which are likely to create jealousy in others and also to lead to unwholesome competition and bitterness. Whatever some people, who without deep thinking, would decry the imposition of any restriction on individual liberty of thought and action may say, this shows much forethought in the German Dictator. Some or other restriction on private liberty is inevitable and is present in all society and in all states in the form of conventions and laws. You can not even for instance sing in a high pitch, if you feel inspired to sing in the dead of night for fear of being proceeded against in a law court the next morning by your neighbours for creating nuisance. If, therefore, you adopt in your home ways which may have an unhappy or corrupting influence on your neighbour's family, a well-intentioned state authority can not be said to be altogether with out moral justification if he were to ask you to give them up.

As a matter of fact, through the system of education in vogue at a time and other means of propaganda of current tastes and ideas, the free and uninfluenced growth of individuality is never possible, nor is it even sought; and the measure of such education and influence on it is also the extent of cramping restrictions on its natural development. Such restriction is, moreover, not necessarily bad. It is possible to direct one's mental growth towards higher idealism than that of merely making the best of one's animal existence. When such direction is undertaken by a well-intentioned and far-seeing person or organisation, as is done, for instance, or is rather the idea in schools, restrictions incidentally imposed on personal liberty need not be blindly criticised.

For such and other beneficial purposes a dictatorship is more suitable than a democracy. In democracy or group rule all the members of the government, or even its majority, can not be possessed of deep wisdom, or capable of deep thinking. One or two of them may be able to conceive high and foresee results, but the mass mind of the group will be unable to soar to their height and will, therefore, not allow latitude to their inspiration in actual practice. The only merit of a democracy is that though it cannot conceive and achieve great things, it can, at any rate, check the malevolent tendencies of individuals in governmental powers. Thus, it is essentially a system of safety arrangement against any rapid changes, either for good or for bad. Ordinarily such safety is very useful and even necessary, particularly in days, when people in high station of life and in possession of great powers are seldom found to keep their heads cool and subordinate their self-interests to public interests. In the days of Ramchandra, for instance, who exiled even his beloved and virtuous wife, Sita, for the sake of his subjects, and for safeguarding against any possibility of lapse of public morals, an absolute monarchism or dictatorship was the best in the interests of people; but, when kings forget their prime duty of devoting themselves to the service of their subjects, prior to all self-consideration, no doubt democracies must be preferred to absolutism. Yet, however, if people assuming the role of dictators be forthcoming, who can show a high and disinterested sense of duty, who are capable of high conceptions, who can lead men from bad to good tendencies, who can stimulate and organise beneficial national work, and who can inspire the people by the purity and nobility of their own character (it is not, of course, suggested here that the present European dictators are, at least in every way, such persons), they should be welcomed rather than denounced.

INDIAN MUSIC.

The Mela-Raga-Malika of Maha Vaidya-Natha-Sivan Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmaniya Sastri F. T. S. The Adyar Library. 1937. Price Rs. 2/-.

The Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras have done a great service to all music-lovers of India by bringing out the above publication. The book contains a very interesting biographical sketch of the celebrated musician who was also a deeply religious man. The explanatory notes and the notations used are lucid and can be followed by all who have a taste for music. The book will be particularly welcome to all lovers of classical Karnatic music enabling them to have an insight into some of the *Apoorva Ragas*, very few of which are now sung in ordinary concerts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SOME POINTERS TOWARDS POLITICAL PEACE.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

The political landscape is changing so rapidly from day to day both in India and in Europe that views which are valid today when I write, might become quite irrelevant in the changed situation on the date when the article is published. I am writing immediately after reading the latest pronouncement in Parliament on war aims by Lord Halifax and on India's goal by Lord Zetland and the Under-Secretary. If these statements are considered by the Congress High Command to be such as to form a basis for Congress ministries to resume office or to enter into successful negotiations with the Viceroy for that purposes, and if subsequently the Congress and the Moslem League are unable to reach such a compromise as would ensure co-operation by both and by other important parties at the centre, there would be no need for clouding the issues through a further contribution and the Editor will naturally not publish it. Should the position be different, I trust that space will be found for it.

The British Cabinet is obviously anxious to come to terms with the Congress, but is unable to hand over the destinies of India to the decision of a Constituent Assembly summoned under the auspices of the Congress. The shaping of the Constituent Assembly has nowhere been explained in detail by anyone. All that the President said in his reply to the Viceroy was that "the Constituent Assembly which will frame India's Constitution will be formed on the widest possible franchise and by agreement in regard to communal representation." This is an exceedingly vague statement and amounts to a demand for a blank cheque which no Government in power could ever give; and it is surprising that men of undoubted intellectual preeminence should make such a vague demand. The points which have to be made explicit before action could be taken have been mentioned elsewhere. The most important of them naturally is the nature of the agreement with the minorities, especially between Hindus and Moslems. It is no use asserting that the British are siding with the minorities. The only relevant matter is that before the Congress could legitimately make this demand it should either have enlisted in its ranks the majority of Moslems, and depressed classes and also the Sikhs, or should state in advance the terms of agreements reached with those communities. To ask for a blank cheque without and before achieving either result amounts only to political manoeuvring, unless it be due to mental confusion. There is no honest and sincere way of getting over this conclusion. If there is, I hope some one will state it dispassionately and logically. As a matter of expediency, the important first step is either to enlist the vast mass of Moslems in the Congress ranks, or come to terms with the Moslem League. If this is achieved, the rest is easy. If it is not achieved, Gandhiji has himself said that civil disobedience would amount to civil war or criminal war. It is hoped that for the peaceful progress of India, this position would be clearly grasped and that all steps in the immediate future would be predominantly for that object.

I have suggested in various articles several methods for ensuring unity. They would be useful only if minority communities cease to use the problem as a bogey or stalking house for exercising power over the majority community, and would be satisfied if their religion and culture are protected, and if they get adequate representation in the public services. The essence of my idea, published long ago, is that they should be enabled to *protect themselves* in those respects instead of having to be protected by a foreign Power or through the favour of the majority community.

In this matter of the question of majority and minority communities, it is astonishing to find that a university Vice-chancellor, Mr. Kedar of Nagpur, should have given expression to the following opinion in the Assembly C. P. "According to constitutional law as was pointed out by Lord Samuel in the Commons Debate, it is the majority community who had a right to be consulted, and the minority had no *locus standi*. It was only after that form (of constitution) had been settled that the minorities could claim protection not from an alien authority, but from the majority community." He added that the aggression (against the government thus set up) whether Muslim or any other would be met by resistance and that so long as unity (between Hindus and Muslems) was made a condition precedent to the grant of Dominion Status, that unity would never be achieved.

This goes much further than the Congress demands. The Congress is open to all classes, and has a large number of Moslems in its ranks. Mr. Kedar wants the constitution to be settled by agreement between the British and the Hindu Community. Another member suggested that Hindus should be trained in arms, apparently in order to resist Mahomedan aggression.

No one would be more astounded than Lord Samuel to read these commentaries on his speech. He did not, of course, say or mean any such thing, although it has to be admitted that in his speech as reported in the *Hindu* the distinction between a Parliamentary majority, which he had in mind, and a communal majority which has no political majority rights but only rights, if any, of conquest, was not brought out clearly. There is nothing in international law, which is probably his meaning to substantiate the assertion. He had apparently in mind the question of the settlement of the rights of racial majorities and minorities within a *newly formed* political area like Czecho-Slovakia or Poland. There is no international constitutional law if that is what was meant, applying to races or communities who belong to the same local area and have lived there. This problem itself is one of the modern confusions which is dependent on the unscientific notion of racial purity and on the mistakes of the Versailles Treaty. It has nothing to do with communities having different religions but are of the same race like Hindus and Moslems in India. Except when racial minorities are newly added to political areas, there is no problem. Constitutions are settled by the people themselves without outside interference. There is no outsider in the picture who consults either the majority race or the minority race; and to conclude in case of *new* political amalgamations it is the League of Nations which had authority and which actually heard grievances of racial minorities and not the majority race. What the facts are that Mr. Kedar relies on, I do not know. Even the expression "Constitutional law" as applying to different states is new to me. I have understood international law to apply to relations between states and constitution and its laws to apply to a single state, so that the assertion that under constitutional law it is the majority community who have to be consulted (by whom, when and why) conveys no clear meaning to me. It looks like a blindman looking for a black cat which is not there, in a dark room. It is a pity that a vice-Chancellor who is the Head of Hindu and Moslem students should have said this. I have also held this office and it seems to me that this office should be kept entirely above party politics, especially communal politics. Hindu leaders will, I hope, repudiate Mr. Kedar's assertions, which are both incorrect and highly pernicious.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Subscription Rates.

nland ... Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign ... Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 6 annas each, exclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please apply to :-

THE MANAGER,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA,

BOMBAY 20.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: 9, Bakehouse, Lane, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad)
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh)
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „)
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „)
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „)
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „)
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „)
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „)
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „)
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Nasik)
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(„ „)
Ahmednagar	„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „)
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahals)
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	„ „
Kalyan	(„ „).	Akluj	(District Sholapur)

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
Prof. V. G. Kale.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar,
S. N. Jamdar, Esq.,
K. M. Thakor, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq.,
D. J. Zunjarrao, Esq.
Rao Saheb V. C. Jadhav.
D. V. Potdar, Esq.
V. S. Basawanal, Esq.
S. T. More, Esq.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director)

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd, Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATIO COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo ;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Co Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoo
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

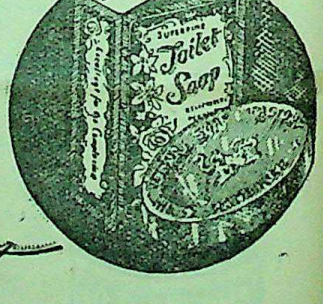


For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial, Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bomb

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 11, 1939. No. 11

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest — I will not equivocate— I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

The Political Deadlock.
Indians and Federation.
Hitlerism and Hinduism.
The European Tangle.
The Peace Move.
Provincial Differences.
Buddhism in Indo-China.
Philippine Independence.
Martyr to Income Tax.
Gandhiji and M. P. 'S.
Towards Understanding Mr. Jinnah.
Training for Journalism.
Brahmo Samaj Marriage.
"Dominion Status."
The Constituent Assembly.
Self-Government.
Silence and Speech.

NOTES.

The Political Deadlock :—The talk between the Viceroy on the one side and the President of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi, and the President of the Muslim League, was known to have proved infructuous last Saturday. It was announced on Sunday that His Excellency the Viceroy would broadcast a message that evening. One expected that His Excellency would announce the failure of the negotiations and add that Government would nevertheless proceed to implement their promise to coopt non-official members to the Executive Council and to form a Consultative Assembly from non-Congress, non-Muslim League elements in the country. That there are such elements and that they constitute the greater part of the population needs no proof. But the Viceroy ended rather tamely by saying that he would not give up his attempt to bring the League and Congress together and the implementing of the promise was not mentioned at all. It is obvious that the Government do not want any other party or group to emerge from the present situation and the Kumara Raja of Chettinad was right when he declined to form an interim ministry in Madras in view of the negotiations which the Viceroy was carrying on with the Congress. The Viceroy's action in according interviews to the leaders of the two parties and trying to get them to patch up their differences certainly gave rise to the belief that, if the League and the Congress agreed upon a formula, Government would immediately proceed to enlarge the Executive Council and institute the Consultative Council which may form the basis of a future Constituent Assembly desired by the Congress and not, according to the latest information, objected to by Mr. Jinnah. The impression created by the Viceroy's talks with the Congress and League leaders, was so distinct that the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha got alarmed and sent a message to His Excellency that the Hindus will not be bound by any arrangement come to without a consultation with, and the consent of, the Mahasabha representatives. It is, therefore, surprising that the Secretary of State for India should have thought fit to state early this week that the British Government have obligations which they must fulfil and could not disinterest itself in the future constitution of India leaving it to be decided by a Constituent Assembly called at the instance of the Congress and the League. Apparently the Viceroy and the Secretary of State are not acting together. Lord Zetland's statement sounded like a repudiation of the Viceroy's action in having talks with the leaders of two party organizations to the exclusions of others as well as non-party persons who form the bulk of the population. We have no faith in a Constituent Assembly ourselves. It will be difficult, almost impossible, to get together one which will represent the real living elements of Indian life as distinguished from the vociferous and gate-crashing elements. If one is formed there is no certainty that the issue will be discussed on their merits by persons who understand them and that the convention will not be hustled into a decision by some popular personage undertaking a fast unto death. The impossibility of entrusting the task to a Constituent Assembly, however, is no excuse for Government refraining from doing anything, much less to enter into negotiations which create misleading impressions.

Indians and Federation:—Lord Samuel in his illuminating review of the Indian political situation in the House of Lords, observed that during his recent visit to this country he found that, while all shades of opinion were critical of the Federal scheme of the Government of India Act, 1935, they were agreed that the federal form of government was a necessity in Indian conditions. This is correct with the proviso that some, we among others, regard Federation as a half-way house to unification which is the age-long goal of Indian history. The Federation scheme of 1935 is a Federation only in name. When Federation was first mooted at the Round Table Conference, few in Britain, as Sir Samuel Hoare confessed at a congratulatory banquet after the passing of the Act, knew anything about Federation. They had to rush about collecting available books on the subject. In an interesting paper on "World Order" which Mr. Lionel Curtis read before the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London last

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

February, he remarked in a totally different connection: "In England my great difficulty has always been that people here have no practical experience of Federal government. They scarcely know what it means, as any one will realise who studies the decisions of the Privy Council on the constitutional questions of Canada." If such is the state of ignorance in Britain, it is still worse in India. The Princes who most enthusiastically sponsored Federation in India, knew least about it. Within the last two or three years, however, due mainly to the discussions provoked by Mr. Clarence Streit's widely-read book "Union Now," Federation has been studied and canvassed in numerous articles and papers. The one thing that has emerged in these discussions, is that it is the essence of Federation that the Federal Government, so far as Federal subjects are concerned, must have authority to enforce its orders on each individual citizen of the Federation directly and independently of the government of the State or Province of his domicile. In the Indian scheme, now happily suspended, the Federal Government and the Federal Court are deliberately left to depend on the discretion of the Crown Representative for the enforcement of the obligations incurred by federating States should any of them neglect or refuse to carry them out. Indian opinion is, therefore, on solid ground in refusing to accept this pseudo-Federation. It will decline to accept any other scheme under the name of Federation unless it fulfils the conditions which the experience of countries under Federal systems has shown to be indispensable to the smooth and efficient working of orderly government.

Hitlerism and Hinduism;—Another point in Lord Samuel's speech which calls for comment is his comparison and contrast between Hinduism and Hitlerism. He seems to think that Ahimsa is of universal application in Hinduism and that all Hindus are in consequence vegetarians and abstainers from violence. Hinduism knows only one Absolute and that is God. Everything else is relative. Relativity is, indeed, the key-note of Hindu psychology. What is sinful in an educated man, is innocent if done by an ignorant man. Sin, in fact, is a result of ignorance: the cure for it is enlightenment. The principle of Ahimsa does not prevent the existence of butchers among Hindus. It does not exclude the maintenance of soldiers, policemen and even executioners in the Hindu State. Buddha whose protest against animal sacrifice led to its abolition in canonical Hinduism, did not absolutely forbid the use of meat even by his monks. If the meat was not specially killed for him, a monk incurred no sin by eating it. This was in pursuance of the rule that a monk should never enquire what was served to him at meals or put in his begging bowl as food. Tradition says that the Buddha himself died of indigestion caused by eating boar's meat served to him at the home of a disciple. War and the profession of arms are not repugnant to Hinduism. The Gita is the handbook of the soldier as much as of the statesman and businessman. Hitler might claim that his actions are in accord with the teachings of the Gita, and that the pacifists are the greatest violators of Gita precepts. Hinduism and Hindus have suffered much by being credited with extravagant virtues as well as execrable vices. It is high time that the made it clear to the world, especially to the Western world, that they are no better and no worse than people elsewhere. Nobody would have raised any objection to Hitler if he was a Hindu, even if he was not a vegetarian. The point we wish to stress is that the attitude of India to Hitlerism cannot be deduced from the precepts of the Hindu or for that matter of the Muslim and the Christian religions which are as indigenous to India as Hinduism. Another misimpression we should like to remove is that all Hindus conduct themselves in accordance with their religion any more than the followers of other religions. Indians judge Hitlerism by the same standards as Europeans. Several Christian countries have preferred to remain neutral in this War. Obviously they do not conside that any religious principle is involved in this quarrel. It is the same with Indians. Many of them regard Hitler as a scourge of God, like Attila or Tamerlane, sent to chastise humanity for its sins. When the chastisement has served its purpose, God will hold his hand and heal the wounds of his children. This is the only position possible to any one who sincerely believes in an All just, All-merciful and All-loving Principle, as Ruler of the Universe. Lord Samuel was followed by the Marquis of Salisbury in what can be described as a spiteful and peevish speech. The noble Marquis said

> For the British Government in the present state of international relations to be indifferent to the welfare of any Muslim community would be sheer madness. Perhaps the whole issue of the international struggle may largely depend on the frame of the Muslim populations of the world.

Lord Salisbury is mistaken in thinking that the separate school of the Indian Muslims finds much sympathy or support in the indepedent Islamic countries.

The European Tangle:—There have been important developments in the political situation in Europe though the military situation can only be described as stalemate. First came M. Molotov's speech and the Comintern manifesto at the anniversary of the Revolution in both of which Germany was grouped with Great Britain and France as a capitalist imperialist Power. Before the astonishment caused by this unexpected analogy had time to subside, the Queen of Holland and the King of Belgium after a sudden and secret conference telegraphed an appeal to Great Britain, France and Germany to cease military operations and settle terms of peace by negotiation and thus save humanity from the horrors of which the sinking of ships and submarines has provided a terrible foretaste. M. Molotov's reference to Germany as a capita-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

listic and imperial system, like France and England, has been hailed in the United States and Italy as disclosing radical differences between the Soviet and the Nazi Governments, which bodes well for the peace of the world. Coming so soon after M. Molotov's address to the Supreme Soviet Council in which the warmest friendship was professed for Germany, it rather seems to be an invitation to Germany to adopt the Soviet system and thus consolidate the present pacts in an unbreakable ideological unity with her great neighbour. The feasibility of such a contingency has been foreseen by several students of Hitlerism. Herr Hitler's violent diatribes against Bolshevism in his book only shows how very much he would like to win Russia to his side. "Hate," says Paracelsus, "is but the mask of love." The conversion of Nazism into Sovietism will be the logical sequence of the division of Poland by mutual aggreement between the two Governments. That the barrier between the two is not insuperable was foretold by no less a Nazi authority than Herr Goebbels several years ago. Herr Goebbels in an open letter in the *Volkischer Beobachter*, November 1925, to a Communist, wrote "You and I, we are fighting one another without really being enemies...Perhaps the most dire necessity may bring us together." The Nazi Party, it is true, was in the embryonic stage in 1925, but Herr Goebbels remains the same man today and he is the powerful Propaganda Minister of the Chancellor-Fuehrer.

The Peace Move:—The appeal of the Sovereigns of Belgium and Holland to belligerent Powers, has been attributed to fear of invasion of their countries and even to pressure by Germany. It may also be due to their anxiety to prevent the extension of Soviet influence and perhaps the conversion of Europe to Bolshevism. Perhaps both are responsible for bringing about the intervention which is acknowledged to be very desirable in itself. Mr. Neville Chamberlain stated in the House of Commons on Wednesday that, before a reply can be given, the British Government should consult the Dominions and and France. India as the skeleton in the cupboard is not to be mentioned in this company. All the same India has an indefeasible right which she can omit to exercise only at peril to her soul, to declare her view on a matter which concerns humanity. Thousands of homes have already lost beloved members and millions are living in hourly suspense as to what news the telegraph or telephone may bring of the death by drowning or bombing of their sons, fathers, husbands, breadwinners. Their sorrow and suspense are shared by every man and woman of sensibility throughout the world. To this writer, this is a constant nightmare. And it is most probably so to others as well because the basic idea of Indian philosopy is a uncompromising denial of the appearances which separate men from each other and from God who is in us all. India, therefore, must proclaim her opinion on the intervention proposal, whether anybody asks her for it or cares for it or not. We do not claim to speak for any one but ourselves but we think that our views are likely to be shared by a considerable number of the Indian people. Our view is that their Majesties' appeal is a noble and couragous act of humanity. No higher courage can be thought of than that which has inspired the two Sovereigns to brave the charge which they must have known would be made that their action is inspired by fear of what might happen to themselves. Their appeal demands the most respectful consideration not only of the actual belligerents but of all, and that is the whole world, who may be unwillingly dragged into the hell of war.

"Provincial Differences":—The Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India refer to the political differences in the provinces between the Congress and the Moslem League which they wanted to be settled by negotiation These can only be the 'atrocities' on Muslims by Congress Governments alleged by Mr. Jinnah. A non-Congress leader, Dr. Ambedkar, has denied the existence of such grievances. The Congress Governments have categorically refuted them. The President of the Congress, Babu Rajendra Prasad, nevertheless offered to have them investigated by the Chief Justice of India, which Jinnah declined as he had submitted them to the Viceroy. So far as we know, the Viceroy has made no enquiries of his own. It is, therefore, difficult to see what His Excellency wants Congress to do about them. This is all the more puzzling as Lord Linlithgow and Lord Zetland have been profuse in their praise of the successful administration of provincial autonomy by the Provincial Governments, eight out of eleven of which are Congress Governments.

Buddhism in Indo-China:—Bhikku Narada of Ceylon in his interesting account of his visit to Cambodia in the October and November numbers of the *Maha-Bodhi*, speaks in high appreciation of the encouragement given by the French Colonial authorities to Buddhist institutions. The Bhikku was treated with great courtesy in Cochin China. The French Governor attended his sermons at Saigon. His Excellency told the Bhikku that when he was ill some time back he thought of the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha and that he recovered from his illness. The Governor has created a Buddhist settlement in which he takes a personal interest. He presented it with a fine bronze image of the Buddha at a ceremony which the Bhikku was invited to attend. The Governor requested the Bhikku to give one of the Bo-saplings which he had taken with him from Ceylon, to be planted at the institution. When a Roman Catholic Missionary spoke disparagingly of Buddhism on one occasion, the Governor personally called at the Buddhist headquarters and expressed his disapproval of the conduct of the Padre.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 11, 1939.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

There has been little in the news about the progress of constitutional reform in the Philippine Islands, although nearly half the transition period of ten years laid down by the Independence Act of 1934 has elapsed. M. Molotov in his address to the Soviet Supreme Council reproached the United States and President Roosevelt for their interest in European affairs and particularly in the matter of Soviet relations with Finland, while neglecting the problem of Philippine independence nearer home. The implication that the United States has been pursuing an imperial policy in the Islands is not, however, according to facts. By the Philippine Independence Act of 1934, the United States Congress granted the Filipinos a large measure of autonomy, reserving economic and extra-national subjects to the U.S. Government. There was also a right of appeal to the U. S. judiciary. At the end of ten years the Islands were to have independence. There have been recent amendments to the Act but they all refer to economic relations between the U. S. A. and the Philippines. Under the Independence Act, the Philippine Islands would have to adjust themselves to full American tariffs and to pay a tax on exports to the United States in the last five years of the Commonwealth, or transition, period. The amendments to the Act which were signed on August 7 by President Roosevelt, extend to the Islands graded trade protection for the remaining years of the Commonwealth. These amendments do not give the Filipinos the full measure of protection they had sought; the U. S. Congress was not willing to consider any concessions beyond 1946 when the Islands would become independent. But they save the Islands from the total loss of their American markets for the next five years. The business and agricultural interests in the U. S. A. which regarded the inclusion of the Philippines within the American tariff system as a strong competing factor, were mainly instrumental in the passing of the Philippines Independence Act and they were also responsible for defeating President Roosevelt's original amendment for extending trade benefits to the Islands upto 1961. It is clear that, even if Filipino politicians turn aside from their agitation of the last thirty years and abandon independence, American competing interests will not readily allow the old free trade relations between the U. S. A. and the Philippines to continue. The Conference between the two Governments which is to meet in 1944 to consider trade relations, it has been stated, will not touch on the independence issue unless the American Congress is persuaded to allow it on the request of the Filipinos. The main industries of the Philippine Islands depend on the American market. In the five Commonwealth years that have passed, Americans accused the Filipinos of not exerting themselves to develop new markets, while Filipionos, official and unofficial, argued that they were crippled in not having the power to negotiate trade agreements and raise tariff barriers for the protection of their growing industries. The Islanders, however, are now faced with a difficult decision. They have to choose between complete politial independence and economic disaster, on the one side, and political association with the U. S. A. and a certain measure of economic security.

A factor which has had the effect of counteracting the separatist tendencies of American businessmen and Filipino politicians in recent years, has been the Sino-Japanese conflict. The Japanese have much to gain by taking possession of the Philippines and, if they are thwarted in China or win an early victory there, they might quite conceivably turn their attention to the Islands. The Filipinos have seen with the collapse of the League scheme of collective security that small nations must perforce join their fortunes to those of a greater neighbour. Many eminent Filipinos, President Quezon among them, are believed to be in favour of continuing the present relations with the U. S. A. In the next six years the duty-free quotas allowed to Philippine products will gradually diminish according to the terms of the Independence Act and with this decline the Filipinos will realise their economic dependence on the U. S. A. Though at present it is politically unsafe to oppose the Independence school, the realities of the situation are bound to make themselves felt. Increasing expenditure on national defence which is really inadequate by itself to resist foregn aggression, adds to the difficulties of the Government. Nor is the problem easier for the United States. Here too the international situation has led to a re-examination of American relations with Philippines. The United States has interests in the Orient. There is an influential body of opinion which condemns the surrender of American influence in the Philippines. They wish to reserve the undeveloped resources of the Islands for American exploitation. And they stress the strategic value of the Philippines and its inability to stand alone. The probabilities of the Filipinos accepting American sovereignty in preference to a possible invasion by a third party, depend entirely in the adoption of a peace policy by the United States. It is improbable that any Pacific power will launch a war against the U. S. A. But it is quite likely that if it happens to be involved in such a war it will choose the Philippines as the most vulnerable point in the U. S. political system.

The solution to the Philippine question, to our mind, does not lie as M. Molotov seemed to imply in the immediate establishment of Philippine independence, but in the ultimate inclusion of the Islands in the American Federation. The influence of American ideals and institutions has been complete in the Philippines. America has all along shown great concern at

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Japanese aggression on China. But there would be more than sympathy for any appeals for help which the Philippines might make even after Independence. In January 1939, a newspaper survey showed that 46 per cent of the Filipinos were in favour of American intervention in the event of attack from outside. Events since that date would, if anything, have tended to increase that figure. On the side of the Islands, therefore, we can safely assume that membership in the United States Federation would be an attractive alternative to Independence. The reluctance of the Americans to consider the proposition is probably due to the fact that the United States is growing racially more rigid than it was some thirty years ago when Alaska was given a seat in the Congress. The Alaskans, it is true, made use of this right to agitate ceaselessly for autonomy. But there are no dangers on that score to be dreaded now with the Philippines. It is a matter of more than economic security. Without an alternative which affords the Philippine Islands a respected place within the American system, whatever the trade advantages offered, the time factor would work without question for Japan which is nearer to the Islands, or for a reorganised China. If one accepts the inability of the Philippines to stand alone—and no one seems to question this—one must also recognize that American domination in the past has prevented the assimilation of the Filipinos into some Asiatic system which would not have differentiated between them and other Asiatics. This in itself confers a moral responsibility on the United States to accord the Philippines a permanent place in its political system. The Commonwealth stage is not permanent and it is not meant to be. By itself it satisfies no national ambitions. To prolong it on the ground that Independence would be inadvisable and disastrous, would be admission of defeat on all sides. But an extension can readily be accepted as a preliminary to final incorporation within the United States of America.

Martyr to Income Tax :—The recent revision of the Income Tax system has been very trying to those who have the misfortune to have incomes. These are for all practical purposes regarded as criminal tribes and are subjected to surveillance in various forms. But it would seem that the new Act is even more trying to the officers who work it. At a Coroner's inquest some days ago on Mr. J. B. Bird, Commissioner of Income Tax (Central), who shot himself at the Taj Mahal Hotel, the jury found that he had committed suicide. They added the following rider to their verdict :

> In fairness to Mr. Bird, who was a brilliant young officer of the Crown, we place on record our considered opinion that the work of investigation into the income-tax returns with which he was entrusted, was so complicated that it caused him very considerable mental strain with the result that on the morning of October 17, his mind had become temporarily unhinged and in that state he fired a pistol shot through his head.

GANDHIJI AND M. P.'S.

Edward Thompson is a curious Englishman. His first book which brought him into the limelight, was "The Other Side of the Medal," in which he showed that atrocities during the Mutiny were not confined to the Indian side but were more than matched by the British. Before that he was a Professor in some Mission College. After that, he wrote a book on Tagore. Later, he went to the United States and one heard from friends there of his propagandist activities. Some days ago, it was stated in the papers that Mr. Thompson had flown to Allahabad from Britain and that this was to be his farewell visit to this country. While in Allahabad, he confided to three prominent public men that several members of the House of Commons had ceased to regard Gandhiji as a saint because of some stories of his sensual life in the Marathi Press. The three prominent gentlemen of Allahbad contradicted this impression of the members of the House of Commons and actually got Mr. Thompson to write a letter to Mr. Greenwood, Deputy Leader of the Labour Opposition in the House of Commons, conveying their testimonial to Gandhiji's personal character! Romain Rolland in his book on Swami Vivekananda relates that some people who were deeply chagrined by the triumph of the Hindu Sanyasi at the first Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893, set afloat stories in detraction of his personal life and habits. In a footnote (p 49) Romain Roland writes :

> It goes without saying that they produced the classic accusation of Anglo-Saxon countries, seduction. In order to stop the false rumour spread by a vulgar-minded clergyman that he had wronged a servant dismissed by the Governor of Michigan, letters of public denial (March 1893) were necessary from the Governor's wife testifying to the moral dignity of Vivekananda. But no denials ever repair the damage done by unscrupulous lies.

With that, the Thompson story went clean out of mind. It has been revived by Gandhiji thinking fit to give an elaborate exposition of his theory and practice in sex matters in the current *Harijan*. Why should Gandhiji who had not thought it worth his while to take notice of the stories when they appeared in the Marathi papers, be so anxious to put himself right with some members of Parliament? M. P.'s are not saints nor are they elected by their constituencies for their freedom from sensuality. Observers of Gandhiji's public life might have noticed that the cultivation of the good opinion of public men and women is a frequent pre-occupation with him. Amidst his wildest denunciations of British rule may be detected insinuating references calculated to enhance the self-esteem of the Englishman. His policy has not been without response. A young British publicist passing through Bombay some months ago let fall the remark, "Whenever Mr. Gandhi and the Government are in conflict, the British public is disposed to believe that Gandhi is right and the Government wrong." That he was not quite happy about it, goes without saying.

M. Romain Rolland speaks of the charge of seduction as being a classic one in Anglo-Saxon countries. The English in India, however, have from the first repudiated the Puritan vices of the homeland. When the Collector of a district circulated a tract on religion and morality among the people, Sir Thomas Munro severely censored his conduct in a Minute in which he told the official that they were not in India to preach morality but to carry on the administration honestly and efficiently. That was a century ago. In the nineties of the last

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

century, Lord Lansdowne, then Viceroy, replied to a memorial requesting him to abstain from attending entertainments at which nautch women performed, that he did not consider that it fell within the duties of the Governor-General to act as censor of the conduct of Indian gentlemen who extended to him their hospitality and that it was for the memorialists to dissuade the latter from continuing the practice to which they objected. A year or two earlier, when Lord Ripon's Education Commission recommended the imparting of moral instruction in schools and colleges, the English Principal of a college refused to take upon himself the task of teaching morality to his pupils and devolved it on his chief Indian colleague, an orthodox Brahmin of liberal views. Before the opening of the Suez Canal and the influx of English women into this country, high English officials had large harems and in the "Life of Metcalfe," (is it Mr. Thompson's ?) it is stated that a very distinguished soldier had eleven ladies of his Zenana promenading in the streets of Delhi on the backs of eleven elephants. There is a story told of Lady Curzon that when a Viceregal visit to visit Burma was being planned, she was told by a high official, Sir Bampfylde Fuller, that an important English official in Rangoon had married a Burmese lady. "Why married ?" was the piquant exclamation of the Viceriene. In Curzon's time also it fell to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, himself not a Puritan, to rebuke severely Sir James Westland who had spoken depreciatingly of Puritanism in connection, perhaps, with the agitation against the Opium Trade with China.

The characteristic Anglo-Saxon vice which Englishmen in India have left behind in the homeland, has been picked up by a section of our vernacular journalists. It is a tradition with high sanction with the Maharastrian Press to seek to pull down the leaders of a movement as the most effective way of crushing it. For over two decades this was tried on social reformers. It was next cautiously extended to politics. The stories about Gandhiji began to be current after the Khare episode in the Central Provinces. It is not necessary to defend Gandhiji's action at every step, in order to trace the origin of the calumnies to this unfortunate episode in Congress politics. The quarrel became a Hindi-Maharashtrian one. No quarter was to be given on either side. And somehow Gandhiji came to be regarded as the chief apologist of the Hindustanis. The excommunication of Subhas Bose brought the Bengali Press in line with that of Maharashtra. The Tamil Press was not much behind. The criticisms of the Tamil Press against compulsory Hindi in schools, were a mass of vulgar vituperation against the late Madras Prime Minister and his colleagues. No cause is advanced with fistfuls of filth from the gutter. The publication of some letters of Gandhiji to a young lady, gave a handle to the Marathi mud-slingers. One can express no opinion on their contents without having read them. That it was wholly well-intentioned, there can be no manner of doubt. Education in sex matters, however, if it should be imparted at all, should be undertaken only by persons specially trained for the work. Even near relationship is not enough. Sigmund Freud was greatly embarrassed in his investigations in psycho-therapy by several of his women patients falling in love with him. He had great difficulty, he says, in getting their affection directed to more legitimate channels. It is probable that the complaint against Dada Lekhraj in respect of his Om Mandli resulted from some similar misplacement.

TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING MR. JINNAH

"I should advise Simon," wrote Lord Birkenhead then Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy, the Lord Irwin now Lord Halifax, "to see at all stages important people who are not boycotting the Commission, particularly Moslems and the depressed classes. I should widely advertise all his interviews with representative Moslems. The whole policy now is obvious. It is *to terrify the immense Hindu population by the apprehension that the Commission is being got hold of by the Moslems and may present a report altogether destructive of the Hindu position, thereby securing a solid Muslim support, and leaving Jinnah high and dry.*" This passage in a private letter to the Viceroy from his father is reproduced by the present Lord Birkenhead in his book, "Birkenhead, the Last Phase." Lord Birkenhead was a bit of a cynic. He was not adept at camouflage. In the words italicised he clarified the policy which has been clouded in a mass of high-flown platitudes for many years by his predecessors. British policy in foreign and Indian affairs has preserved a remarkable continuity. The Birkenhead definition of Indian policy has not changed though the language in which it is stated since is characterised by the usual camouflage. The reference to Mr. Jinnah in Lord Birkenhead's letter, is of great interest as a help towards understanding him. Lord Birkenhead regarded Mr. Jinnah as an irreconcilable. So did Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Mr. Jinnah was invited to the first Round Table Conference. He was not invited to the next Conference and the other representatives of the Muslim League raised no voice of protest at his exclusion. The remarkable thing about Mr. Jinnah is that he has maintained his own ground without waiting to see how many others followed him. Some years ago a meeting of the Bombay Muslim League was broken up by some bigots who objected to Mr. Jinnah presiding as he did not cultivate a beard as orthodox Muslims should. He is still without a beard but now a large part of Indian Muslims accept him as their political leader and, in default of a suitable alternative, have named him permanent President of their premier political organization. His concessions to communal convention are limited to the adoption of the pyjama, sherwani and moghul cap on ceremonial occasions. Otherwise he pursues his own path indifferent to what his followers think of him. Mr. Jinnah is not a demagogue. Among Indian political leaders, he belongs to the type of Sir Pherozesha Mehta and Sir Shankaran Nair, men who cannot be diverted from the path which they had marked out for themselves by threats, cajolery or coaxing. He owes his ascendancy over the Muslims of India today entirely to his strength of character and inflexible political integrity. He has literally forced them, reluctantly at first, to acknowledge his leadership by sheer force of character.

Is the Jinnah of today the same Jinnah whom Lord Birkenhead wanted to be left high and dry? Congressmen who put their faith in Gandhiji as the only man who can bring political (as well as other) salvation to India, naturally regard Mr. Jinnah as an apostate from the true faith of nationalism. They hold that he has let himself down to the level of a communal leader whose one aim is to get as much as possible for Muslims without regard to the legitimate rights of other communities, particularly, Hindus. His recent tirades against the Hindu renaissance and revival certainly show that he is embittered against Hindus and regards them with some measure of contempt. To some extent this may be due to the intrinsic antagonism between his unbending manner and the supple ways of prominent Hindu politicians with whom he has been

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dealing. Largely, however, it is assumed by him as a counterpoise against the hard fact of the immense numerical majority of the Hindu population. By treating the Hindus as negligible and in no other way, can Mr. Jinnah, or the British Government for that matter, reconcile in their own minds and conscience the discriminatory provisions introduced in a constitution professing to be democratic. There is another explanation. It might have been noticed that, unlike other leaders, when Mr. Jinnah makes a statement, it has not got to be followed by elucidations of its meaning by himself or his friends and colleagues. When he says Independence, for instance, he means it and not the substance of it or a substitute for it. Mr. Jinnah has evidently the feeling that the present methods of the Congress which he identifies with the Hindu community, may lead some thousands to prison but nowhere near to Independence. Then, it may be asked, why does he negotiate with Congress leaders? So far as is known he has never taken the initiative in negotiations. When the Congress leaders come to him with a proposal for negotiations he can not very well refuse. Personally he likes, by way of change it may be from his Muslim clientile, to exchange ideas with individual Congressmen. He has recently expressed his pleasure in Pandit Jawaharlal's company. He and Mr. Subhas Bose have got on very well in each other's company. Where will it all end? If there is a settlement between Mr. Jinnah and the Congress, it will be on Mr. Jinnah's terms. Khaddar and the other fripperies of the so-called constructive programme will be unceremoniously brushed aside. Non-violence will cease to be shibboleth and may thereby become a reality. If two men ride a horse, one must ride behind. That one, we may be sure, will not be Mr. Jinnah. So long as Mr. Jinnah is at the head of the Muslim League, there is no reason to fear that there will be any violent departure from the principles of constitutional Government. But after him? The same question may be asked of any other leader. What will happen after Mussolini? After Hitler? After Stalin? If there is vitality in a movement, that is to say, if it has roots in the realities of national life, it will assuredly create for itself competent leaders to take the place of those who quit. If it is only a passing phase born of momentary exigencies, it will disappear without leaving any trace of itself. In any case, the leader must comport himself as if he and his movement will last for ever.

TRAINING FOR JOURNALISM.

(By A Journalist.)

At the meeting of the Senate of the University of Madras held in the last week of the last month, a motion that a diploma course in Journalism be founded in the University and that the Academic Council be requested to formulate proposals in this behalf was adopted by 30 votes against 27. About two years ago a Committee was appointed by the University to consider the very same question in all its aspects and it was ultimately decided that the University can help intending aspirants for a journalistic career by including such subjects in the school of public administration which was then proposed to be started—it is now in working order—as likely to be useful to them, leaving them to supplement their theoretical knowledge by a course of practical training in a newspaper office. Five years ago, an attempt was made to start a school of journalism in the Calcutta University, but it met with a good deal of opposition. It may also be mentioned in passing that the Inter-University Board had, at one of its annual meetings, blessed the starting of diploma courses in journalism, through it was definitely opposed to the idea of granting degrees in that subject.

So far as one could see nothing has happened in the last two years to render the revival of the proposal either necessary or urgent. The usual arguments advanced in favour of the project may be thus summarised. Journalism is a great power in every well-ordered country and its influence in India, which is already great, is bound to grow still further. The public, and the Universities have, therefore, an interest in the provision of satisfactory arrangements for training young men and women not only in the tricks of the trade, but in all those subjects a knowledge of which is essential for a successful career in the profession. Unless this is done, the standard of journalism is not likely to rise. That a country deserves the newspaper it has is only a half-truth: those engaged in newspaper work have unlimited opportunities of educating the public, improving its taste and otherwise elevating its morale. And is it not the duty of the Universities to see to it that there exists a sufficient number of competent persons from whom newspapers may recruit their staff? Further, the establishment of schools of Journalism may, to some extent, relieve unemployment. Lastly, such establishments in America and Great Britain are doing wonderful work and shall India lag behind?

In sober truth, it must be admitted that there has been no demand, so for at any rate as Madras is concerned, for such a course from the newspapers. Madras is famous for its newspapers conducted in English and Indian languages, but the profession is not organised: there is not even a journalists' association. They have very competent staff and their own methods of recruitment and so far they have not felt the necessity of seeking the aid of the University. A few of them, notably the *Hindu*, have provided facilities for training and the *Hindu* has been offering a scholarship every year now for several years. Papers conducted in the Indian languages (the world vernacular is now taboo), have so far not experienced any particular difficulty in securing the men they want. They take in young men with a background of general education, and afford them facilities for learning work in the various branches. Some of them ultimately turn out to be good writers, though it must be noted that persons without knowing English and without college education, exhibit a style which is wonderful and show a knowledge of public questions, Indian and foreign, which is praiseworthy.

There is no royal road to success in the profession of journalism, just as there is none in other walks of life. One must start at the beginning and by dint of hard work, rise slowly in the ladder. A school of journalism in the present circumstances of the country, with a very limited field, is an embarrassment rather than a help. Things are certainly improving, but the profession is precarious. With a few exceptions the service is low paid, tenure is not steady and openings are few. A diploma course would attract a number of youths, who after the training would be set adrift, swelling the ranks of the unemployed. Books on journalism love to catalogue the qualifications of journalists in a manner awful to behold. But a little reflection will show that the qualities required are not after all formidable; they are just those required in other equally strenuous professions. The specialised knowledge, the tricks, the technique can all be gathered in the offices themselves in the course of, say, five or six years, by intensive study and by actual experience. On the other hand, the holder of a diploma, when he enters an office and is not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

given 'writing' work, will be disappointed and will perhaps bid adieu to journalism after having wasted many months in the University. The central fact is that the industry does not want the help of the University. When newspapers increase in number, when the industry can absorb quite a fair proportion of trained men every year, when the prospects are brighter than they are now, every University in India may have its school for diploma courses. In the meantime, we shall leave the newspaper alone.

BRAHMO SAMAJ MARRIAGE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your valued columns of 19th August 1939, Mr. K. B. Gajendragadkar of Satara commented critically upon the statement of the Lord Chancellor of England that "the Indian Courts would not recognise the validity of a second marriage while a person continued to be a member of the (Sadharan Brahmo Samaj) sect and his first wife was alive:" and he ended with an appeal to Brahmos to throw "more and clear light" on His Lordship's statement. Since no Brahmo has yet responded to the appeal though it is more than two months now, may I, as a mere Hindu, venture to point out where the critical comment requires amplification?

After cordially recognising that "the Brahmos are as a rule monogamous" we should also note that the Brahmos as a rule solemnise their marriages by registration under the Special Marriage Act of 1872, which enforces monogamy and penalises subsequent polygamy. They may do so with a solemn declaration that they do profess the Hindu religion. (This can be done only under the Act as amended by Gour.—*Ed., I. S. R.*) or that they do not profess any of the eight religions specified in the Act. In either case, the Act ensures that the marriage solemnised under it shall be a monogamous one, that is, between persons neither of whom has a wife or husband living at the time (Section 2 (1)).

It further ensures that persons once married under the Act shall not with impunity shake off the shackles of monogamy by the simple expedient of asserting that they have not by calling themselves Brahmos, ceased to be Hindus governed by the Hindu law of marriage, or that, after their first marriage, they came to profess another religion which permits a second marriage while the first wife is living (Section 16).

Viewed in this light the Lord Chancellor's statement will be seen to be an understatement rather than a misstatement of the legal position of married Brahmos in India; that is, of persons married as Brahmos after joining the Brahmo Samaj. It is surely correct in premising that Indian Courts would not recognise the validity of a Brahmo's bigamous marriage. It has erred slightly in supposing that such invalidity would attach to his second marriage only if he continued to be a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, whereas the true legal position is that sueh marriage would be equally invalid and punishable as bigamous even if he became a Muhammadan after the first marriage. It is thus an understatement.

But there is also a grave error underlying or lurking in that statement which cannot be ignored. It is the implication that every person who becomes a member of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of India places himself automatically under the governance of some marriage law which is monogamic and that he is thenceforward precluded from marrying, even for the first time, except according to the rules and regulations of that law so long as he continues to be a member of the Samaj. The view disclosed an ignorance or ignoring of the fact that there is no Brahmo Marriage law in India specifically so-called, or any monogamous law which a Brahmo is legally bound to follow at his marriage. Even the children born of a Brahmo couple married under Act III of 1872 are not themselves bound to marry under the same Act through they may be members of the Brahmo Samaj. They are legally free to marry as ordinary Hindus do and their first marriages and additional ones too, if any, will certainly be held valid under the Hindu law by the Indian Courts. The law of monogamy embodied in Act III of 1872 attaches to none but those individuals who, whether Brahmo Samajists or not, Brahmos, voluntarily seek its aid for their own marriage. Hindu couples who join the Brahmo Samaj after being married in the traditional Hindu way, are entirely out of its purview in spite of their newly accepted Brahmo tenets. It is the misfortune of the Brahmo Samaj, not its fault, that the Indian Legislature has sadly failed, ever since the time of Sir Henry Maine and Keshub Chunder Sen, to give this religious body a legal entity and a binding family law of its own suited to its special tenets and high ideals.

We appreciate the belated efforts of the Lords Committee in England to retrieve the credit of British gifts and British patronage by brushing aside the trickish legal cobwebs woven by die-hard imperialists to prevent the present Lord Sinha from taking the lordly seat earned by his illustrious father in the service of the Empire. But it is a fact which should be faced without quibbling and assessed at its proper value, that the late Lord (S. P.) Sinha and his wife were married as Hindus with Hindu ritual before they joined the Brahmo Samaj. If this very fact raises a bar sinister against their son, the present Lord, and is held in Britain to be such a defect that the Peers of the Realm cannot tolerate his presence in the same House in which his father was free to sit with them though born of like Hindu parents, we wish the honourable aspirant will rather spurn the invidious and contempt ful honour which he inherited in a foreign land, than agree for its sake to disown and feel ashamed of his Hindu parentage and try to hide his spiritual and legal identity as a Hindu under the sign-board of the Brahmo Samaj, which we all sincerely admire for its tenet of monogamy but which is none the less a Hindu sect governed by Hindu family law.

Aska,
October 31, 1939.

Yours etc.,
KOPARGAM RAMAMURTI.

"DOMINION STATUS."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The question has been raised whether, after Sir Samuel Hoare's statement in the House of Commons, that 'there are no two kinds of Dominion Status,' Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress President are justified in demanding further clarification regarding the term 'Dominion Status,' and its application to India. The significance of Sir Hoare's present statement on the question can be understood and appreciated only by comparing it with his pronouncements in the past. Replying to Mr. Churchill during a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Hoare said, "The Statute of Westminister has no more to do with the statement of the Government policy than the man in the moon. During the discussions that took place in the meetings of the Joint Select Committee, the sum and substance of Sir S. Hoare's views may be given

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

follows:—"The conditions in India differ in certain definite respects from the conditions in any of the Dominions, notably in the field of Defence, and on that, any Constitutional Act must take account of these differences of conditions. The Government policy is to take account of these differences in the conditions and to give India very wide opportunity for future development. The Government proposals have in them the seeds of growth into the Dominion Status, assuming that the conditions that separate India from the Dominions are eventually removed. Nobody on earth can say here and now when the precedent conditions for such a state of affairs will have been reached. The Government are acting fully within the spirit of all these pledges and are interpreting these pledges in the best possible way in the circumstances with which they are faced. The pledges are almost always in general terms. Their strength is much more moral and implicit than it is specific. There is a great deal of difference between the Dominion Status now (1933) and the Dominion Status before the Statute of Westminister was passed. The White Paper proposals have defined quite clearly, and Indians know perfectly well, the limits to which the British Government are prepared to go." Again, Lord Rankeillour pointed out that 'the statements of the Viceroy can be overruled by the Parliament;' and the Marquis of Salisbury observed, "We will not admit a pledge, except a conditional pledge." The then Prime Minister definitely stated and wrote to Mr. Baldwin that the use of the term 'Dominion Status' did not involve any change of policy. Lord Irwin himself said, in the course of the discussions, "My much discussed declaration dealt entirely with the realm of ultimate purpose. It made no commitments whatever as to date." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked, "If at this stage we are told that the declaration only means responsible government and nothing more, speaking for myself, I have nothing more to do with this Constitution." So, Mahatma Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad did well in demanding further elucidation now. When we recapitulate the past utterances of the Lord Privy Seal and other British statesmen, it is well that all doubts are dispelled, and our disillusionments are cleared. Hence Sir Samuel Hoare's statement that the Dominion Status that is contemplated is the Dominion Status of 1926, and not some system of government that deprives India of full status of equality with other members of the British Commonwealth, is of very great value to India, and is a landmark in India's constitutional progress, if the Viceroy answers in the affirmative the questions put by Gandhi and Prasad. Again, if practical steps are immediately taken to implement this great pronouncement by the introduction of the representatives of the great parties in the Central Government, India's constitutional advance along peaceful lines is assured. It is to be fervently hoped that the Viceroy's further talks will lead to this result.

Coimbatore,
31st October 1939. } Yours etc.,
R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

[Lord Zetland, the Secretary of State for India, said in the House of Lords on Tuesday that the suspicions raised in India by Sir Samuel Hoare's speech were unfounded. Sir Samuel, he said, "referred to the Dominion Status of 1926 because it was in that year that the Imperial Conference described the status of the Dominions, and the status so described has not been altered by anything which has since occured, the Statute of Westminister having merely given legal effect to certain consequences of the constitutional position as was then recognised."—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Congress leaders from Gandhiji downwards have been writing and speaking about a Constituent Assembly for deciding the future constitution of India. I happen to be one of those unfortunate persons who are unable to grasp any idea unless it is explained in sufficient detail for understanding it clearly; and so far as I know no Congress leader has hitherto done it. I hope that among the readers of your papers there are some who know all about it, and I trust that one of them will take the trouble of giving enlightenment to me and many others similarly situated. The following are the matters which require elucidation.

Is there any instance of a Constituent Assembly having settled the constitution of an area and a population anything as large as that of India and a third of which is ruled by autocrats? Are the representatives elected on adult suffrage or on what basis and, if not on adult suffrage, how would the limitation be justified? For what number or area should there be one representative, and in what manner is the representation of minorities to be safeguarded? Do they vote separately or jointly and in the latter case how is adequate representation made? Are the States to be represented in the same manner, and how is the consent of Princes obtained, or are the States to be left out?

Has any single leader who so glibly speaks of it at any time calculated the probable number of representatives and their communal or political texture? For any kind of adequate representation will not the numbers go up to several thousands, and how and where is such a large number to collect? And how will such a large body set about framing a constitution?

If it is proposed to follow the Congress practice in which the Working Committee first meets and forms resolutions, and all amendments are almost invariably rejected, on what basis is that Committee to be formed and how is it proposed to give in it adequate representation to minorities, communal and political, and to the States? Will a constitution be drawn up by this Committee, or only general resolutions agreed to, subject to appointment of another Committee to draw it up; and will there be a subsequent meeting of the general body to discuss and adopt the Constitution? How are the expenses proposed to be met?

If all these questions are answered satisfactorily, a constituent Assembly would be the ideal method; but otherwise, some other method has to be adopted —and there is none better than agreement between leaders in British India and the States, followed subsequently by agreement by the British Government after consulting the Chamber of Princes.

Kottayam,
November 1, 1939. } Yours etc.,
K. CHANDY

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The plethora of letters, statements and speeches, regarding the present political situation appearing in the Press makes interesting reading and reveals the existence of a very dangerous lack of frankness on all sides. While all are agreed, or almost so, as to the country's political destination—Dominion Status—none is willing to say how that system of Government

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is to be made to work. The British Government is concerned with the difficulty of adjusting rival claims; the Congress gives nebulous assurances to the minorities that they will be protected in a free India without indicating what such protection is to be; the Muslim League only points out the need of tackling the political problem afresh, without indicating the safeguards which it would like the new constitution to provide; the other minorities follow suit and leave us to wonder what they want.

Isn't it time, Sir, for all who are perturbed by the present development to sit down independantly of the others and work out schemes of political development which in their opinion, would secure the right type of self-Government for our country? Mutual fault-finding needs to be replaced by a serious attempt on all sides to adjust the differences which cannot be denied so that Self-Government may be an accomplished fact in the near future.

If schemes such as I have suggested are worked out, they will present the political aspirations of our people as clearly as in a mirror and the greatest common measure of agreement which is being so eagerly sought, will probably be found. This certainly is the task to which the energies of all the contending interests ought to be seriously directed if we do not mean to stagnate and ultimately bring ruin upon ourselves.

Khar, 6th November, 1939, } Yours etc., VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

SILENCE AND SPEECH.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have been a reader of your journal and you will permit me to congratulate you on the impartial way you publish your views. In your issue dated November 4th, there is a most praiseworthy article on "Silence and Speech." I agree not only with the words but with every letter of it. Why? Here is my reason.

A week or so ago before the publication of the article, I had almost been drawn to the painful necessity of putting forward my grievances and fulminations. I was almost on the point of answering criticism but lest I be saying too much and for the remembrance of the Persian (now Iranian) philosophical quotation given below, I remained silent. When I read your article I said to myself that it was as well I had remained silent.

The quotation will speak for itself. For those of your readers who do not delight in knowing Persian, I write the words in Roman script and translate them into English:

Do Chiz Akla Pareh Ast:
Dum Faroo-Bastan Ba Wakte Gooftan,
Wa Gooftan Ba Wakte Khamoshi.

Translated this means, "Two things are against wisdom: That is, to hold your breath when you should speak and to speak when you should keep quiet." After reading your "Silence and Speech," I am glad that I observed silence.

Bombay, November 8, 1939. } Yours etc., MUKHLIS.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Nasik).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(„ „).
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahals).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and Individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad. Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 38,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...8 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANADLWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, t is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma : —

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,

SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd

PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN.

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY NOVEMBER 4, 1939. No. 10.

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

M. Molotov's Address.
India's Lines of Defence.
The War of Ideas.
The Time Factor.
The Servant of India.
Resignations of Congress Ministries.
Permit-Holders.
Prohibition Subsidies.
Marx on India.
The India Debate.
Silence and Speech.
The Political Imbroglio and the Way Out.
Civilisation in Danger?
Congress Ministries Resign.

NOTES.

M. Molotov's Address:—The British and French Governments have been at great pains to satisfy themselves and the world that the Russian invasion and absorption of the eastern and larger half of what was the territory of the Polish State, is not an aggression by an European Power against which they had pledged themselves to defend Poland. Lord Halifax in the House of Lords, while averring that he was not defending the action of Russia, mentioned, as circumstances which had to be taken into account in forming a judgment on Russia's action, certain facts such as that the parts annexed originally belonged to Russia and were forcibly taken from her by the newly created Polish State without the sanction of the League of Nations and that Russia acted not of her own free will but at the instigation of Germany. The British Prime Minister declared at the same time that the Treaty with Poland promised support only against Germany and the Polish Government was aware of it and approved of it. Judging from the address which M. Molotov, the Russian Commissar for Foreign Affairs, made at the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Soviet Unions on Tuesday, it does not seem that Russia is equally solicitous to avoid a rupture with the Western democracies. He reaffirmed in emphatic terms the newly forged bonds between Germany and Soviet Russia and ridiculed the attempts to throw doubt on their strength and durability. He reiterated Russia's determination to be neutral in the War so far as military intervention was concerned, but he also made it clear that Russia's neutrality does not exclude economic assistance as exemplified since by her buying out all German ships interned in Russian ports and sending large supplies of food and raw materials to Germany. Implicit in M. Molotov's speech is the sentiment that any attempt to wrest the newly-acquired part of Poland from the Soviet Union, will be resisted, if necessary, by armed force. The Soviet Government has not waited till the end of the war to confer the status of an equal member of the Union of Soviets on the new territories. Representatives from them attended as regular members the meeting of the Supreme Council on Tuesday and the speech of the Ukrainian delegate, who was honoured with a seat next to M. Stalin, in his native dialect, is reported to have been received with much enthusiasm by representatives from all parts of Russia. M. Molotov in his address made a point of the fact that Soviet troops entered Polish territory only after the flight of the Polish Government into Rumania had left the country without an authority to preserve law and order. His argument for demanding concessions from Finland namely, that Leningrad, the second most important city in Soviet Russia, was only twenty miles distant from the Finnish border and within the range of modern artillery,—is hardly convincing. It is a very good reason for fortifying Leningrad —and it is stated that the Finnish Government has declared itself ready to help in this—but none whatever for demanding the retrocession of the Finnish boundary to a distance from which Leningrad would be beyond the range of modern gunnery. In form and style Mr. Molotov's address was a masterpiece.

India's Lines of Defence :—In September India was assured on high authority that her first lines of Defence were Egypt and Singapore and that, therefore, the garrisoning of these places was an Indian interest. Mr. Wedgwood Benn in his speech in the House of Commons last week extended them to still more distant regions. He said :

> Indians now say, 'We have gone into the war and we were never consulted.' That is true, but from the Government point of view from September 3, possibly before, India was the target and in justice to the Viceroy and perhaps to the other Dominions but certainly to India, it must be said that Germany was on the march towards the east. If it had not been for Soviet Russia and the Turkish Treaty, Germany might have gone from Berlin to Vienna, from Vienna to Prague, and from Prague to Warsaw and further. It had to be stopped. We in London do not want this to go on nor do Indians in Delhi. From the Viceroy's point of view, we have to remember that he had to act very swiftly. India was in danger and he had a duty to perform in seeing that it was safeguarded.

In other words India's lines of defence are all over Europe and there is no place where her interests are not jeopardised by the aggression of a Foreign Power!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The War of Ideas:—In a war for domination the issues involved are straight and any weapon is justified, the only criterion being its utility and the success which attends its use. But an ideological war presents quite a different aspect. Here the first care must be to avoid, whatever the consequences, the temptation of descending to your enemy's level in fighting him. You certainly cannot seek to fight him "with his own weapons." British statesmen have repeated since the outbreak of the war against Hitlerism that Britain's war is an ideological one. The two months of war we have already witnessed, also bear this out. Poland to which the ideals raised by the Allies least applied, was the scene of intense war activity. There was little difference between political systems in Germany and Poland and consequently the conflict was one of action. With Western democracies, however, the position is the reverse. Germany having overthrown the system which France and Britain still maintain, there is a real difference in ideas. In the result the war of words has overshadowed the physical war. In the realm of ideas it holds as true today as it was two thousand years ago, What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul? It was because of this that we welcomed Mr. Chamberlain's statement in the House of Commons that Britain would not as a retaliatory measure resort to the bombing of open German towns, and regretted that it was not more categorical. Six eminent women in Britain had addressed a similar appeal to Mr. Chamberlain—Vera Brittain, Storm Jameson, Maude Royden, Sybil Thorndike and two others—on the outbreak of war. We are impelled to refer again to this by the White Paper on German atrocities in concentration camps. The Government admit at the outset that they have been provoked into this action by German propaganda accusing Great Britain of atrocities in South Africa forty years ago. "In view of this shameless propaganda which is wholly without foundation," runs the White Paper, "His Majesty's Government think it opportune to publish some reports they have received of the treatment accorded in Germany itself to German nationals." The argument that the disclosures are opportune "in view of shameless (German) propaganda" is worthless. It is at all times a poor excuse to urge that your actions are provoked by similar acts of your enemy. In a war of principle it is particularly so.

The Time Factor:—From the point of view of fitness of time, there is nothing in the present which becomes revelations of atrocities ignored or overlooked or condoned for six years. The reports go back to 1933 and most of them have been common knowledge, except among those leaders whose anxiety for friendship with Germany, closed their eyes and ears to them. Now they are repeated by British consular representatives in Central Europe, who had sent in reports for the past two years. The Government's sponsoring the reports now because the moment is opportune, gi... rise in the public mind to thoughts wh... are disturbing in the extreme. The mo... revolting the exposure of the Nazis, the mo... disturbing is it to think that this was ... Government with which, though no doubt ... are today vowed to destroy it, we we... desperately eager to come to an agreement ... many long months; that with the head of t... Government, and the arch-villain of the pie... Mr. Chamberlain himself who had proposed su... an agreement, signed a document last ye... enshrining the desire of their two peoples ne... to go to war with one another again—an agre... ment which the British Premier flourish... triumphantly before his cheering people when ... returned to Britain; that it was to this Gove... ment that the French and British agreed to ha... over the Czecho-Slovakia. The horrors of Na... Germany towards Jews and political opponen... were at their worst in the first years of Nazi po... Even the British consular reports on which t... White Paper is based, have been received ... the Foreign Office for the past two yea... What was old to the rest of the world is sure... not news to the Government!

The Servant of India:—The cessation of t... publication of the *Servant of India* since la... week is a distinct loss to Indian journalism. Th... reason given, that of financial inadequacy, do... not seem to cover the whole ground. Fe... weekly journals, outside the circle of picture an... comic journals, are financially strong. The sectio... of the public with a taste for weekly newspaper... which aim at making contributions based on stud... and reflection on the principal world events, i... limited in every country and very much so in Indi... where illiteracy is appalling and knowledg... of English above the basic standard is confine... to a minute section of the population which... nevertheless, exercises a predominant influenc... in moulding the thought of the country. Th... *Servant of India*, during the twenty-one years o... its existence, had established a high reputation ... as an organ of the famous Society whose name... it bore. Though the members of the Society ... are generally Liberals, they have not taken a... pedantic view of party discipline and have neve... restricted their activities to the party sphere... They have, indeed, been very liberal in the... Liberalism. We trust that it will not be lon... before the Society feels again the need of having... a journal to co-ordinate the views of its own... members as well as to provide the public with the... substantial mental pabulum which the *Servant*... provided for over twenty years.

Resignations of Congress Ministries:—Before the... week is out, six out of the seven Congress Pro... vincial Ministries will have vacated office and the... administrations assumed by Governors. There... seems to be little chance of Interim Ministries... being formed in any province. What ha... happened in Madras, an account of which w... print elsewhere, will be repeated in all the... provinces. The Central Provinces Governmen... does not seem to be in a hurry to give up offic...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for reasons which are not clear. Now that there has been a break in the Congress administrations, it is right to observe that on the whole they have distinguished themselves by the honesty, sound sense, and wise moderation of their measures and policies. Mistakes they have made but they are mostly mistakes of inexperience and over-zeal. The only weak point in the armour of the Congress has been the Central Provinces Government. We have no doubt that it has been a high-principled Government but it certainly has suffered from not invariably enjoying the reputation which the other Congress Governments have enjoyed.

Permit-Holders:—The Bombay Government published immediately after the introduction of Prohibition a list of some one hundred and seventy men and women who had applied for and been granted licenses for consuming alcoholic drinks on the ground of health. We have been expecting more names to be released to the press but, for some mysterious reason, although many more permits must have been issued, no more lists have been sent out by the Information Office. There are many arguments against publishing such lists. There are some in favour of publishing them. But there can be none for penalising some permit-holders with publicity and saving the rest. Apart from the injustice to the first 170, such a want of method leads naturally to the gravest suspicions and lends credence to all manner of insinuations. A great deal of the troubles of the Congress Governments has arisen out of this hand-to-mouth administrative method which left the public in a state of perplexed uncertainty.

Prohibition Subsidies:—In the Bombay Legislative Assembly, the Hon. Dr. M. D. Gilder, Minister in charge, explained on Monday that a sum of Rs. 9,000 had been paid out to seven Urdu, three Marathi, one Gujerati and one English newspapers, for propaganda in connection with Prohibition. There were two reasons which Dr. Gilder gave for these subsidies. The first of these was that the Government wanted newspapers with large circulations, with a traditional Prohibition policy, to carry on Prohibition work in the country. The second that these newspapers suffered from loss of revenue because their advertisements—presumably other than liquor advertisements as the papers were Prohibitionists—had been cut off and had appealed to Government for help. If the newspapers were "traditionally Prohibition" newspapers, we should have thought that they would have gladly published any Prohibition news that Dr. Gilder passed on to them, without the added spur of a Government subsidy. From the point of view of propaganda, therefore, the Government has thrown away money which they might have applied to better use in the direct service of the Prohibition Propaganda Board which itself was bringing out till last week a Bulletin of Prohibition news. The loss of revenue argument is one that is very difficult to prove and we are surprised that Dr. Gilder was satisfied with letters written to the Editors of these newspapers protesting against their policies. So far as we can see, with one newspaper, at any rate, out of those mentioned by the Minister, there has been neither rise nor fall in advertisements since Prohibition. Government might well have asked itself whether it was worth having the support of newspapers who looked to it to make good any loss in income consequent on the carrying out of "a traditional Prohibition policy." Dr. Gilder himself, if the report of his speech in the *Bombay Chronicle* is correct, did not think very highly of the press he had subsidised. "He thanked the other papers which did not get subsidies and did not approach Government but carried on Prohibition propaganda in a creditable manner." A little thought would have convinced the Minister that the subsidies were not calculated to bring credit either to the press or to the Government. They weaken the value of any support which the Government may receive from any newspaper until the suspicion that there is a financial reason for the advocacy has been removed. The only redeeming feature of the whole transaction is that it was only for three months.

Marx on India:—Except for one or two casual remarks in Trotsky's History of the Russian Revolution, we had come across so far very few references to India by standard writers on Communism. We are indebted to the *Triveni* for the information that Karl Marx wrote largely on India in his early journalistic days. The October number of *Triveni* publishes an informing review of a book by B. P. L. and Freda Bedi in which they have collected all Marx's writings on India. These articles, or letters as Marx himself called them, writes *Triveni*, were written by Marx as the London correspondent of the *New York Daily Tribune* in 1853. There are references to India in Marx's "Capital" and in his correspondence with Engels. The articles or letters collected in this book were published some years ago by a London publisher but the volume is now out of print. The following passage which Dr. Krishna, who reviews the book in *Triveni*, quotes, sums up Marx's view of British rule in India: "England fulfilled a double mission in India, one destructive, the other regenerating—the annihilation of old Asiatic society and the laying of the material foundation of Western society in Asia. The destructive side of the social revolution was completed in so far as her interests demanded it. The work of regeneration hardly transpires through a heap of ruins." Karl Marx was not an admirer of the village community. According to him, the village community was the solid foundation of oriental despotism. Dr. Krishna points out that the book is not a complete collection. Marx's articles on the Indian Mutiny and the Land Revenue System are omitted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, November 4, 1939.

THE INDIA DEBATE.

The outstanding feature of the debate in the House of Commons on the White Paper on India, containing the Viceroy's statement on the position of India in relation to the War, was the speech with which Mr. Wedgwood Benn, who was Secretary of State for India in the second Labour Cabinet, opened it. It was a pronouncement characterised not only by high statesmanship but also by a sympathetic appreciation of the idealistic aspect of Indian nationalism. At the outset Mr. Benn recalled the important services rendered by India during the last war. In men, money and material India's contribution far exceeded that of any of the Dominions. India's contribution to the last War was acknowledged at the time, but has since been completely ignored. Neither in Mr. Lloyd George's "War Memoirs" nor in Mr. Winston Churchill's "World Crisis"—two authoritative works written by men who had a dominant part in the direction of the last War —is there more than a casual reference to India's services. Mr. Lloyd George does not think it worth while to mention by name the Maharaja who placed £20,000 at his disposal for experimenting with a new gun which the Army experts had rejected. Mr. Wedgwood Benn's account of India's contributions must have been the first intimation which many of the members of the present House of Commons had of them. Mr. Benn then referred to the Congress demand to be assured that the freedom of India was an integral part of the objects for which Great Britain was fighting Hitlerism. He criticised the White Paper and the Viceroy's statement as evading a direct and plain answer to this reasonable request. Mr. Benn accepted Dominion Status as the goal of India, and proceeded to point out that that status was consistent with Eire observing a strict neutrality in this War. Referring to the objection on the score of minorities, Mr. Benn observed that minorities were not peculiar to India and that in South Africa they had not allowed the opposition of the British minority to prevent the grant of Dominion Status to the Union. Mr. Benn added that the racial question in South Africa has been solved by this means. So far as South African Indians are concerned, Dominion Status has not only not solved but has actually aggravated racial discrimination. Nor even as between Boer and Briton has it removed the old antagonism. General Smuts' recent success against the Boer Nationalists was entirely due to his frightening them with the consequences of the withdrawal of the protection of the British Navy if Herr Hitler decided to recover South-West Africa by force. Even in Canada, the French minority has only acquiesced in the present arrangement as the alternative, namely assimilation by the United States, would mean the destruction of its language and culture. There is danger in fostering exaggerated hopes of any reform. Prohibition in the United States might have had a better chance but for the wildly exaggerated claims made for it by its advocates. If we accept Dominion Status as a specific for communalism we are sure to encounter a violent revulsion against it when it is found, as it is likely to be, that it has no perceptible effect in allaying communal differences.

This does not mean that, if Dominion Status is otherwise regarded as desirable, it should be postponed, as the reactionaries suggest until all communities present a joint petition begging for its introduction. Such a condition was not demanded of the present Dominions and, in the case of South Africa, the rights of native Africans which were expressly reserved for Imperial protection, have been virtually surrendered to the control of the Dominion. The existence of communities each taking special pride in its own culture traditions and religions and practising and promoting them, is a basic principle of Indian polity dating from ancient times. Every successful rule in this country, whatever the race or religion of the ruler, has accepted it as its own. Whenever this principle has been departed from, the consequences have been both swift and decisive. Communal electorates are not wrong in themselves. What is wrong is that there should be weightages given to some communities at the expense of others. Joint electorates will be beneficial to minorities, as it will be possible for the latter to secure more than their strictly proportionate number of seats which they will secure through separate electorates, with the goodwill of all communities. On this ground, joint electorates are to be preferred, but they should not be thrust upon any community against its wishes. Gandhiji has recently exposed the fiction of oppression by a majority community but unfortunately the policy of the Congress under his guidance has all along recognised and sought to negotiate settlements on the basis of this fiction. The older generation of Congress leaders resolutely set their faces against allowing communal distinctions to colour the political life of the country. And there was certainly far less communal bitterness in their day than there is between the Congress and the Muslim League at the present time.

In the ordinary course, the Under-Secretary of State for India would have been the principal spokesman of Government in the debate. But the present Under-Secretary, Sir Huge O'Neill, was, evidently considered not sufficiently important or sufficiently well-informed for the purpose. His speech towards the end of the debate did not show that his relegation to a minor role was without justification. In passing, we may enter a protest against Parliament's responsibility for India being discharged through a hermit Secretary of State in the House of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Lords and an inconspicuous Under-Secretary in the House of Commons. Sir Samuel Hoare's speech following immediately after Mr. Wedgwood Benn's, was treated by all the speakers in the debate as the authoritative official statement. Misfortune has mellowed Sir Samuel's tone and manner. There was nothing of the spirit of the famous epigram about the caravan and the dogs in his speech. On the contrary, he went out of his way to be extra conciliatory by referring to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru having been educated in the same British Public School as himself and, the First Lord of the Admiralitly, Mr. Winston Churchill. Sir Samuel pointed out at some length that the Viceroy's statement was capable of a more liberal interpretation than the one it bore on the surface. He expressed the readiness of His Majesty's Government to consider suggestions to be adopted immediately, leaving the larger question to be deliberated at the end of the war. He endorsed Mr. Wedgwood Benn's reference to the Balfour definition of Dominion Status at the 1926 Imperial Conference. But he differed from Mr. Benn in an essential particular. Mr. Benn thought Dominion Status would solve the communal question. Sir Samuel, on the other hand, held that settlement of communal differences should precede the advent of Dominion Status. Dominion Status, in Sir Samuel's view, is not a thing to be granted. It should come as the result of the complete elimition of all differences. His words are worth quoting:

> Dominion Status is not a prize that is given to a deserving community but is the recognition of the facts that actually exist.

This definition does not fit in with the circumstances in which Canada, South Africa, much less Eire, acquired Dominion Status. The only interpretation that can be put upon it in the light of these precedents, is that Dominion Status is given only when it is made sufficiently clear that it can not be withheld. Only on one issue can such a state of things at present be brought about in this country. It is that foreign rule is intolerable as such whatever its merits and achievements. The logical solution of this issue, however, is not Dominion Status but Independence. Sir Samuel Hoare's advice virtually, therefore, means a snub to those who strive to achieve India's world destiny within the British connection and a direct encouragement to those who have set before themselves the achievement of complete independence.

As has often happened before, Thursday's debate on the Indian question in the House of Lords touched a much higher level than the debates in the Commons. Viscount Samuel, the Liberal leader, initiated the debate in a speech which dispensed with the euphemisms and circumlocutions which have become conventional in debates on India in Parliament. He bluntly charged His Majesty's Government of virtually giving the Muslims, who formed one-fourth of the population, a veto on constitutional reforms desired by the Hindus who were three-fourths of it. We, for one, would be glad if the British Government actually granted it to them instead of dangling it before them in the same way as they dangle Dominion Status before other Indian politicians.

SILENCE AND SPEECH.

(By Bacon Junior.)

In the current issue of *Harijan*, Gandhiji has an article on "The Virtues of Silence." It is written in answer to an admirer who called on Gandhiji on one of his days of silence and was rewarded with a pencilled slip, "This has become a health necessity to me." The recipient thereupon wanted to know from Gandhiji whether there was any visible drop of blood pressure, whether after a period of silence Gandhiji felt physically better and able to put forth greater energy and application to his work and whether he felt mental recuperation also *pari passu* with that of his body while he is observing silence.

Gandhiji prefaces his answers to the questions with a brief note on his personal background. He writes:

> For me silence is no strain and no effort. Indeed I am so tired of arguing and talking that I speak only when I feel I must. Generally, therefore, I am nowadays silent except to visitors who come by appointment and on some business connected with activities with which I am identified. In the Segaon Ashram I am silent to everybody except in cases of sickness and the like. I observe too that I get easily irritated if members of the Ashrama act contrary to expectation. I find that silence avoids irritation.

In a normal family there is no occasion for much speaking. The members understand each other perfectly and the household routine moves by its own momentum. Except in the case of newcomers, the presence of servants does not make any difference. The reign of silence is vastly promoted by the possession by the members of a family of the reading habit. An adequate supply of books is all that is needed to keep every one absorbed and silent. There is, of course, the risk of reading leading to discussion and discussion to differences of opinion, which are often held and defended with a tenacity which may strike a stranger as altogether out of place. But people who differ on questions which do not concern themselves personally, are generally proficient in the blessed art of "agreeing to differ." The possibility of a member of the family doing anything contrary to expectation and thus causing irritation is very slight. In the Segaon Ashram, too, it can be considerably reduced by adjusting expectations to probabilities. Or the Ashramites may be accorded unrestricted freedom of self-expression as is apparently done at Santiniketan. In any case, there should be no irritation nor the need to overcome it by enforced silence. Irritation is a subjective condition and is very little dependent on the action of others. It will manifest itself wherever it exists even if every one acts according to plan. In fact the very conformity may get on frayed nerves. Where there is inward peace the most violent departure from propriety by others, is powerless to cause irritation. The classic example is Socrates' placid behaviour when Xantippe emptied on his head a pail of dirty water what time he stood under her balcony discussing philosophy with a circle of disciples.

Gandhiji with his usual perspicacity speaks of the "virtues of silence" and not of the "virtue of silence." Silence itself is not a virtue or the dumb would be the most virtuous people. The exaltation of silence to the level of a cardinal virtue is a form of asceticism which is sometimes secured by passing a long pin through both cheeks or by catching the lips

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with an iron clip. Ordinarily, silence is enjoined on Indian youth from early age as a matter of expediency. *Maunum sarvarta sadhakam* — silence serves all purposes. Silence puts the fool on the same level as the wisest of men. The saying, "Speech is silver; silence is golden," conveys a juster appreciation of the respective values of the two. Silver is suitable for some purposes and gold for others. As St. Paul says there is a time for speech and a time for silence. Sometimes indeed it is a crime and a sin not to speak out. Hear the Psalmist:

"I have preached righteousness in the great congregation; lo, I have not refrained my lips, O Lord, thou knowest."

Silence after all is a negative quality. "The evil is null, is nought," proclaims Abt Vogler, "is silence implying sound." The value of silence is wholly due to its implications in sound. A word spoken a year ago would have turned the course of history. If President Benes had said the word when the Russian Ambassador asked him on the fateful night of September, what he would like Russia to do if the French failed to come to the help of Czechoslovakia, there would perhaps have been no need today to create a paper State of that name in Paris or London. As for the therapeutic value of silence, Gandhiji points out that enforced silence is one of the greatest hardships of prison life to the average inmate. Unless one likes to be silent, he says, it will not have the beneficial effects which it has in his own case. These effects are in his own words:

> (1) There is a perceptible drop in blood pressure when observing silence. Medical friends have, therefore, advised me to take as much silence as I can.
>
> (2) There is no doubt whatsoever that after every silence I feel recuperated and have greater energy for work. The output of work during silence is much greater than when I am not silent.
>
> (3) The mind enjoys a peace during silence which it does not without it. That is to say, the decision to be silent itself produces a soothing effect on me. It lifts a burden off my mind. My experience tells me that silence soothes the nerves in a manner no drugs can. With me it also induces sleep.

Gandhiji, of course, is the best authority on his own experience, and he expressly cautions others from trying to imitate him blindly. One obvious reason for caution lies on the surface. It is the age factor. To a lad of seven, the virtues of shouting are greater than those of silence to a man of seventy. Even for older people a "good cry" is sometimes the best relief from emotional strain. On a matter of this kind, the saying holds that at forty every man is either a fool or a physician. Some experienced doctors have no faith in "blood pressure." Unduly high or low blood pressure may be better inferred from disinclination to talk than by the elaborate instrument of canvas and steel. When a man feels disinclined to talk it is Nature's warning that he had not better talk, and one will be wise to heed it. It is also both hygienically and spiritually sound to observe silence when one has nothing to say. Silence is a virtue only when speech will be either foolish or futile. It was accounted a virtue in the German Field Marshal Moltke that he could be silent in seven languages. Perhaps if he had known only his own language he would not have cultivated reticence to so high a pitch. Undoubtedly there is too much talking especially on the part of those who have little to say. But there is also too much refraining from talking by those whose duty it is to speak out. Freedom of speech is a mere shibboleth when those who think refuse to speak and those who merely echo catchwords refuse to be silent.

THE POLITICAL IMBROGLIO AND THE WAY OUT.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

Virginia Wolf in "Three Guineas" says that five words in Greek of Antigone in the 'Antigone' of Sophocles contain a far more profound statement of the duties of the individual to society than any of the sociologists can offer us and are worth all the sermons of all the archbishops. Although I know no Greek, I would respectfully add, they are worth more than all Gandhiji's explanations of Satyagraha. The words have been translated as meaning, 'It is not my nature to join in hating, but in loving.' That was written more than two thousand years ago but politicians are still repeating, in effect, Creon's answer to her, 'Pass then to the world of the dead and if thou must needs love, love them.'

If love had been the basis of international relations, tens of thousands of orphans and widows would not be sending up dumb cries to high Heaven, to be echoed I do not know by how many thousands or millions before peace is re-established in the world. And if love suffused the relationships of the Congress and the British Government, the great turmoil for which the stage has already been set, could not happen.

Whether a Saint who believes in absolute non-violence, should lead and guide an army of Congress soldiers, who, he admits, do not follow that creed, it is for Gandhiji to decide. It appears to be a case of mental confusion, as his sincerity and saintliness are both patent.

When a person has no axe to grind, private communal or party, he perceives both sides of a question. Although he might be beating his solitary drum in a desert place or sitting all alone on his cross-bench, nevertheless if suggestions are made on account of intellectual (alas, not spiritual) acceptance of Antigone's creed which is the same as what Jesus Christ and others have enunciated, the tolerant pages of the *Social Reformer* would, it is hoped, allow space for them.

There is the further claim that if these suggestions which are being made for ten years past, had been taken up by responsible leaders, it is quite certain that the present difficulties would not have arisen. I think I have said previously that, besides sending my views to nearly 120 leaders in England and India (this was before the Round Table Conference), I had sent personal letters to Lord Linlithgow, Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry and some others. From their replies I gathered the impression that the present Viceroy and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru differed from my views, whereas Lord Hailey and Mr. Sastry considered them to be inexpedient. Subsequent events have proved the fact that they were not so inexpedient. A clear exposition of facts as they exist, if appreciated and followed, would often prevent subsequent difficulties.

Before very briefly explaining once again the actual position as I have perceived it for many years past, let me say a word more about the tangle of the moment.

If Congress Satyagraha leads to opposition to war even in self-defence—as it would seem to lead in the opinion of lay men—the Congress High Command would have been quite justified to express the view that Congress Ministries could take no part or share in the war. The same result follows if they do not mind who wins seeing that some of them have a strong leaning towards Russia, which is now friendly to Germany. Ordinary decency of political behaviour would in such circumstances also have led these

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ministries to resign and stand aside, without obstructing others who believed in the use of force and in the victory of the Allies in certain circumstances, and these others would similarly have respected the conscientious scruples of Congressmen and refrained from insisting on their taking any active share in the prosecution of the war. As this is not the view of the Congress and as they definitely desire the downfall of Hitlerism, it follows that statesmanship of an altruistic type requires that they should offer co-operation, but at the same time demand that the war aims as it affected India should be stated definitely in order that that co-operation might be continuous and whole-hearted. If that course had been adopted, there would be no need for Congress Ministries to resign except in circumstances which proved it impossible to carry on. On that background, the pronouncement of the Viceroy would not amount to such a circumstance. Further negotiations could be carried on until a breaking-point is reached—and that need not happen if Antigone's great principle is borne in mind on both sides.

Congress statesmanship, however, is not quite altruistic. Gandhiji's statement, as also subsequent decisions of the Congress, shows that the Congress wishes to take up a position which at present is not true to fact—*viz.*, that that most influential political body represents the whole of India, both British India and the States, Hindus, Mahomedans and other minorities, and all political parties. In spite of declarations to the contrary, an unbiassed observer has to conclude that the Congress has taken advantage of the war in order to manoeuvre for position— *i. e.*, to be considered as the sole party with which Britain ought to negotiate. When they are not in power in three out of eleven Provinces, and not in power anywhere in the whole of Indian India, the purely political nature of this manoeuvre could not be gainsaid. Gandhiji's pronouncements are not calculated to inspire confidence among non-Congressmen. What the Mahomedans, as also the Mahasabha Hindus, want is not protection, but the right to determine their own destiny for themselves, to protect their culture and inheritance.

The British side has also been manoeuvring; and they could urge the obvious plea of communal differences. But it seems to me that the Congress guns, in so far as they indicated that the Congress is the only body to be negotiated with, could easily have been spiked, by that aspect being ignored. It was obvious from the 52 interviews that all parties and all communities wanted self-government. It was only in names and methods that there were differences. If, instead of the elaborate statements, two or three sentences had been written down and announced, the Congress could surely have been outmanoeuvred in that aspect. It was sufficient to announce that Dominion Status on the Westminister Statute basis (which includes freedom in foreign policies and the right to separate) had always been the aim, and would be established as soon as the war is successfully over, that the method would be decided at the time in view of all the circumstances existing at that moment; and that as a first step, a Council for consultation concerning war measures would be set up at once. The Congress could not legitimately expect a deciding voice in this council because in this matter the States and, as there are three, the non-Congress provinces, are equally important and if it resigns on this issue, that step would command no support. Then again, the Congress, the States and other political parties could certainly spare men to reside at Delhi during the course of the War. Consultation with the same set of men would be more real and would lead undoubtedly to constitutional progress, whereas the method suggested by Lord Zetland will not.

Whether it is now possible to take action on these lines and prevent needless confusions and hatreds, I do not know. I can only say that what is suggested above is based on good will towards both sides.

Let me say here once again that the several points made by me during the past ten years are each of them fundamental and unassailable. Unless these points are recognized as such (leaving aside my asservations) I am unable to see how lasting peaceful progress would be possible. What the war has in store for India and the world, I do not know. I am writing in the hope that it would lead to the triumph of peace on earth and goodwill among men, that men would learn to join in loving and not in hating.

I do not know whether it is any use recapitulating those points. Judging from the trend of events, the drift appears to have set strongly towards the fulfilment of Cheiro's prophecy—*viz*, that India would be split up into Hindu and Mohomedan states at civil war. Whether destiny is irrevocable or shifts from day to day, there is no means of knowing. Having correctly anticipated events in the past, it is in the hope that the Congress and the Muslim League and the Hindus and the Mahomedans would give up temporrary advantages and work towards a United India in what seems to be the only manner possible that I am writing again.

In the announcement of 1917, and in subsequent pronouncements the terms India and British India were both used as if they had the same connotation, and apparently without realizing all the difficulties. This was shown elaborately in an article published in a London journal when the Round Table Conference was in session, but contributed long previously. The difficulties seem to have been appreciated subsequently, and the situation was saved through the Princes offering to enter the Federation.

It is obvious that Dominion Status is impossible except for British India and Indian India jointly and there are only two ways of achieving it. Either a Federation including both, or British India assuming the functions of the Paramount Power towards the States. The latter is the senior Nehru's scheme, but as pointed out by me at the time, it has insuperable difficulties, and is not ethically justifiable.

Six hundred and more autocratic States cannot easily be welded into a Federation with so few British Indian Provinces which are all democratically governed. Gandhiji had brought about a state of peaceful war—there is an actual war now—and the time was then opportune and would be opportune again at the end of the war so to modify the treaties as substantially to reduce the number of States as *Federating Units*, and also to modify the form of government in them as to make them more fit to enter into a federation with Democratic Provinces. After these changes are made, in Defence and Foreign Affairs, the States would have a share. Details were worked out in 1930, but these now require to be modified.

On account of the communal bias of Indians, the British Parliamentary form of Democracy is unsuited to India, as it is bound to lead to communal majorities being given the powers of a political majority. Read any leading article on the subject in any Indian paper, and it will be found that the writer constantly shifts from political to communal majority in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

belief that both have the same rights—although it is obvious that 51 Hindus or 51 Moslems have no democratic or parliamentary right to override the opinions of 49 Mahomedans or 49 Hindus. The recent interviews on the Viceroy's statement, given by Dr. Ambedkar representing the Depressed Classes, and by Mr. Jinnah for Moslems have explicitly brought out, what I had been saying over and over again for ten years.

It shows poverty of statesmanship to abandon Democracy on the ground that parliamentary majority government is unsuited for a communally-minded country. As has been ably pointed out recently by Mr. S. Srinivas Iyengar, we are all the same race —we differ radically and are easily separable from people living in other areas. Some Punjabis and several Bengalees would easily be mistaken for Malayalees in the extreme south but not for Kaffirs or Chinese, and very seldom for Europeans. It is not difficult to devise other forms of democratic government so as to preserve our unity, and simultaneously dispel the fears of Jinnah and Ambedkar. In war, all governments tend to become all-party governments. Why should not peace be regarded as a state of war against evils which are more damaging than the act of killing each other? I have suggested various methods for killing out communalisms and abolishing hatreds while preserving democracy and there must be many other methods. Why is no one thinking of them? Could not Jinnah and Nehru agree to meet and *not* to part till they come to an agreement, which Ambedkar and Rajah would also accept? Is it possible to transport all Hindus from Moslem Provinces and *vice versa* so as to suit the ideas of some Moslem leaders?

I think I speak for all Christians and other smaller minorities that they would accept any scheme which is acceptable to Hindus and Moslems jointly and also to the Depressed Classes.

The Congress could undoubtedly give very serious trouble by starting non-co-operation; but it should not be forgotten that it is just because the British adopted a wrong system that the Congress is ruling eight Provinces and that under the system advocated by me — or in fact under any really sound federal system suited to a communal country—there would have been no High Command issuing orders to the Ministers of so-called autonomous Federal Units, Ministers who call themselves soldiers who have to obey not the voice of the electorate in their respective Provinces, but of the High Command.

Whatever happens in the future, I fervently hope that such blatant travesties of real democracy would be things of the past. The voices of Tammany Hall and of the Primrose League do undoubtedly influence politics and policies, but nowhere else in the democratic world, so far as I know, do they openly and publicly issue orders to Ministers—who do not consider themselves responsible to the legislature but to the High Command.

Let the British at least in the future refrain from taking steps whereby democratic forms would be used for serving quite other ends; and similarly it is hoped that the voters, even the Congress voters, would become sufficiently imbued with sound democracy to realize that the Premier of an autonomous unit should not resign by command, but only when he loses the confidence of the legislature, that is, of the electorate. If the world, however, is becoming unfit for democracy and fit for only one form or other of Fascism, that is another story; but let that be honestly stated and honestly faced.

Security and ordered progress in which men ... are now old, believed when they were young ... for which they worked, are perhaps no lo... considered worth while. 'Doing stunts' seems ... the moment to be what stirs the imagina... If the world has really become circus-minded ... sadistic, sober thinking and quietness being ... longer in demand, it is useless to waste space ... your valuable paper. Perhaps these views mi... appeal to some of your readers. It is anyhow ... duty accomplished.

CIVILISATION IN DANGER?

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Ever since the war clouds started gathering ... Europe, one has been hearing that civilisation is ... danger. The power of destruction of mod... armaments having greatly increased, a clash of ar... between European races has been envisaged ... people with great alarm and concern, and the ru... and devastation which are to follow a modern w... have led them into a pessimistic contempla... about the future of European civilisation. As ... clouds thickened and blackened, the anxiety h... increased; and this anxiety has been colour... and broadcast by those in Europe in particul... who are interested in preserving the politic... and territorial *status quo*, and, therefore, ... avoiding a war aimed at disturbing it. Thou... a European war can only seriously threaten ... civilisation of Europe, such propaganda, for ... purpose of drawing world support, has used ... word, 'civilisation,' in a general sense without a... qualification; and in this sense it has been accep... by a world, that has been much impressed by t... material successes of Europe and that has be... educated to look for all inspiration to that countr... The cry of civilisation in danger has, therefore, be... raised so loudly in different parts of the wor... including India, that one's ears are dinned ... its echoes and re-echoes coming uncomfortab... from all sides and at all hours. Even ... the occasion of *Ganpati* puja celebrations, ... instance, a university man, while lecturing on Hin... as the mass language of India, on the invitati... of the Maharaja of Gwalior, went out of his way ... repeat that parrot cry, whether out of an unthinkin... belief in it or by way of expressing loyalty to th... government of the land, that is identified with the ... parties ranged against those who are said to threaten ... mordern civilisation.

With the growth of this civilisation discon... tent and unhappiness have increased; human ... intelligence has gone the wrong way, towards selfish... pleasure-seeking and self-aggrandisement; the visio... of men and women has been shortened and confine... to mere surface matters, the deeper significance ... underneath them being lost sight of; and jealousy ... and suspicion and endless strife and meaningless ... struggle have been constantly and bitterly ... tormenting human life. In the birthplace of this ... European civilisation mass thoughtlessness has ... increased; silly race arrogance has developed ... solidity of faith and conviction forming through ... intensity of feeling and depth of realisation has been ... shattered by irreverence and scepticism, and this ... has cut loose men and women from their moral and ... religious anchorage, throwing them adrift in the ... downward current of insatiable satisfaction. This ... scepticism has received the name of rationalism, ... though it has failed to give any rational solution to the ... questions and problems which confront life, and ... though, while demolishing ideas and institutions ... having evolutionary weight and value, it has been ... incapable of offering and building others, by which

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

people may be guided safely to a better and happier order of living.

Outside, where this civilisation has gone and spread, it has vandalised native culture; ruthlessly exploited native population, usurped their land and treasures, making them either slave or extinct altogether; destroyed peace and tranquility of atmosphere by raid and forcible penetration and devastated social happiness by infiltration of standardised ideas and customs foreign to and unsuitable to local conditions.

Such is the civilisation for the safety of which some people are crying and others are feeling duty bound to express sympathetic concern. Would it not be better for humanity, for the world, for the very people who have nursed and developed this culture and civilisation if that civilisation be destroyed and buried under the ruins of the present war? For it is not the war that is endangering the civilisation; it is the latter which is causing and leading to periodic wars. European wars are, therefore, not to be denounced as ruinous to the cause of this civilisation, but should be provocative of thought that might lead to its purification and to its establishment on higher ideals and nobler principles. The last war made some thoughtful Europeans look back and sound the foundations of the culture that Europe was rearing; but the ease, luxury, and sense of safety, which followed, diverted them back to their old ways and old thoughts. War has come again, as it was bound to come, and the danger and anxiety, which it has caused has set them thinking again. But more of such wars are necessary to batter down this civilisation, which Europe still boasts of and holds up advertisingly before the world. The ruins and destructions of such wars will only make her realise the hollowness and evil potentialities of this civilisation and culture. Through such realisation will come the wisdom to discard this civilisation and found in its place another, that will recognise the rights of all, strong or weak, coloured or white, that will denounce exploitation and colonisation, that will strive for a real universal human brotherwood and that will evolve a social order, based on strong morals and high virtues in which peace will last and happiness will endure.

CONGRESS MINISTRIES RESIGN.

The Government of Madras was first in the field to implement the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress to withdraw Congress Governments in the provinces in view of the unsatisfactory character of the response of the Viceroy and the British Government to the Congress request to be assured that the acquisition of Independence by India was implicit in the objects of the War in which she was involved along with the rest of the British Commonwealth, except Eire. The Prime Minister moved the following resolution on Thursday the 26th October in the Madras Legislative Assembly:

> This Assembly regrets that the British Government have made India a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany without the consent of the people of India and have further in complete disregard of Indian opinion passed laws and adopted measures curtailing the powers and activities of the Provincial Governments. This Assembly recommends to the Government to convey to the Government of India and through them to the British Government that in consonance with the avowed aims of the present war, it is essential in order to secure the co-operation of the Indian people that the principles of democracy be applied to India and her policy be guided by her people, and that India should be regarded as an independent nation, entitled to frame her own constitution, and further that suitable action should be taken in so far as it is possible in the immediate present to give effect to that principle in regard to the present governance of India, including arrangements whereby all war measures in this Province may be undertaken with the consent of, and executed through, the Provincial Government. This Assembly profoundly regrets that the situation in India has not been rightly understood by His Majesty's Government when authorising the statement that has been made on their behalf in regard to India.

In reply to an objection that the resolution relating as it did to a subject not strictly provincial, required the previous permission of the Governor, the Prime Minister said that, though he did not think it necessary, he had, to make sure, obtained the permission of His Excellency for the resolution being moved in the Assembly. Mr. Rajagopalacharya struck a high note in the opening sentences of his speech. He said:—

> Indians thought and wondered how it was that suddenly our people were to be at war with another people. What has brought this about, what is it that has happened by which, we, here in India, men, women and children, are suddenly declared to be at war with another people, men, women and children, whom we had never seen before and with whom we had no immediate transaction leading up to any trouble like this?
>
> "We have been asked to carry out various measures of war. We have been asked to seize people if they were roaming about this country or province and put them under orders of imprisonment, separate them from their families and so on. We, therefore, are entitled as common men and women, to think whether this is right and why this has come about.
>
> It was true, the Prime Minister continued, that India was in a state in which all her people could be declared to be at war with another people. To-day it was Germany, to-morrow it might be Afghanistan, Tibet, China, or Japan. They would be bound under the law to arm themselves and kill and slaughter—that was really the concrete end of war. It would be well to keep this in view whenever they discussed the question. "Let us not imagine," the Prime Minister emphasised, "that war is merely news. War is actual slaughter and terrific bloodshed. Let us keep this fact before us. Whatever may the constitutional position, we are entitled to consider and examine whether there has been justifiable cause for us to be at war with other people and whether it is right for us to follow it to with action."

The late Prime Ministers of Madras is a prolix but not tiresome speaker. He likes to put the same point over and over again in various forms so as to appeal to the varied levels of his audience's intelligence. He likened the position of India to that of the bullocks yoked to a cart. They were not asked before starting a journey whether they consented to draw the cart. Supporting a War was a more serious business than drawing a cart. It is undertaking to kill and be killed. The Minister warned the Assembly that War was more than columns of news in the newspapers. The people of India, he declared, had been ordered into a psychological condition of murder and slaughter. According to the Gandhian doctrine, murder, in all circumstances, and especially mass murder known as war, is absolutely inadmissible for any reason whatsoever. But on the present occasion not even Gandhiji has pushed the doctrine to its logical limit. Gandhiji and Mr. Rajagopalacharya only asked that, before being thrown into War psychology, the people of India were entitled to be told what it was for and how it would benefit them or humanity. The opposition to the resolution was feeble. Not the most violent opponent of the Congress can maintain that it is right to drag India into a war with a distant people without informing them of the why and wherefore of it. The resolution was carried by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

15 to 22. The Prime Minister immediately tendered the resignation of his cabinet to the Governor who requested him to hold office till he was able to make arrangements for the administration to be carried on. On the refusal of the leaders of the Opposition to form a Ministry the Governor assumed the administrative and legislative powers. In his Proclamation announcing this, His Excellency said :—

I have, therefore, adopted the only course that is now open to me and have issued a Proclamation under Section 93 of the Government of India Act, taking all administrative and legislative power into my own hands. This is a step that I regret profoundly but in the present circumstances it is unavoidable.

While this Proclamation remains in force the Legislature of the Province will not meet, since all its powers have been assumed to myself.

The Proclamation that has been issued remains in force for six months unless it is revoked earlier and beyond that time it may be extended by resolutions of both Houses of Parliament up to a limit of three years in all.

In the other Congress Provinces, the procedure has been more or less the same as in Madras. The Bombay Government tendered its resignation on Tuesday and has been requested by the Governor to continue until he is able to make arrangements for the administration to be carried on. The Congress majority in the Bombay Legislative Assembly is not as large as in Madras. But it is split up into three or four groups individually of small dimensions. The largest is the Muslim League group whose leader acts as the leader of the Opposition. Sir Mahomed Dehlavi was invited by His Excellency and asked if he could form a Ministry. He has taken time to consult the other groups. If he can bring the others to work with him he can put up a good show with Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Dr. Ambedkar. But a Coalition of this type has little chance of gaining over more than one half of the Congress bloc, which it will have to do in order to command a majority. It seems likely that in Bombay and the other Congress Provinces the Governors will have to assume all powers as in Madras.

LIFE INSURANCE TRUST PLAN

THE outright payment of the Insurance money to the widow or children in one lump sum is a great mistake. To apply a real test you would only ask yourself how your wife would invest such a sum now without any help whatever from you. The woman who has been "All the Wife and Mother" is ill-equipped to invest and safeguard funds designed to her family's protection for many years.

Therefore take advantage of

OUR INVESTMENT TRUST PLAN

For further particulars apply to :—

THE SECRETARY

CENTRAL BANK EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE CO., LTD.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Wai (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar (" ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ah...
Dhulia (District W... Khande...
Dondaicha (" ")
Nandurbar (" ")
Shirpur (" ")
Shahada (" ")
Sakri (" ")
Sindkheda (" ")
Taloda (" ")
Malegaon (District Na...
Satara (" ")
Kalwan (" ")
Dohad (District P... Mah...
Kalol

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sho...
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broac...
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhu...
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer perio... are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertain... from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operat... Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balan... not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and inte... paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules ... be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to ... ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporat... Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Audit... Quarterly statements of financial position are published in th... "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Direct...

S. NATARAJAN'S WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travelle... can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at a... rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahaba...

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mensana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN.

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 28, 1939. No. 9.

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

In the Melting Pot.
Prohibition Day Sequel.
Liberals Querulous.
Independence and Mr. Ganguli.
Totalitarian Economics and the Classless Society.
Mr. P. Joseph on Journalism.
The Turko-British Treaty.
Russia in Poland.
India in Parliament.
Mysore's Economic Policy.
Fruits of Imperialist Propaganda.
The National Goal and Christian Indians.
What is wrong with Westernisation ?
The Viceroy's Statement and the Congress.
The Muslim League's Attitude.

NOTES.

Prohibition Day Sequel :—An official summary of the report of the inquiry which Mr. Justice Broomfield, Judge of the Bombay High Court, conducted into the firing by the Bombay City Police while controlling a Muslim procession against the Urban Property Tax on August 1, has been released to the press. The report exonerates the police and, in examining the circumstances which led to the firing, makes special mention of the patience shown by the police officers in the face of grave provocation. Mr. Broomfield has given a narrative of the events of the day which would be complete but for one important omission. He does not give even the slightest hint that the Bombay Government had fixed that very day for celebrating the introduction of Prohibition. Without this the clashes between "Hindu crowds" and the Muslim processionists are likely to convey the impression that all the trouble arose out of the insensate fury of Hindu and Muslim fanatics. "The processionists," says the summary, "were in an angry mood, and their loudly expressed resentment against the Property Tax had a definitely communal character, owing to the fact that it had been imposed by a Congress Government." (There is no logical sequence in this argument.) "They shouted slogans of an abusive and often indecent nature about Hindus in general and Congress Ministers in particular.....Provocation was undoubtedly given by Hindu crowds. It is possible that it was the Hindus who first started throwing stones." All this gives an entirely wrong impression, in the absence of an explanation as to why "Hindu crowds"—would it not be more correct to say Government supporters?—had in the first place collected. One cause of it was the declaration of August 1 as a public holiday and the Government decision to celebrate the inauguration of Prohibition with a procession and a public meeting. So obviously was the rioting taken to be one between Government supporters and opponents that while the Muslim processionists and the Muslim League which opposed the Urban Property Tax were both represented by counsel, there was no Hindu communal organisation represented at the inquiry. The Muslim procession was, as the summary report says, a protest against the Urban Tax. But it would not have been staged but for the wholly unnecessary Prohibition demonstrations of the Government. Even had it been organised, it would not have created much stir in the city.

Liberals Querulous :—The statement issued by the Council of the Liberal Federation is a querulous document and seems to have been composed with no definite object in view. Thus, it complains that the Viceroy's statement does not make it clear that the Dominion Status to be attained by India is to be of the same character as that enjoyed by the present Dominions and as is contemplated by the Statute of Westminister. Dominion Status is now defined in a Statute and must be taken to mean one and the same thing whether with reference to India or to any other country. If it was intended that the Dominion Status of India was to be of a different kind, it should have been so stated in the Viceroy's statement. In the absence of any such qualification there is no ground for suspecting that Lord Linlithgow has in view some special kind of Dominion Status for India. Sir Samuel Hoare made this clear in his speech on Thursday. The Council of the Federation complains that no date has been definitely fixed for the introduction of Dominion Status. The time indicated is as soon as possible at the end of the War and unless the Council can prophecy when this War will end and that it will not be succeeded by another War, it is obviously out of the question for the Viceroy or anybody else, to fix a date. Apropos of this difficulty, the scene between Lord Halifax and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the closing day of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, will be fresh in the minds of readers. Sir Tej referring to the statement made by Lord Halifax as Viceroy to which Lord Linlithgow also refers, asked for a date for the introduction of Dominion Status. Lord Halifax observed that, though he had said that Dominion Status was the goal, he had said nothing to imply that it would be attained soon. Whereupon Sir Tej left the Committee room after protesting that, if that was Lord Halifax's

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

interpretation of the pledge, he for one would have nothing more to do with it. The Council of the Federation also complains of the omission to say anything about the Indianisation of the Army in the Viceroy's statement. Dominion Status certainly includes complete Indianisation. When one makes a death-bed gift of a cow to a Brahmin, one does not say that one gives also its tail and its horns and its hoofs. The Council points out as we did that it is a travesty of the fact to say that the Hoare constitution was framed in joint consultation by Indian and British statesmen.

Independence and Mr. Ganguli :—Mr. J. M. Ganguli rebukes those who would dilute their passion for Indian independence with a desire for security and a fear of aggression. In view of the enthusiasm with which so many of our patriots have shown their readiness to exchange their declared ideal of Independence for a promise of Dominion Status to be fulfilled after the present war or even for immediate Dominionhood, his rebuke is clearly justified. If it is argued that Dominion Status is Independence, then it is pertinent to ask why Indian politicians of a certain class raised the slogan of Independence and set it up as a barrier against other Indians who worked for Dominion Status. Mr. Ganguli's reference to the Chinese thinker, Chuang Tsi, is a very appropriate one but his application of it is incorrect. Chuang Tsi's refusal to accede to the request of his King would have been wise and exemplary had the position offered to him been that of a Pompadour or a Court Jester. But when he was offered the Prime Ministership, the position of the highest responsibility in the State, it is, to say the least, irresponsible and selfish to prefer to "wag his tail in the mud." Deliberately to cast aside a position in which one can serve one's fellowmen, where one can temper imperial policy with clemency and justice, is a rejection of power which can have little to commend it. In the absence of information as to Chuang Tsi's previous experience of the premiership, one can only conclude that Tsi was choosing personal security in preference to the public good. The Indian position is similar. Indian independence is desired not that India might retire into isolation within the Himalayas and the three seas but that she might play a fuller part in the councils of the world. If she can do this in and through the present system in which she finds herself — if she, in the words of the story, is offered "the premiership of the Empire" — she would be foolish to prefer "wagging her tail in the mud." That is the goal we would suggest to Indian statesmen rather than an insistence on some nebulous, "Dominion Status" which, at its best, can only mean a position of one among many other nations of the Commonwealth.

Totalitarian Economics and the Classless Society :—Mr. Cyril Modak in the article which we publish this week, remarks, "It is now as good as an axiom that only a classless society can liquidate poverty by placing the national wealth at the disposal of the community." There is a measure of ambiguity about this sentence which is intensified by the arguments employed later on. We are not sure whether Mr. Modak sets forth a case for an acceptance of the elementary economic rights of man or for the economic equality of men. His remarks on "a classless society" and the references to capitalism and private property would imply the latter; while his mention of the sufferings of the poor in the present system suggest the first. We agree with Mr. Modak that political democracy and equal citizenship in a State can only exist along with economic sufficiency. But if we are to wait for a classless society for a solution of the problems of poverty, there is small chance of attaining our objectives. When the State has abolished all economic differences between man and man—itself an impossible achievement—there will be other distinctions which assume greater significance. The Government official has advantages over the ordinary party member; the party man lords it over the rest of the population. Economic inequality gives place to social inequality; class to caste. The army is an organisation which ignores economic worth. "A wealthy soldier," writes Mr. Priestley, "might buy a little promotion but that is all. But there is a tremendous difference between what a private is allowed to do and what a general is allowed to do." Mr. Modak is not correct, generally speaking, in asserting that untouchables have been able to get over their disabilities through wealth. It has invariably been found that economic distinctions have been superimposed on caste distinctions. The caste system in India and racialism abroad have shown that social privilege is more galling in its working than economic inequality, once an economic minimum is attained.

Mr. P. Joseph on Journalism :—The address which Mr. Pothan Joseph, Editor of the *Indian Express* of Madras, delivered as President of the Andhra Journalists' Conference held at Ellore last week, was characteristically frank and free from cant. His recommendation that reports of speeches should be compressed is one which should be observed in the interests not only of newspaper readers but also, if no more, in the interests of the speakers themselves. Very few speakers at public meetings or legislative bodies deserve to be reported verbatim. Apart from that, speaking involves much repetition and illustration in parables and stories, which are out of place and tiresome in print. An experienced public man once told this writer the secret of his success as a speaker. He usually spoke for forty minutes at the longest, he said. In the first twenty minutes he exhausted all he had to say and devoted the next twenty to going over the same ground with the object of ramming his ideas into the minds of his hearers. It is obvious that in this gentleman's case the reporter need only take down what he says in the first twenty minutes.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

For the rest of the speech, he can sit back in his chair and rest. We agree with Mr. Joseph that, notwithstanding the zealous efforts that are being made to oust English in favour of a national language still in the making, English will be necessary as the medium of all India journalism and that we should not be too much in a hurry to get rid of it. We may add that if we must write in English it is worth while writing it well. Writing or speaking bad English is not a sign of patriotism. It may be a kind of patriotism to eschew a foreign language altogether but not to murder it deliberately. There is a distinct decline in the number of good writers of English though the number of newspapers written in English is on the increase. Mr. Joseph's advice to Indian journalists not to regard themselves as inferior to any other professional because of their small and precarious emoluments is very timely. Not less so was his admonition against the Journalist degenerating into a party hack. If the journalist has a poor opinion of his vocation, he can not expect the public to have a higher opinion of it. Mr. Joseph complained of the working of the Press Censorship instituted since the outbreak of the war in Madras. There has been no occasion for similar complaints here but we agree that if the Censorship is abolished the course of the war would in no wise be impeded. There is so very little of real news about the war that is available to newspapers even in Great Britain that there is no fear of its publication prejudicing the interests of any of the belligerents, least of all, of Britain.

The Turko-British Treaty :—The conclusion of a treaty of mutual assistance between Turkey and Britain has been hailed as a triumph of British diplomacy. So it is. The relations between the two countries during and for several years after the last war, were not such as to leave many friendly recollections. The visit of King Edward VIII, now the Duke of Windsor, to the late Kemal Ataturk, four years ago was the first gesture of friendship on the part of a high British personage since the birth of New Turkey. The policy then initiated by the Duke has now borne fruit. The Treaty with Turkey will be welcomed in this country where the death of Ataturk evoked demonstrations of admiration. The news which closely followed that of the conclusion of the Treaty, namely, that Britain had promised a huge credit caused some uneasiness. A business friend murmured, on reading it, Shakespeare's warning that a loan loses both itself and friend. This has since been contradicted officially from London and so the uneasiness on that account may be dismissed. Italy, however, is said to regard the Anglo-Turkish friendship with suspicion but surely she also can be friends with both Britain and Turkey if she has no sinister aims in view against either of them.

Russia in Poland :—When Russia moved its troops into Poland in the middle of last month, the British Prime Minister told the House of Commons that he wanted time to understand the implications of the act. But subsequent events made it clear that Russia had not taken the step to protect Poland from being overrun by Germany. Russia quietly proceeded to establish the Soviet system in the territories which she took over. Soon after the details of the partition of the country between the Nazi and Soviet Powers was announced. According to the strict letter of the Anglo-Polish Treaty, Great Britain was under obligation to defend Poland against aggression by a European Power. Mussolini pointed out that Britain's failure to declare war against Russia detracted from her moral claim in the war against Germany. It appears, however, that when the Anglo-Polish Treaty was signed it was understood by both the contracting parties, that only aggression by Germany was meant by the phrase, "aggression by a European Power." The Prime Minister made this announcement in Parliament this week. Reservations in favour of particular nations are not uncommon in mutual defence treaties. In the Triple Alliance, Italy made a reservation that she would not fight Great Britain. In the Anglo-Turkish Treaty concluded last week, Turkey has made a reservation in favour of her proved friend and protector, Soviet Russia. But the restriction of a general expression like "a European Power" to one particular Power, is a novel feature.

India in Parliament :—Only the briefest notice is possible in this week's *Reformer* of the debate in the House of Commons on Thursday on the Labour resolution on the Viceroy's recent statement. The reports of the speeches of Mr. Wedgewood Benn who initiated the debate and Sir Samuel Hoare who followed him in the morning papers on Friday are incomplete. The tone particularly of the latter's speech as summarised in the British Broadcast summary last night, is markedly different in an important respect from that of the incomplete report of his speech. The speech of the Under Secretary of State for India, who is the official representative of the India Office, has not been reported on Friday morning. The British Broadcast summary of it contained one important sentence that the White Paper (the Viceroy's statement) had no finality about it. In these circumstances, it is best to postpone comment on the debate till next week. But we must say this : that it will be a sight for gods and men if when Great Britain is fighting Hitlerism in Europe, it should be practising it in India against the Congress even should it find itself forced into non-co-operation by circumstances beyond its control. So far as we know, none of the leaders now in control of the movement wants to start it during the pendency of the War. But just as the British Government which did not want war has been forced into it, Congress leaders may find themselves forced into a course which they do not contemplate. Then will be the testing time for both Indian and British character and statesmanship.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, October 28, 1939.

IN THE MELTING POT.

When the Congress decided to accept office two and a half years ago with the professed object of wrecking the new constitution, it was strictly following British precedents. The most important of them all is that set by Oliver Cromwell whose procedure, with the single exception of Pride's Purge, adhered meticulously to the law of the British constitution. Even the trial, condemnation and execution of King Charles I was carried out with scrupulous regard for legal forms. The Congress, having won a majority of seats in the Legislature in seven provinces on the franchise laid down by the Government of India Act and the rules under it, claimed that it alone represented the people in these provinces. Having regard to the illiteracy, ignorance and apathy of the masses this was a large claim. But it was not open to the Government to contest it because it had itself prescribed the method of representation. In order to preserve a semblance of continuity with election declarations, Congressmen said, and no doubt believed, that they were accepting office with a view to wreck the Hoare constitution. But Congress Ministers soon became enamoured of their work, and forgot all about the wrecking programme. Prohibition, education, relief of the peasantry from debt, temple entry for untouchables, industrial planning and other measures which required a long period in office to carry through, were undertaken without the least thought that they may have to be dropped midstream uncompleted. Not only that but, on one or two occasions within a few months of their taking office, when the wrecking objective was still fresh in their minds, Congress leaders deliberately accepted solutions of a face-saving character on issues which, if they had cared, might have been utilised for creating deadlocks. But the War situation has forced their hands. The earlier Wardha resolution was clearly intended to give the British Government an opportunity for making some gesture which might be interpreted as satisfying Congress claims. The categorical, not to say contemptuous, refusal of Lord Zetland to make any sign which can even remotely convey the impression that the British Government had a conciliatory purpose in view, was certainly a surprise and a snub to Congress leaders which not the most forbearing of them could acquiescence in. There was indeed little purpose in holding the interviews with the Viceroy if nothing better than Lord Zetland's admonitions were contemplated. That there are numerous minorities in the country, real and fanciful, needed no confirmation. It is bad policy to raise hopes when you have no intention of fulfilling them. Lord Zetland's pronouncements which reflect the views of His Majesty's Government, left not an inch of ground on which Congress leaders may frame a formula that would enable them to continue in office. The Working Committee resolution which we publish elsewhere was practically forced on the Congress by His Majesty's Government. If Congress Governments continue to hold office in spite of this slap in their faces, they would completely forfeit the respect of the public not only in India but also in Great Britain. Gandhiji has said that it would have been better if the Viceroy's statement had not been issued. But the earlier Wardha resolution demanded an answer and, if there was none there would have been the complaint that Government had not the courtesy to notice the demand of the largest political organisation in the country. Silence, too, it would have been said meant nothing less than refusal. If the Congress had not passed the earlier resolution there would have been no occasion for the Viceroy to make his statement. The resignation of the Congress Ministries will clear the political atmosphere and it will be possible to know who stands for what. The confusion between "wrecking" and "working" will be at an end. As a matter of fact the Congress objective of wrecking has been fulfilled in spite of itself by world events. First the Federal and then the provincial part of the Hoare scheme have gone by the board. We have now a clean slate and may proceed to write on it on clean lines.

The resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee which also we publish elsewhere, is a masterpiece in the art of temporising. The League is as much wedded to Independence as the goal of Indian politics as the Congress. To the Congress Independence means the transfer of the control of the government from British to Indian hands. To the Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah's dispensation, it means something more. It means first the suppression of the Hindu influence in any shape or form. Hence objects even to the renaissance and revival movements which began at the beginning of the last century. The fear of the Hindu majority is a political fiction. The Hindus are divided into numerous castes and sects whom only a common and severe persecution has ever united in self-defence. When the danger was past the castes and sects resumed their normal isolation. Sir K. V. Reddi, Mr. M. C. Rajah and Dr. Ambedkar had requested Mr. Jinnah the other day to represent their interests along with those of members of his League to the Viceroy. The first two had also sent a representation invoking the help of the Government of India to put down the vile machinations by which Brahmins who forming only 3 per cent of the population of the Madras province, had managed to secure a fourth of the seats in the provincial Legislature. Strange to say, the strongest protest against the action of the non-Brahmin leaders has come from a Muslim, once himself a leader of the Justice party, Sir Mahomed Usman. If Mr.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Jinnah would widen the basis of his League and call it a Justice League he will find a number of adherents from among the leaders of the now defunct party. Another myth of Mr. Jinnah's is that the Hindu majority has for its main object the oppression of Muslims. On this question, history speaks with no uncertain voice and we may expect those who aspire to be the rulers of India to make themselves acquainted with Indian history. We are no more enamoured of the rule of the majority than is Mr. Jinnah. So far as democracy means nothing more than rule of the majority, we care for it as little as he does. But in the course of history, Democracy has gathered around itself associations which, in the eyes of thinking people, are far more essential to it than mere numbers. This qualitative essence of democracy is freedom, the most fundamental of which is freedom of conscience. Any form of Government which ensures to citizens complete freedom of conscience, is superior to any other which does not do this even if it go by the name of and exhibit the forms of democracy. Since the above was written, we have come across a statement of his views furnished by Mr. Jinnah to the *Manchester Guardian*. Its ideology cannot but strike English readers of that Liberal journal as having more affinity to that which they are fighting to destroy than to that which they are fighting to preserve in Europe.

MYSORE'S ECONOMIC POLICY.

(By A. Padmanabha Iyar.)

The address delivered by Sir Mirza Ismail, the popular and talented Dewan of Mysore, to the members of the Dasara Session of the Representative Assembly, is an illumunating document in several ways. The key-note of Mysore Administration, especially during the last thirteen years of his Dewanship, has been to enhance the prosperity and happiness of the rural population and thus to raise the economic efficiency generally of the people. The present Address also contains ample proof of the remarkable success of this endeavour of Government.

The mere enumeration of the industries started and worked during the last decade and three years is enough to show how the State has been made self-sufficient in the matter of its own requirements of every day's use. Iron and steel, sugar, silk, silk filature, waste silk, cement, paper, ceramic, electrical, pharmaceutical, soap, sandalwood oil, tobacco and other industries now flourishing in the State, form a record of which any administration may feel legitimately proud as a noble achievement of an industrial policy conceived with courage and executed with admirable vigour, with results which have been pronounced strikingly successful. In addition to all these the Dewan announces that it has been decided to start at Hassan a factory for the manufacture of tools and agricultural implements. The general complaint everywhere in India which, it is admitted, is a purely agricultural country, is that the scientific methods suggested and the improved implements introduced do not appeal to the ryot population because their foreign make does not appeal to them and that difficulties arise in the matter of repair. The idea, therefore, of establishing a factory for manufacturing tools and agricultural implements is admirable and is in accord with the policy of the State to make the rural population happy and prosperous. This is only another convenience afforded to the agriculturist in addition to the facilities in the way of irrigation, remission of land tax, etc. It is further announced that the Mysore Vegetable Oil Products Co., the Mysore Silk Filatures, and the Mysore Glass and Enamel Works have started operations, while the Mysore Chemicals and Fertilizers and the Mysore Coffee Curing Works, are expected to function shortly. All these are admirably conceived to increase the output of local products and afford employment to a large section of Mysoreans, which itself is an important factor in the economic salvation of the State. The Government Lac and Paint Factory which started working only in November last, has already begun to supply the requirements of the Mysore State Railway and the Public Works Departments. It is highly satisfactory to know that these products are very popular in the local markets. The Mysore Tannery is being placed on a sound joint-stock basis and similar attempts are being made in the case of the Match Factory at Shimoga.

It is seen that the total number of large-scale industries in the State is at present thirty. While liberal State-aid is granted to large-scale industries, Government have not forgotten their responsibility in the matter of cottage and rural industries. Consistently with the well-planned and carefully carried out programme of Rural Reconstruction the Government are equally zealous to afford all facilities to promote cottage and rural industries which are the life-blood of the masses. It is in this way that the general standard of living among the rural population is raised. The Dewan says that "this is the pivot of our policy of rural reconstruction." The Government have, it will be remembered, carried out in action what they have been stating on paper. About three years ago the Government ordered a careful survey to be made of the immediate possibilities of carrying on rural reconstruction work and selected a certain number of villages. Intensive work was carried out in about 200 villages. Since then another three-year plan has been sanctioned for the development of rural industries, involving an expenditure of Rs. 1¼ lakhs. In as many as thirty-five centres such village industries as smithies, tanning, leather work, improved pottery and coir manufactures, mat-weaving, paper-making, oilseed-crushing and tile-making have been established. Mysore products are now attracting attention both in and outside the State. Local manufacturers of art-ware, etc., have been enabled to find a steady market for their products by the organisation of show and sale rooms at important commercial centres.

In regard to the large-scale industries like the Mysore Iron and Steel Works also, their operations have yielded very good result. It is highly gratifying that for the first time since the establishment of the Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati they have yielded a surplus of Rs. 2½ lakhs which covers the entire depreciation on the plant. The Mysore Paper Mills which started operations only about a couple of years ago has been able to throw on the market several kinds of paper made of bamboo pulp. The quality of the paper has been widely appreciated. The Mills have been making a special variety of paper at prices which compare favourably with the present prices of newsprint. They are also investigating the possibility of making mechanical pulp from local woods. In the course of his broadcast talk on Mysore on the 5th August last year, the Dewan observed thus:—

> "We are very proud of the products of these factories, and at the risk of being called provincial, try to set before all true Mysoreans the ideal that they should wash themselves with Mysore soap, dry themselves

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with Mysore towels, clothe themselves in Mysore Silks ride Mysore horses, eat the abundant Mysore food, drink Mysore coffee with Mysore sugar, build their homes with Mysore cement, Mysore timber and Mysore steel, furnish their houses with Mysore furniture and write their letters on Mysore paper."

This hope of the Dewan has been realised and Mysore stands today a model for other administrations to follow in an industrial policy which has yielded such magnificent results.

FRUITS OF IMPERIALIST PROPAGANDA.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

One of the principal help-mates of Imperialism is propaganda, propaganda directed to hold up to advantage the culture and qualities of the Imperialists on the one side, and to belittle correspondingly those of the people subjugated on the other. The effect of such contrasting propaganda is to make the ruled people lose confidence in themselves and in their institutions, and to make them idolise and follow their political masters. Such imperialistic propaganda also instills the idea into the mind of the subject people, from their early age, that they cannot stand by themselves and cannot defend their country against foreign aggression, without the help and protection of their benevolent rulers, before whose advent their conditions were miserable and after whose departure—if such departure be contemplated—the condition of their country would be worse and frightful. To give colour to this propaganda the bogey of invasion by hungry, ferocious people from outside is held up, and different communities in the country itself fighting for advantage are pictured. In the case of Christian Imperial powers, the Christian missionaries, who receive State help and patronage, very usefully back up the Imperial propaganda and spread it among the masses by attacking their culture and ridiculing their social customs and traditions and in other subtle ways.

The influence of such penetrating propaganda is that the people of those countries grow up weak and diffident, neglecting and disdaining their own culture and heritage, and looking helplessly for guidance, protection and inspiration to their rulers. Disarmed by law, emasculated by faulty training and education, weakened by lack of self-confidence, and uninspired by a spirit of self-assertiveness, they resign themselves to their lot, and think of no more than to live the span of their life unstarved and with a sense of physical security from outside. To be left free in the sunshine of liberty frightens them as it frightens a bird caged for years. Those of them who are in the enjoyment of some economic comfort and prosperity, are all the more scared by the idea of their country's independence which might entail an upsetting of existing conditions, which have suited them.

To what an extent India has been thus affected becomes apparent now and then from the mentality of its people. It is said that Britons prayed to the departing Romans not to leave England but to continue to rule over them. Here in this country also, which, unlike the land of the Britons, has had a glorious past, a great culture, noble heritage and a flourishing independent existence, the people have so broken down during only a few centuries of lost independence that they fight shy of an independent status, and like Britons can only think of praying for being ever kept in dependence. During the last war, when the German warship, Emden, was raiding in the Bay of Bengal, an English judge of the Calcutta High Court asked the late Dr. Rash Behari Ghose what he thought he (meaning he and his countrymen) would do if the Emden were to come up the Hoogly to Outram Ghat in Calcutta. The ready-witted great lawyer promptly replied that they would go to the Ghat and present a loyal address of welcome to the raiders. What else had they been taught to do during the last one hundred and fifty years and more,—pertinently asked Dr. Ghose in support of his remark.

A more realistic picture of the conditions in the country could scarcely have been given in so few words. Not to say of the masses, who generally lie embedded in the present and lack the vision and courage to look into the future with ambition, our educated people also are without an expansive outlook and can only think of an existence sheltered and protected by others, whatever such shelter and protection may mean and cost. Whenever there is a war, and the danger of foreign attack is held up for enlisting public help and support to the war cause, so many of the educated people begin to shake with fear. Some shudder to think, "If Hitler succeeds and England goes under—which God forbid—there would be an end, within a few months, of India's security." The terror that would overtake India is 'unthinkable' to them. Others ask those Congress leaders, who have openly conceived the independence idea, to think of the condition of Poland. The long years of Imperialistic propaganda and the demoralising effects of centuries of dependence have so completely eaten up the vitals of their manhood that even in imagination they shrink in fear at the prospect of having to defend themselves their own home and hearth, and to suffer and die in so doing. It is this timidity that makes them think not of self-help but only of appealing even up to the Privy Council when even their wives are snatched away from their side by a ruffian, as has been written in a well-known book by that great, thoughtful writer Amritalal Bose. That nothing great and glorious can be achieved without suffering and sacrifice at the outset, they forget in their state of nervousness. That no nation has risen and prospered in a state of dependence on others, they would not realise. Even in the education of children repression is considered harmful, and freedom of self-expression is thought to be essential for their well-being. Must not such freedom of self-expression be essential for the well-being of nations? And is such freedom possible in a state of dependence, however mitigated, softened or relaxed? For whatever may be said in defence of a political organisation, that comprises a controlling and ruling country at the centre and some dependencies hanging on it, there can be no denying that the interests of the ruling state, when they happen to clash with those of the satelites, must receive favoured treatment which may be open or covered, and that such treatment is bound to stifle the inspiration and initiative of the subject people, and thus to restrict and obstruct their self-expression. Moreover, the idea that they have not to defend and look after themselves, but are protected by others has a serious deteriorating effect on them. The process of self-help and self-organisation stimulates and develops qualities in men, which are essential for their full growth and for their survival in the struggle of the world. One need not point to a caged bird or a caged tiger to show how captivity and dependence deteriorate a being, both physically and mentally.

The stunted growth of people in all political dependencies is obvious enough. Not only the caged birds and animals die early, but politically dependent people also are found to progress towards gradual extinction. Look at the Red Indians of America, the aborginees of Australia, the natives of Africa, and the people of other occupied countries

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In India also, though its old culture and traditions have still kept its country out of the gulf of extinction, poverty, death-rate, economic helplessness, mass-illiteracy, physical weakness and mental timidity, national unenterprise and disorganisation etc., have so increased during the few centuries of its political dependence that its future cannot be looked at with equanimity. Over and above, when one finds youngsters so ignorant of their own past that they open their eyes in doubt when told that they were once a great and self-defending nation with flourishing trade and prosperous economic condition, or when one reads of elders trembling at the thought of their country being left alone on its own legs, the stage of the country's all round degradation appears to be as much frightening as it becomes provocative of the thought that India has to be saved from it at any hazard, any cost, any sacrifice and any suffering. Imperialistic propaganda that sucks out manhood and infuses false notions of security and devitalising sense of ease and restfulness in sheltered existence, has to be counter-acted, so that people may regain confidence in themselves, in a better destiny for themselves, and in their ability to win a place for themselves with the free nations of the world on absolutely equal status without a 'but' and without any qualification. Such education, mental and physical, must be given to people from their childhood that when they bloom into maturity they may not be afraid to face the responsibilities, which are incidental to a life of liberty and freedom, and that may not be terror-stricken at the sight of a couutry like Poland falling in upholding its independence, but may rather take inspiration from the example of Poland to welcome all danger in preserving independence and to remain resolved to win it back now or hereafter at all cost and all suffering. It is such resolution that brings out super-qualities of courage and manliness and which has made small nations of yesterday powerful ones of today. What would have been Britain today if she had remained under the protection of the Romans? There would, have been no British Empire then; and 'Britannia rules the waves' would not have been said and heard. What would Germany have been if she had not exerted herself out of her weakness, disunion and disorganisation during the time of Napoleon only about a hundred years ago. In St. Helena, Napoleon once regretted that he had not annexed Germany instead of trying to take in Spain. Such was Germany in the last century. And how weak was Italy also at that time? And where was Belgium? A glance at the history of only a hundred years brings to light the above examples of weak country becoming great and powerful by self-effort, courage and love of freedom. There have been ups and downs in the life history of almost all countries and all nations, the ups coming when they were bold, adventurous and effortful, while the downs have followed the period of mere ease, effortlessness and individual saving-the-skin attitude. During the down phase those, who do not wake up but resign to their lot out of fear of struggle and suffering, sink deeper and deeper till they are suffocated; but those, who realise their condition, and taking courage and resolution in both hands, exert and rise, unswayed by danger and undaunted by initial difficulties and sufferings, pass out of the gloom and emerge again into the brightness of freedom and happiness of liberty. It is then that they receive the priase of history and the respect of fellow-human beings.

More than two thousand years ago, when the ruling prince of the Chu state in China, hearing of the great wisdom of Chuang Tsu, a great thinker of his time, sent his officers to him with noble gifts and an invitation to him to become the prime minister of he state, Chuang Tsu who was fishing in a lake when the officers arrived, told them without turning his head from the water surface:

"I have heard that in Chu there is a sacred tortoise which has been dead now some 3000 years, and that the prince keeps this tortoise carefully enclosed in a chest on the altar of his ancestral temple. Now, would that tortoise rather be dead and have its remains venerated, or be alive and wagging its tail in the mud?"

"It would rather be alive," replied the prince's officials, "and wagging its tail in the mud."

"Begone!" cried Chuang Tsu, "I too will wag my tail in the mud."

Wagging tail freely in the mud in preference to royal favour does not, however, it seems, appeal to educated Indians. Life inside a chest, that is looked after and protected by others, causes no worrying anxiety about external attack and gives a comfort-giving sense of security from the horrible plight of Poland and other foolish countries dying in self-defence! Who indeed should be called wiser, Chuang Tsu or those Indians who prefer a chest-life to an existence outside that is always open to danger?

THE NATIONAL GOAL AND CHRISTIAN INDIANS.

(By Cyril Modak.)

India's aspirations for freedom must be consummated. She must be free. Of late we have concentrated our attention on political freedom until many of us have come to believe in a very restricted meaning of freedom. It is necessary, therefore, to remind ourselves that India needs to be free from many yokes beside foreign rule. First of all, India must be free from fear. Millions of Indian men and women live in constant fear—fear of starvation, of unemployment, of displeasing those in authority, of disease, of social and economic insecurity of various kinds, and fear of malignant powers. When fear clutches the heart there can be no hope of normal growth of body, mind and spirit or of wholesome self-expression. Fear makes men and women moral cowards, compels them to be deceitful and hypocritical. Fear drives them to dreadful lengths of physical and mental suffering and often to a line of action which destroys all self-respect, courage, and dignity. The New India must provide against those factors that paralyse millions of our people with fear. The Indian State must make provision for the employment of every citizen in a field best suited to individual aptitudes. Freedom of speech and of considered self-expression, of registering legitimate protests, and of making valid demands must be assured to every citizen, regardless of creed, caste, or party labels. Definite measures will have to be adopted to free the people of the New India from the tyranny of fear.

We cannot hope to liberate people from the fear of malignant powers unless we aim at liberating them from superstition. There is nothing particularly pagan about superstition. Christians in the west have their own brand, just as we have ours. In fact, any belief seriously held which is not tested by reason is a superstition.

Priestcraft has contrived very adroitly to multiply and perpetuate superstitious notions, especially in India. Illiteracy and ignorance, chiefly due to lack of opportunity to learn, have afforded fertilized soil for our rich crop of superstitions. Illiteracy has kept thousands of men and women from acquainting themselves with facts and the propa-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ganda of reformers. Ignorance has kept them credulous enough to believe without questioning what is handed down by tradition century after century. And they are willing to pin their faith to the most fantastic probabilities. The effect of all this is vicious. They are slaves to priest-craft and witchcraft. They often refuse progressive methods in agriculture and reject medical aid. They cannot appreciate the laws of hygiene and sanitation. They prefer to keep themselves shut away from beneficent forces. The New India must be rescued by the State from the ennervating darkness of superstition.

It has been possible for the caste-system with all its social inequalities to exist in this ceountry chiefly because vast numbers of our people have been doomed to ignorance and superstition. If those of the various disinherited castes had been equipped with knowledge, and the courage that comes with knowledge, the Indian social system would have been refashioned centuries ago. Social and economic and communal barriers dividing the nation into segregated camps have played more than enough havoc in India Not only do these irrational distinctions breed resentment but disunity and horrid complexes. People brought up to believe themselves inferior, unwanted, dispossessed by divine fiat, cannot contribute to national economy or play their rightful part in the life of that nation. No nation can expect to be strong and progressive which has tens of thousands of men and women who are outcastes, and, therefore, non-contributors. Legislation must be planned to rid the country of all caste or class or sectional compartments, so that the Indian nation can be a political unit, with all the advantages of socio-economic interdependence and cultural interpenetration. The new India must enjoy the democratic freedom of a classless society. "He that will be the greatest among you shall be the servant of all." (Matthew. XX. 27.) Are Christians sincerely trying to put this injunction into practice? Are we trained in Christliness enough to demonstrate the truth of these words? If the greatest of us is actually the servant of all, the distinctions of caste and class will not obtain in our midst, and we can co-operate with India towards the making of a classless society.

It is now as good as an axiom that only a classless society can liquidate poverty, by placing the national wealth at disposal of the community. We are now able, thanks to the self-sacrificing labours of intrepid pioneers to understand that the true causes of poverty lie not in the decrees of Providence but in capitalism and private property; and that the propertied class, vulgarly called the 'haves,' fights from all kinds of ambushes, under all manner of disguises, to protect privileges. And we know that the dispossessed class, vulgarly called the 'have-nots,' is allowed to go through informal tortures of abject poverty so as to be deserving of rich reward hereafter. We are convinced of the unspeakable injustice of the present system. We know several cases of wealthy 'untouchables' who received honours from everybody and in whose favour the 'touchables' were quite willing to relax caste restrictions. Scarcity keeps men, women and children under-nourished, sickly, dull, shut out from the satisfaction of common human needs. Indigence drives people to frantic immorality, to acts of desperation. Poverty must be gradually eradicated from the State of the New India. With planned economy every citizen of the nation should be free to enjoy the privileges of hard work, a square meal, opportunities for mental and moral improvement, and security for old age. India must find release from the despotism of poverty. If only the Christian ideal could be lived out we would probably reduce indigence by more than half. "But whoever possesses this world's goods, and notices his brother in need, and shuts his heart against him, how can love to God remain in him? Let us put our love not into words or into talk but into deeds and make it real" (I. John. III. 17-18). Are we willing to pay the price to put our "Christian" love not into words but into deeds and make it vital?

The people of India have had more than their share of unhappiness. The New India must be happy. It will not suffice if she has gained political independence and does not use that independence to implement the happiness and well-being of the people. But India will be happy when her millions are emancipated from blood-consuming insecurity, when the thought-life of her millions is released from ignorance and superstition, when her social system is reconstructed on a pattern of equity and justice, when her millions participate in planning the national economy, administration, and legislation. India will then be happy not because of some mysterious wand that freedom waves over the people. India's happiness must be the direct result of the fact that the needs of the vast population are satisfied. Their economic requirements, their social demands, their intellectual hunger, and their moral urge must find satisfaction when India is free. Then only will a free India be happy. As Jesus said, "I have come that ye may have life and I have it more abundantly."

Nevertheless the happiness of the New India must not become a stagnant pool and her freedom must not deteriorate into static reminiscence. The New India must be progressive. Her people must be constantly aware of the goal that has been set for the nation. They must be inspired to struggle together as one man, suffer with joy, keep on co-operatively toiling towards the national goal. It is because Indians were content to rest on their oars that India lost her liberty and her wealth. When the fruits of their labour are for them and their children for ever, there will be a strong incentive for hard work and patilnt endurance of hardships. The New India must be vigorous in experimentation, fearless in trying out innovations. She must not sink into the censervatism of capricious senility and persecute experimenters, discoverers, prophets, and pioneers in any field of thought or activity, provided of course, that such activity is not subversive to the highest interests of the nation as a whole. The New India must show signs of vital energy by sturdily forging ahead. She must witness to the integrity of freedom, the gospel of justice, and the reality of co-operating with God for the furtherance of His Plan.

Men and women will be needed, in tens of thousands, who can merge their identity, individual and communal, in the nation as a whole, and make it the ruling passion of their lives to serve God in the concrete service of the motherland. This cannot be done by a niggardly patriotism that always keeps one eye on returns. We must be willing to be swept away by nationalism to the high seas of defiant creativity and daring service. An alertness to seize opportunities of service should characterize our community. We should be prepared to collaborate with the Congress in any constructive scheme, in any task that has to be undertaken, in any piece of work calculated to further the cause of the nation. It may be the unromantic work of liquidating illiteracy in a given area; the arduous task of intercommunal reconciliation. It may be the drab routine of serving in a Congress Volunteer camp, or the exacting labours of rural or social reconstruction. Or it may be the untiring inculcation of national ideals into the minds

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of students or workers or peasants. Or it may be the privilege of taking part in a *satyagraha* campaign. If we have the vision of the New India constantly before us, we shall find work enough that needs to be done. We should not fall into the trap of waiting for spectacular undertakings. We should begin the work that calls for attention, begin with things nearest at hand, and strive to put the stamp of excellence on the smallest tasks.

Finally, we must be aflame with the passion for justice, brotherhood, and liberty, even as Jesus was. Then only will we be as sensitive as the Master and feel in our flesh the wounds of injustice, hatred, and exploitation inflicted on our people. Then only will it be impossible for us to fold our hands acquiesce, while freezing wrongs are heaped like blocks of ice on our emaciated men, women and children. Then only will we break all chains that keep us safe in callous isolation, and leap beside our disinherited fellow-citizens to share their misfortunes, their battle, their trials, and their triumph. Then only will we give the Master a chance of saying to us, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me." This is the plumbline which the Master will use to test our Christianity.

WHAT IS WRONG WITH WESTERNISATION?

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the editorial comment inserted by you at the end of the third paragraph of my criticism of Mrs. Saudamini Mehta's article on "Westernisation and Nationalism," you have done me an injustice. My objection has been not to the mere mention of the Gita or the Upanishads as such. I entertain profound reverence for these texts, my objection is to the wisdom of *basing Indian Nationalism on them alone.* What I have said, and what I do maintain, with due respect to you, sir, is that if we base our Nationalism on Hindu Religious Texts alone, we cannot quarrel with those who charge us with attempting to establish Hindu Domination. It is no question of displeasing Mr. Jinnah; and if need be I am prepared to displease him: but the whole of my argument has been that Indian Nationalism has to be Indian in character—neither Hindu exclusively, nor Muslim, nor any other variety.

Khar,
21 October 1939. } Yours etc.,
VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

[This letter refers to the second letter published under the heading "What is wrong with Westernisation?" in the last issue. Mr. Veerbal Mehta's signature was inadvertently left out. As regards Mr. Mehta's point much depends on one's conception of nationalism, whether as a convenient framework for the political economic interests of people resident in a country or as the fulfilment of the highest thoughts and aspirations which have inspired it in the past and inspire it in the present, imparting to it the momentum of historic continuity. In the latter and truer sense not only the Upanishads but also the Koran and the Bible have a place in Indian nationalism. This does not, of course, mean that on every occasion a passage from one of these scriptures should be balanced by others from other scriptures. A Hindu will naturally be more familiar with the Upanishads, the Christian (Mr. Cyril Modak's articles on Indian Christianity and Nationalism are examples) with the Bible, the Muslim with the Koran. But none of them can be banned.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT AND THE CONGRESS.

The Congress Working Committee resolution on the Viceroy's declaration on Britain's policy concerning India says:—

"The Working Committee is of the opinion that the Viceroy's statement in answer to the Congress invitation for a clear declaration of British war aims, particularly in their application to India, is wholly unsatisfactory and calculated to rouse resentment among all those who were anxious to gain and are intent upon gaining India's independence.

"This invitation was made not only on behalf of the people of India but also of the millions of people all over the world who were weary of war and violence and of the Fascist and Imperialistic systems, which exploited nations and peoples and were ultimately the causes of war and who yearned for a new order of peace and freedom.

"The Viceroy's statement is an unequivocal reiteration of the old Imperialist policy. The Committee regards the mention of the differences amongst the several parties as a screen to hide the true intentions of Great Britain. What the Committee had asked for was a declaration of the war aims as a test of Briton's *bona fides* regarding India, irrespective of the attitudes of opposing parties and groups.

"The Congress has always stood for the amplest guarantee of the rights of minorities. The freedom the Congress claimed was not for the Congress or any particular group or community but for the nation and all communities in India that go to build that nation. The only way to establish this freedom and to ascertain the will of the nation as a whole is through a democratic process which gives full opportunity to all.

"The Committee must therefore regard the Viceroy's statement as in every way unfortunate.

"In the circumstances it cannot possibly give any support to Great Britain, for it would amount to an endorsement of the Imperialist policy which the Congress has always sought to end. As a first step in this direction the Committee calls upon the Congress Ministries to tender their resignations.

"The Committee earnestly appeals to the nation to end all internal controversies in this hour of a grave crisis and to act unitedly in the cause of India's freedom. The Committee calls upon all Congress committees and Congressmen generally to be prepared for all developments and eventualities and to show restraint of word and deed, so that nothing may be said or done which is not in keeping with India's honour or the principles for which the Congress stands.

"The Committee warns Congressmen against any hasty action in the shape of civil disobedience, political strike and the like. The Committee will watch the situation and the activities of the British Government in India and will not hesitate to guide the country to take further steps whenever the necessity for this arises.

"The Committee desires to impress upon all Congressmen that a programme of resistance to be commensurate with the magnitude of the issue before the country, requires perfect discipline within the Congress ranks and the consolidation of the Congress organisation.

"The Working Committee realises that the non-violent resistance offered by the Congress in the past has been sometimes mixed with violence. The Committee desires to impress upon all Congressmen that any resistance that may have to be offered must be purged of all violence and to remind them of the pledges taken to this effect as early as 1921 during the Congress session at Ahmedabad and repeated on many subsequent occasion."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League discussed the Viceroy's statement on Britain's policy on India and passed the following reslution:—

"After careful examination of the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy dated October 17, 1939, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League appreciates that His Majesty's Government have emphatically repudiated the unfounded claim of the Congress that they alone represent all India, and note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government recognise the fact that the All-Iudia Muslim League alone truly represent the Mussalmans of India and can speak on their behalf; also that the rights and interests of the minorities and other important interests concerned have been duly recognised.

"The Committee, however, feels constrained to state that the points of vital importance raised by the Muslim League in their statement dated September 18, 1939, are not precisely and categorically met. The Committee, therefore, ventures to suggest that, in order to secure co-operation on an equal footing, as desired by His Excellency, further clarification and discussion of those matters that are left in doubt and have not been met satisfactorily are necessary with a view to arriving at complete understanding, which alone would enable the Muslim League to co-operate in the matter which concerns not only the Mussalmans of India but the country at large.

"The Committee cannot wholly accept the narration of facts culminating in the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935 as given in the statements of His Excellency, but does not think it necessary to enter into a controversy regarding those inaccuracies, historic and otherwise. The opposition of the Muslim League is not merely to the 'details' of the plans embodied in the Act of 1935 and reconsideration thereof, but their demand is that the entire problem of India's future constitution should be wholly examined and revised *de novo*. The Committee reiterates emphatically that no future plan of India's constitution will be acceptable to the Muslim League unless it meets with their full approval.

"The Committee also considered the proposal of His Excellency the Viceroy for the establishment of a 'consultative group,' but cannot at present express any opinion with regard to it until its status, constitution, powers, scope and function are fully known, but welcomes further consultation regarding this matter as proposed by His Excellency in his statement.

"In view of the urgency of the matter, the Committee hereby authorises the President to take such steps as he may consider proper to get the doubts removed and secure complete clarification of his Excellency's statement, and if the President is fully satisfied, the Committee empowers him to give an assurance of support and co-operation on behalf of the Mussalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of the prosecution of the war."

The Working Committee also passed the following resolution :—

"The Working Committee hereby empowers the President to advise, guide and issue instructions to Muslim League parties in the various provincial legislatures in the event of some sudden emergency arising. The Muslim League parties shall give effect to or carry out such instructions as may be given by the President."

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Nasik).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(„ „).
Ahmednagar	„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Shiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahal).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).	S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.	K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.	S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.	S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.	V. P. Varde, Esq.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)	K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
Prof. V. G. Kale.	A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
	D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897)

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.

The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANADLWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, t is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma : —

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,

SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd

PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors:—{K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 21, 1939. No. 8.

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

India at the Dominions Conference.
The Minorities Bludgeon.
Brahmin on the Brain.
Belated Criticism.
Turkey and the Allies.
Mysore.
Baluchistan.
Mr. Nicholson on the Germans.
The Viceroy's Statement.
Jews in Europe.
What is Wrong with Westernisation?
Paraphernalia of Nationalism.
Gandhiji and Non-Violence.

NOTES.

India at the Dominions Conference:—A Conference of representative Ministers of the self-governing Dominions is shortly to take place in London to consider means of co-ordinating the efforts made in Great Britain and the Dominions in connection with the War. Asked by a Labour Member in the House of Commons if India would have a place in the Conference, Mr. Anthony Eden, who, as Dominions Secretary made the announcement, said that he could not answer that question. Later it was announced in a Press Note that India would have a seat at the Conference and that Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah Khan, Law Member of the Government of India and Leader of the Legislative Assembly, would occupy it. India is not to enter by the front door: she must sneak in by the back-door. Sir Mahomed is one of the brainiest of Indian public men. He is member of a sect which is considered heretical by his orthodox co-religionists, which is sure proof that he is a man with an individuality. Personally, therefore, his choice to represent India is about the best that could be made. But his position among the Dominion Ministers must be one of embarrassment. While they are at the Conference in their own right, the Indian will feel at every moment that he is there by sufferance. He is the mouthpiece not of his country but of the Indian Government which itself is the mouthpiece of the Secretary of State for India, himself the mouthpiece of the British Cabinet on Indian affairs. The position would have been slightly better if Sir Mahomed were not a member of the Government or if a non-official of equal ability could have been persuaded to act as the Indian delegate. Sir Mahomed's public utterances, of course, will be passed beforehand by the India Office. But, we trust, he will have opportunities in private conversations to inform British leaders of the real feeling of India outside the Princely order, that none of the war aims so far put forward has been such as to arouse enthusiasm in this country.

The Minorities Bludgeon:—Herr Hitler has made the maltreatment of German minorities in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland the main reason for his forcible acquisition of the two countries. M. Stalin has made the ill-treatment of White Russian and Ukranian minorities the justification for his absorption of more than one half of the Polish State. Mr. Jinnah has raised the cry of oppression of Muslim minorities by Congress Governments as his present slogan. As to the merits of this war-cry, the testimony of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, no friend of the Congress, should be sufficient. Referring to the Hindu-Muslim problem, Dr. Ambedkar said that he did not believe in the allegations that the Muslims were being tyrannized or terrorized in the Congress provinces. All the Congress Governments published statements categorically refuting the allegations made against them by the Muslim League leader. Babu Rajendra Prasad badly let them down when, completely ignoring their statements, he wrote to Mr. Jinnah suggesting that the Chief Justice of India should be requested to investigate the charges. Mr. Jinnah in his characteristic style brushed aside Mr. Prasad's suggestion on the ground that he had placed the matter before the Viceroy who, in his opinion, is the proper authority to judge such matters. Mr. Jinnah prefers the question to be considered and decided as a political rather than as a matter of justice and equity. As usual the English Press has taken up the cry raised by Mr. Jinnah and are appealing to the so-called majority community to make up with the minorities. Thanks, however, to Herr Hitler and M. Stalin the minority stunt stands exposed in the eyes of the world and the slogan is in a fair way to disappear from the international vocabulary. Moreover, Mr. Jinnah, as we pointed out last week, is not only opposed to the politics of the Congress but also and even more to the renaissance and revival of Hinduism which the Congress did not start and can not stop. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan has come forward with the suggestion that coalition Governments of Congress and Muslim League should be formed in all provinces as a measure of appeasement. Obviously only such members of the Congress can join in the coalition who are prepared to use the powers of the State to penalise the renaissance and revival of Hinduism. Under the circumstances and, if Mr. Jinnah should continue

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to be the guiding spirit of the Muslim League, a Coalition Government will be virtually under a mandate to suppress the entirely non-political movements associated with the revival of Hindu culture and religion. We have ourselves expressed a preference for an understanding between the League and the Congress but that was before Mr. Jinnah had pronounced his anathema against Hindu renaissance and revival. If Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan can take upon himself to keep Mr. Jinnah's fanatical hostility to Hinduism from overflowing into the policy and measures of the administration, his proposal may be worth considering, not otherwise.

Brahmin on the Brain:—A number of politicians representing at least four different parties have made a representation to the Viceroy. Their main grievance is that "owing to the system of franchise and literacy vote a community consisting of three per cent of the population (of Madras) which in an Assembly of 215 members, is entitled to 7 seats, has been able to secure seven times that number, *viz.*, 49 seats, to the utter discomfiture of the non-Brahmins." We do not know what view Lord Linlithgow as Viceroy would take of this statement but to any open minded person the obvious inference from it would be that the distinction between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, is an obsession of the signatories, which is not shared by the bulk of the voters. This would be the most charitable view. The alternative, held by many in Madras, is that the signatories during the sixteen years when they were exclusively in power, so mismanaged the administration that the electorates refused to trust them again with the high responsibility. We prefer the first explanation. Some of the signatories have held high office under the Crown and are expected to advise the Viceroy with a sense of responsibility. Sir K. V. Reddi who has been Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, Member of the Governor's Executive Council and acting Governor of the province, is one of them. Sir T. Pannirselvam who has been a member of the Governor's Council, is another. Lord Linlithgow would perhaps be interested to know in what respect the Reddis' relation to the Tamil Catholics, Sir Pannirselvam's caste, is closer than that between the Reddis and the Brahmins or the Tamil Catholics and the Brahmins. Or take Sir Parasuram Patro. Do Sir Parasuram's people interdine habitually or intermarry with the Kumararaja of Chettinad's community? We are surprised to see the name of Mr. M. C. Raja in this galaxy. At the last reading of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's Temple Entry Act, he as leader of the scheduled castes was profuse, not to say fulsome, in his expressions of gratitude to the Brahmin Premier for forcing on orthodox Hindus this unpalatable measure which neither the Raja of Panagal nor the Maharaja of Bobbili, the two Chief Ministers of the Justice Party, ventured to introduce. Running with the hare and hunting with the hound, may be for the time being profitable but it is never edifying. In passing, we make a present of a fact which the signatories have missed. Six, perhaps all the seven Premiers of Congress provinces are Brahmins. So it is not only Madras but the larger part of the country which does not share the signatories' view of Brahmins as aliens. Neither Sir Mahomed Osman who was till recently the prominent leader of the Justice Party, nor the Maharaja of Bobbili, the late Prime Minister of the Party, has signed this disingenuous document.

Belated Criticism:—The great noise made about the Wardha scheme for several months has died away. No one speaks of it now. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, ex-President of the Congress, in an address which he delivered last week thought it worth while to resuscitate the defunct animal to administer to it some well-judged but unnecessary flagellation. He defended the present system against the charges brought against it. He denied that it was responsible for unemployment and he rebutted the charge that it was too literary and bookish. The most important part of his address was his courageous advocacy of English as an essential requirement of Indian education. He was strongly in favour of having a national language, he said, but in a country which has big provinces and large language areas, no language had any chance of becoming a national language in the dynamic sense of the term. The learning of Hindi, he added, might be useful for limited purposes but it could not become the national language unless it was made the State language and had a common script. He called the compulsory teaching of Hindi in certain Madras schools a mere stunt and concluded that, in practical working, the present system of education would be very much better and that it would be in the interests of the country and the youth of the land if politicians left the field of education to be organised and reformed by the profession. But when the profession abnegates its high privilege and waits for orders from politicians the situation is indeed depressing, though it is inevitable when teachers are advised to bide their time and seek election to the Legislatures whenever they find a political party to take the financial responsibility off their backs wholly or in part.

Turkey and the Allies:—A notable event in Europe is the breaking off of negotiations between Turkey and Soviet Russia last week on the ground that the new terms suggested to the Turkish Foreign Minister at the Kremlin were not compatible with the earlier obligations contracted by Turkey with France and Britain. This is a significant return to international honesty after the confusion of the past year. A couple of days later Turkey concluded a pact with the Allies. The new Soviet terms were presented after virtual agreement had been reached with Turkey and it is a sign of the chaos prevailing in Europe that, while Her

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hitler is believed generally to be a tool of M. Stalin, in this matter Herr von Ribbentrop is reported to have influenced the Soviet attitude. Turkey is the first check that Russia has received since her dramatic return in September to European politics. In a more cautious manner Finland is attempting to resist Soviet pressure. In this she has found effective support from her Scandinavian sister States and the United States of America has made diplomatic representations to the Soviet Government. President Roosevelt's appeals for peace and reasonableness, however, have less value today than they might have had before Herr Hitler's destruction of Poland when the United States policy in the event of its appeals and warnings being disregarded was not known.

Mysore :—Mysore has been long known as a progressive administration. The official Handbook and Guide of the Dasara Exhibition, presents it in the light of its many natural and artistic beauties. The tourist traffic is already becoming an important factor in the life of the State. The views of hills and rivers, the great Krishnarajasagar dam, the rapid electrification of the countryside, the educational institutions, and the harmonious development of culture and industry, are attractions and object-lessons to visitors of what Indian talent can do in a congenial atmosphere. The Prime Minister of Bombay, Mr. Kher, who recently paid a flying visit to Mysore, is quoted in one of the articles in the Guide to have exclaimed on visiting a model village, "I wish to have every village in India like this!" There was some murmuring in his political circle at this open-hearted praise of a State which has been represented as wanting in the essentials of constitutionalism. His Highness the Yuvaraja in a short paper commends the example of the United States to Mysore. Americans visiting India have often expressed admiration of the "poise" which they find in Indian life and a longing for some of it in the life of their own country. We have much to learn from the West but much too, as His Highness' recent thrilling experience must have shown, we have to be on guard against. India should evolve an industrial system in which man is master of his machine and not the machine the master of the man. The West, and the United States more than others, has deified the machine. Nazism and Fascism are but the process of mechanization applied to human life and the State. Even democracy is much mechanised through the ballot box. The Press has become a vast engine for the mass production of public opinion. But we can rely on the genius of India to keep everything within its proper bounds.

Baluchistan :—The total revenue of Baluchistan in 1937–38 was under Rs. 20 lakhs; the total expenditure amounted to over Rs. 84 lakhs, exclusive of Rs. 8 lakhs on Quetta reconstruction and other extraordinary expenditure due to the last earthquake. Last year the expenditure on the latter item amounted to Rs. 30 lakhs. Expenditure under these heads is expected to recur for some years more. Army expenditure on account of Baluchistan is not included. It must be heavy as the country has two common frontiers, Afghanistan and Iran. What benefit does this large sacrifice on the part of India confer on the people of Baluchistan? How does it benefit India? The Baluchis may be deriving some trade and other incidental advantages but their natural evolution as a people capable of managing their own affairs in their own interests, is certainly not fostered by this dependence on India. As for India itself, there are a hundred ways in which the nearly one crore spent on keeping Baluchistan dependent, may be utilised with greater advantage to the people. Parliamentary Government for Baluchistan would be a travesty. The best thing that can be done in the interests of the Baluchis, is to make Baluchistan a buffer State under a guarantee of neutrality jointly by India, Afghanistan and Iran. From the point of view of India, this would result in a large saving even if, during the transition stage, this country make a goodwill gift of, say, 20 lakhs a year to the new State.

Mr. Nicholson on the Germans :—Mr. Harold Nicholson who contributes a page to the *Spectator* every week, has had to beat a hasty retreat in the issue which has just arrived in India, September 15. He does it with little grace. It appears that a broadcast of his suggesting that Britain should show Christian charity towards the unfortunate Germans who were in Britain on the outbreak of the war, brought in a shower of correspondence, "the majority on the whole favourable." This unexpected support has had a peculiar effect on Mr. Nicholson who seems to have deserted the cause he had tentatively advocated in his broadcast. For he goes on to argue that the German suffers from lack of generosity, moral courage and loyalty. He has to "admit" that the German character is "contradictory and uncertain, and that it contains greater admixture of jealousy, vindictiveness and moral cowardice than is found in the Latin or the Anglo-Saxon temperament." He is, however, generous in not blaming the Germans for these unfortunate defects and he at once disclaims any special virtue for Englishmen or Frenchmen. He attributes the quality in the Englishmen to his security of wealth and power and in the Frenchman to confidence in the supremacy of his culture. He illustrates his remarks by a reference to the repudiation of Streseman after having been acclaimed as a hero by his people. Such a thing, he says, would not have happened in any other country. Mr. Nicholson has been brought up in the tradition that the British people are a species apart from the rest of humanity. Here he has improved on it. He regards the German as something sub human and only the fact that the British must be irreproachable makes him recommend charity towards the Germans found in their midst. Is there any difference after all between Mr. Nicholson's view and that of his correspondents towards the Germans?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, October 21, 1939.

THE VICEROY'S STATEMENT.

The White Paper containing the Viceroy's statement embodying the reply of His Majesty's Government to the Congress Working Committee's Resolution on the question of India's participation in the War, was published on Wednesday. The substance of it was anticipated in *The Reformer* of September 23. We quote our observations:—

> We can readily anticipate the reply of the British Government. It will be to the effect that His Majesty's Government has given serious consideration to the matters urged in the Working Committee's resolution. They, indeed, have never for a moment been absent from their mind. But the Committee will, Government are sure, understand that at the present moment all things are to be subordinated to the supreme effort of winning the war in order to ensure the survival of democratic ideas and institutions. As soon as this urgent task is out of the way, the future constitutional position of India will have the first claim on Government's attention. A Conference of all parties, communities and interest will obviously be the best way of determining what its broad outlines should be. The Indian Princes also will be invited to advise. By this means, it is hoped, that a scheme satisfactory to all parties can be reached without unnecessary delay.

We claim no credit for our anticipation. British politics is dominated by a few ideas all of which are inspired by the motto: "Never do today what can be safely put off till tomorrow or the *day after.*" The English vocabulary is rich in dilatory euphemisms, in keeping with this maxim. And as we said at the time, this is the only kind of answer which a man in the Viceroy's position can give. It is a great position with little initiative for conciliation, but plenty for repression. Lord Curzon attempted to enlarge its scope to make it commensurate with its imposing exterior; and came to grief. Later he himself emphasised the subordinate character of the Government of India in a controversy with Mr. Montagu which arose as an incident of the last war. The hand is that of Lord Linlithgow, but the voice is that of Sir Samuel Hoare. There is one thing for which, or rather for the absence of which, we are grateful in the White Paper. It is refreshingly free from the usual platitude that this war will make the world safer for democracy than the last one.

Although, therefore, we cannot profess to be disappointed, there are some incidental observations in the Viceroy's statement which invite comment. We are surprised at the Viceroy's statement that His Majesty's Government have not themselves yet defined with any ultimate precision their detailed objectives in the prosecution of the war. Only the other day, the First Lord of the Admiralty in a broadcast to the United States quoted and underlined the Prime Minister's declaration that the object of the present war was "to redeem Europe from a perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression and enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and the liberties." There is no lack of definiteness about that. Lord Linlithgow can not ignore or repudiate it. India wants to know, and she has a right to know, what the effect of the redemption of Europe from the fear of German aggression would be on her own future. There are many in this country who think that the existence of some tension in Europe is favourable to the liberalisation of European relations with the Asiatic and African world. Apart from that, the present war will not end Europe's agony. President Roosevelt recently declared with perfect truth that economic nationalism is the root cause of the embitterment of relations between nations. The President's pronouncement from which the sentence is taken, has not been fully reported in this country. We trust Mr. Roosevelt probed the question further and got at the fact that economic nationalism is the necessary consequence of the economic conception of human happiness and that, so long as its citizens are dominated by this conception, the State must also be actuated by it magnified enormously. Whether the ethnic nationalism, which Herr Hitler seeks to substitute for economic nationalism, would prove an improvement can not be predicted with certainty.

The only force other than race which can compete with the economic motive in man is Religion. In India we have it in the form of communalism. For our own part we have regarded communal conflicts as preferable to class war, but this is not the prevailing opinion. If this war leaves economic nationalism intact, although the fear of Germany may go, the fear of Russia is bound to take its place. India will have to wait till that is settled to know what her future is to be. Lord Linlithgow is much too fair-minded a man not to see that this is straining even India's ancient and traditional patience a little too much. Even if His Majesty's Government are not in a position and do not care to declare in what way the War is expected to advance India's future there is one important point on which a pronouncement at this juncture would have been of the utmost value to non-European peoples. It is, the problem of race and colour. When their lives and liberties are endangered, the White nations do not hesitate to call upon the coloured people to their aid. General Franco overthrew the Republican Government of Spain with the help of his Moroccan soldiers. Algerian troops are fighting for France. Indian troops were engaged in several crucial situations in the last war. But in peace-time the coloured races are kept in political subordination. Although Japan as an Ally rendered important service in the last war her demand for the recognition of racial equality in the Covenant of the League of Nations was turned down at the instance of President Wilson and with the support of the British delegation. That question has since come to the front in a menacing form. A clear

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and unequivocal declaration that in the world conditions following the destruction of Hitlerism, the same principles of equity and international law will be observed between all nations irrespective of race, colour or creed, would have been a powerful force to rally Asia and Africa to the Allied cause.

His Excellency seemed to imply that the War aims can only be defined after the War and with the consent of the Allies. This reminds us of a countryman who went to the booking office at a railway station and asked for a ticket. The clerk enquired where to. The agriculturist retorted that it was no business of the clerk's and that when he got into the train it will be time for him to decide on his destination. Lord Linlithgow's position in this matter is quite original. No statesman in Great Britain has advanced it. Then, as regards consulting Allies, surely the people of India whose destinies are irretrievably bound up with that of Great Britain, are entitled at least as much as the Allies who are friends today and enemies tomorrow, to be consulted. The Viceroy foreshadowed the establishment of a consultative committee containing representatives of all parties. But without knowing what you are fighting for, the consultative committee can find very little to busy itself with. We do not also agree that Dominion Status can not be introduced during the war. On the other hand, if it is ever introduced it will be as a war measure. The admission of India to representation in the Imperial Conference was managed by Mr. Lloyd George as a war measure. But we do not believe Dominion Status is the solution of the problem of India's position in the Commonwealth. The alternatives are, as we indicated last week, Independence or closer co-operation. Independence, in the real sense, is out of the question. Camouflaged independence is no better than political subordination. It is worse because it virtually implies responsibility without real power.

Closer Co-operation—Union at this stage would be too strong a word—is the true way of making the position of India in the Commonwealth compatible with Indian self-respect. In matters concerning Foreign policy, Defence and Trade, Commerce and Industry, India should have the right and the machinery for continuous touch and consultation with the British Government. Something can be done to give immediate effect to this idea. Lord Zetland who as Secretary of State for India so assiduously hides his light under bushel, may be replaced by Sir Zaffrullah Khan. Dr. Ambedkar may be put in charge of an Indian Section of the British Board of Trade. Mr. Jinnah may be of great help to Lord Halifax as a colleague at the British Foreign Office. All three are members of minority communities and their selection would give indubitable proof of the earnestness of the British concern for the interests of minorities in this country. We do not agree with Lord Linlithgow that it is the business of the majority community, whichever it be, to persuade the minorities to give it their confidence. It is the duty of the Government for the time being so to administer the country as to harmonise and not to aggravate existing differences. Lord Linlithgow reiterated his faith in the Hoare scheme. He spoke of it as the result of the joint deliberations of Indian and British statesman. This is rather a Pickwickian agreement where every single suggestion of the Indians was rejected. Without questioning the good faith of British statesmen who took part in framing the scheme, it is patent that the effect of it has been and can only be to deepen every existing cleavage and create new ones. The test of good government in this country is whether it tends to reduce the effects of religious differences or whether it tends to increase them.

India is not the only country in which there are communal differences. The United States have a composite population of not only races and creeds but of nationalities which in their homelands in Europe are divided by traditional and bitter animosities. But the State as such recognises no differences and exerts a steady and constant pressure which moulds the whole into a single unit. So also in Soviet Russia. It was an evil hour when British rule in India departed from its original and long-sustained policy of favouring none by reason of race or creed. The process evidently is not to stop here. We protested against the use of the word "continent" as descriptive of this country in the King's message some weeks ago. The Viceroy has repeated that ominous word. Mr. Jinnah has grasped at the geographical misnomer but he has contented himself with calling India a sub and not a whole, continent.

Jews in Europe:—We published in *The Reformer* (September 16) an article on "The Jewish Problem" by Miss M. Gommes, a French student who had been visiting cultural institutions in India for some months. Her interesting impressions of Santiniketan appeared earlier in *The Reformer*. Miss Gommes who belongs herself to the community whose problems she discussed, dealt exclusively with the Jew in Europe. The attitude of other communities towards the Jews outside Europe, however, has been quite different. The present Arab-Jewish relations in Palestine are a peculiar development due entirely to circumstances beyond the control of both communities and they are by no means representative of the general Islamic attitude towards the Jews. In India there is nothing to distinguish a Bene-Israel from the rest of his countrymen. Nor is it possible for non-Europeans whose minds are free from the tyranny of literary phrases relating to Oriental splendour, Oriental ostentation, etc., to accept the theory that the Oriental's love of display marks the Jew out in Europe, from the others.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WHAT IS WRONG WITH WESTERNISATION?

I was very much surprised and pained to read an article on "Westernisation and Nationalism" from the pen of Mrs. Saudamini Mehta. Such articles purporting to be attacks, and very cheap attacks too, on the so-called process of Westernisation, proceed merely from reactionaries. It is curious that Mrs. Saudamini's sister, Mrs. Sarojini Mehta, is just now replying in the columns of one of your Gujerati contemporaries to similar attacks on Westernisation by a reactionary. So far as one can see, these attacks on Westernisation are generally to be found in this poor hapless country, or perhaps in countries like Afghanistan.

Countries like Japan and China which prize their independence, liberty, culture, to the same extent as we do, if not to a larger extent, do not mind at all the process of Westernisation going on in their midst; in fact they welcome it. The vast progress of Japan and progress such as is existing in China, all are due mostly to Westernisation. What is there to be afraid of in Westernisation? If a man puts on trousers, there is nothing for Mrs. Saudamini or people of her view to be apalled at in the vision of a denationalised India. There are thousands of Indians in European costume, who are more nationalist than people cased in the ubiquitous *dhoti*. There is a large section of women in Japan and China who have thrown off their *kimonos* and taken to European costumes. There is a large number of Indian Christian ladies in this country also who have been wearing European dress. Surely, Mrs. Saudamini will not say that all these women are not as nationalistic as women who wear their usual *sarees*.

Even women, however, have offended Mrs. Saudamini in some of their ways. Forsooth, they are using face creams, toilet powders, rouge and *lip-sticks*. *And why should they not? When has this new Mrs. Grundy's spirit come over some of our women writers?* If these new western toilet articles are appreciated by Western women, why should they not be by our Indian people and what is wrong and what is sinful in that? Not only this, but several of these toilet practices were found even in ancient India, and Mrs. Nilima Devi informs us in the *Indian Home* that long before the modern technique of beauty culture was ever thought of, women in ancient India, like the women in ancient Egypt, had cultivated the art of looking beautiful. She proceeds to say: "Rather it is the impact with Western civilisation that made us forget many of our ancient cosmetic recipes;" and it is a curious thing that we in India at any rate have neither fully accepted nor partially assimilated the Western mode of beauty culture. Mrs. Nilima Devi says the "annointing and massaging their bodies with scented oils were regular rituals. The juice of the betel leaves served the purpose of Indian woman's lip-stick: her feet and her toe nails were coloured with henna or lac, sandal paste, *chua*, musk, etc. She had got her own face powder. Annointing a bride with oil and turmeric at the time of the wedding is also but a part of the general beauty culture system." So, it is not that Indian women have taken all this from the West.

Mrs. Saudamini then makes a general and sweeping statement that "Indians have practically no artistic sense left in them now." One wonders what the late Mr. Kanaiyalal Vakil would have thought of this egregious sentiment! There has been even a marked revival going on for years now in Indian Art and we are having a quickened renaissance of Indian Art. We may not have still progressed to a large extent in this renaissance but that does not mean that Indians have practically [illegible] artistic sense left in them. The new schools [illegible] painting and the new schools of dancing, which [illegible] seen at present in the country, will convince [illegible] one that India is being thrilled at present with [illegible] national revival of Indian Art.

She sheds tears over the disappearance [illegible] "Chundadis" and "Patolas" of Pat[illegible] What is the use of shedding these tears? Eve[illegible] country has gone through the same process [illegible] relegating to the limbo of oblivion articles made [illegible] hand and favouring articles made in factories. W[illegible] are now reviving cottage industries, but only in [illegible] far as they will give the much-neeeded employme[illegible] in the agricultural districts. This is, however, n[illegible] the final stage. As soon as India gets industrialis[illegible] she will have no more room for all such industrie[illegible] Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru whom she quotes w[illegible] evident approval, is not in favour of keeping on the[illegible] cottage industries for ever and ever in the countr[illegible] Mrs. Saudamini attacks the westernised people [illegible] this country for having western furniture. I ha[illegible] still to learn that Mrs. Saudamini and people of h[illegible] way of thinking have gone to live in mud-hou[illegible] with only mattresses to sleep on. She attacks a[illegible] people who eat at table. I am sorry; but all th[illegible] attacks appear to me as crude, very cheap and ve[illegible] reactionary. All these ways and manners [illegible] life have nothing to do with real nationalism. [illegible] is just like the Pharisees who asked Christ whether h[illegible] would like his disciples to eat on Sunday or co[illegible] people on Sunday. They were so engulfed in the[illegible] conventions and traditions that they had neither th[illegible] generosity nor the farsightedness to look at wid[illegible] aspects of things. So these people are al[illegible] engulfed in their conventions and reactionary traditio[illegible] that they condemn people for following several of th[illegible] Western notions, whether in dress, or furniture, o[illegible] literature or Art. The most harmful portion of he[illegible] attack seems to me to be when she appears to c[illegible] down even the discipline in Western schools an[illegible] seems to imply that our children are better without t[illegible] Some of our foremost patriots and leaders hav[illegible] condemned the indiscipline which prevails among[illegible] our children and students. Surely we should no[illegible] condemn discipline, just becuse it happens to be on[illegible] of the best traits of the Western people. Militarism[illegible] does not come from discipline alone, but cowardic[illegible] comes from indiscipline, and it is no use saying that[illegible] we are governed by non-violence and truth and that, [illegible] "European civilisation seems to be based on violence[illegible] and greed." This self-unctuousness is nauseating[illegible] We are as bad or as good as other people, and w[illegible] cannot claim to be non-violent and truthful becaus[illegible] we can shout it the loudest from the house-tops[illegible] Our social life shows many a bitter example of th[illegible] breach of non-violence and truth. Only a few men ca[illegible] use these words in India. It is sheer blasphemy [illegible] when the rest of us use these words, regardless o[illegible] the deep abysses and chasms in our social life. There[illegible] are great lacunae in our political and religious [illegible] life and our past and present history where we have[illegible] not shone with a particularly greater grace than th[illegible] Western people, whom we are fond of abusing as [illegible] materialistic people. She concludes her article[illegible] by saying that the modern ideal of the West is[illegible] to choose the pleasant and leave off the good. She[illegible] has done the West a great injustice in saying this. [illegible] If there had been nothing else, but the history[illegible] of their Christian missions, and their leper homes[illegible] and hospitals, the West would have had yet a[illegible] good deal to be proud of. Let Mrs. Saudamini[illegible] think over all these things and have a quiet hour[illegible] of inner search, and she will not commit the mistake[illegible] which many of our people have been committing[illegible] of thinking that Indians are a particularly spiritua[illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

set of people and that the Westerners are materialistic and that anything taken from the West works for our ruin and that keeping on in the rut of our forefathers works for our advancement.

J. K. MEHTA.

Bombay.

II

In *The Reformer* of October 7th Mrs. Saudamini Mehta, like another citizen of Calcutta, Mr. J. M. Ganguli, criticises what is termed "aping Western civilisation." Indian civilisation and Eastern philosophy have been extolled. Western civilisation, Western modes of thought and life are deprecated and we are advised to go back to olden days.

It is all very well to speak of India's past greatness. Every patriotic heart thrills with pride on the contemplation of past glories but what people who advise us to revert to the past, fail to realise is this, that there is a gulf of difference between the India of which they speak and the India of today. In doing so, they lay themselves open to the charge of purely Hindu revival, which can only mean Hindu Domination.

Mrs. Mehta says, "We have our principles of non-violence and truth to rely upon in the hour of peril, we had a glorious civilisation in the past and we can get plenty of inspiration from it, if we wish to." She goes on to quote a passage from Pandit Jawaharlal's autobiography wherein also the references are to the philosophy of Upanishads. When people who feel like this, speak of Eastern philosophy they make the same mistake and take it for granted that the philosophy of the East is the philosophy of the Upanishads, the Gita and the rest of our religious books. That the East is inhabited by Hindus as well as by Mohamedans, by Christians, by Chinise and Japanese, the Arabians and others is easily forgotten. Can an Indian nationalism be reared purely upon the foundation of Hindu philosophy and Hindu thought? If those who belong to this school of thought represented by Mr. J. M. Ganguli and Mrs. Saudamini Mehta envisage Indian nationalism founded on Hindu philosophy only, we cannot take exception to the charge Mr. Jinnah has been making against us Hindus that we are trying to establish Hindu domination in the name of Indian nationalism. [It is hard if people may not refer to the Upanishads and the Gita for fear of offending Mr. Jinnah.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

The Indian nationalism that is worth living for and dying for is not the Hindu nationalism or its Muslim cousin or its Christian nephew. True Indian nationalism must be based upon a wise fusion of the thought and philosophy of all those classes of people, who constitute today the Indian population. The day may be distant, it certainly is very distant, but I dream of the day when we shall begin to understand the true significance of real Indian nationalism. This nationalism will teach us to remember only that we are Indians—children of the soil bred and broughtup by the same mother, Mother India—religions, castes, creeds, manners, customs, etc., which divide us so at the present moment need to disappear—at least to be subordinated to the promotion and growth of true nationalism. The Indian nation properly so-called is yet in the embryo and will be born only when the Indian Constitution and Indian laws will recognise Indians only as the children of the soil with equal rights and when those things that divide us and engross so much of our attention will recede into the background as private pursuits of individuals or classes of people with which politics, Constitution and the Law have no concern.

I do not believe that it would be necessary for us or for the Muslims and others to give up our religions; only we shall have to learn that in the privacy of the home or temple and the mosque each one of us will do what we like and wordhip as we may, but that there will be no public parade of our views or practices.

True Indian nationalism cannot be related with the wearing of Dhotar or the Sari or payjama and the Kudata or any particular attire appropriated by any class of people. At the proper time we shall have to evolve some sort of standardisation in our life which will bind us to gather by common ties of thought and practices in our public life.

"PARAPHERNALIA OF NATIONALISM."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I hope my rather ruthless remarks about the stupidity of imitating the Westerner in matters of dress etc., does not by some mishap apply to the Editor. Anyway, I want to make it clear that it is not the dress *in itself* that makes all the difference, but the motive behind the dress. And the Editor gives away his case when he says "the European has always been lavish in his praise of the sari, often contemptuous of the dhoti." It is, then, according to his own putting of the case, with the rather cowardly motive of avoiding the European's "contempt," of appearing "respectable" in his estimation, of showing ourselves as different from the common people of the land that many Indians have adopted the outlandish costume of the West. Certainly such a motive cannot be commended. Is it not contemptible for an Indian to endeavour to reflect the European's irrational contempt for the *dhoti*, Indian music, or the simplicity of our way of living? Ah! the pathetic inferiority-complex that foreign rule develops in the ruled!

Besides, I cannot see why the tight *pyjama* and *achkan*, or the *dhoti*, tied in Maharashtrian style and *kurta*, or even the ordinary loose *pyjama* and *kurta* and "Jawahar" vest are not, for Indian conditions, more decent, serviceable, and convenient than European suits. Besides, they are more economical. Above all, they carry with them the dignity of moral victory. At least, those who feel proud to wear Indian dress, inspite of the liabilities imposed upon it, need never bow their heads in shame, for they have not capitulated to slavery in their hearts. This capitulation is the dangerous and disgraceful thing that we must constantly fight—and save our people from it.

It is not "one of the misfortunes of present-day politics that so much importance is attached to the style and material of one's clothes," but that so many otherwise intelligent people are obsessed with the dualistic error that they can cherish nationalistic ideals divorced from practice and in their conduct dance to the Westerner's tune. Externals, like foreign dress, mode of living, cultural taste, etc., are symptoms of depleted nationality. It is this disease which is harmful and has proved to be very contagious in India. The tragedy in such cases lies in the fact that those concerned try in various ways to avoid being identified with their own countrymen.

This has vicious psychological and moral effects. Surely, if the style of clothes is the only passport to circles of respectability, we might just as well challenge the respectability of those circles and not betray ourselves and our

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

people. Logically, the paraphernalia of nationalism must be national. For nothing else fits.

Mere imitation is always cheap and unlovely and, therefore, inelegant. Whether social forms or cultural expressions, in personal tastes of art, music, literature, dress, food or anything else, mere imitation is most obnoxious. When such imitation itself becomes a fine art of self-deception meant to induce ourselves and others to take us for what we are not, it is assuredly to be deprecated. India offers a very wide range for the play of originality, whether in matters of dress or food or music or ornaments. Why should we sell our birthright for a mess of pottage?

To those who "express grave doubts of the capacity for the self-government of a people whose national dress is the dhoti," it may simply be said that if this is so, then, those who allow their women to wear clothes which merely punctuate nudity are throughly lacking in the capacity for self-determination. The fact is that the day more of our worthy compatriots renounce the diversion of mimicry and decide, like the Nehrus and Gandhiji, to don the simple national dress so as to identify themselves with their down-trodden, disinherited countrymen and countrywomen, that day the defeat of trousers will be established! Let me hasten to add, however, that just a change of dress and the paraphernalia will not automatically make one an Indian or a nationalist. It must be accompanied by a relevant change of attitudes and outlook, a change of heart. Or the change will only be to a national mummy from an a-national non-descript.

Indeed, I am proud of Indian women who have continued to remain more Indian than the majority of educated men. It is not only in the sphere of apparel, ornaments, and mode of living but in their national enthusiasm and their passion for independence. I deplore as much as Mrs. Mehta, the tendency that seems to be growing among certain sections of Indian women, towards the adoption of clumsy high-heels, and tawdry rouge and lip-stick. But is it not largely because many denationalized Indian men admire and pay court to these fashions that they are being adopted? If we are natural, genuine, and fearless and have a cultivated taste for what is really beautiful, beautiful in intention and execution, beautiful in thought and expression and effect, we shall all, men and women, decide to be just ourselves, not unprogressive, but not imitative either. And we shall strive to improve our own forms and infuse them with new meaning and create for ourselves and our people a country rebuilt in Beauty, founded in Freedom.

Lucknow,
October 13, 1939. } Yours etc.,
CYRIL MODAK.

[Mr. Modak does not seem to know exactly what he wants. When he says that the adoption of national dress would be useless unless there is also a change of heart, he gives away his whole case. If there is a change of heart, we should have thought it was immaterial under what dress it went about. It is the insistence on an outward sign that has led to a good deal of confusion and hypocrisy in the national movement today. When we suggested to clothes nationalists that it was possible to argue that Indian women were less and not more independent of Western influence, from the mere fact that they wore the sari, we did not expect that the argument would be so readily taken over by so fervent a patriot as Mr. Modak. Mr. Modak, after the insinuation that we share the prejudice of the European against the dhoti, blames the Indian man for the fact that some women in this country had taken to lipstick and rouge and high-heels. We had not expected this mawkish sentimentalism from a realist like Mr. Modak. Why, if he is right, did the Indian woman who resisted the invasion of Western fashions in dress, not resist equally the Western custom of paint? Mr. Modak's opening sentence reveals the same mentality as that which persuaded a Congress Selection Committee to reject a candidate for municipal elections because his socks were not Khadi! It is also shown by old women—of both sexes—who insist on feeling the clothes of their colleagues to see if they are Khadi wearers. Mr. Modak's political cliches are on the same plane. We would remind him that nationalism is itself a western conception and that in seeking to infuse national ideas in their countrymen rulers of non-western people have frequently begun by imposing western clothes. Kemal Ataturk equated nationalism wish westernisation even in dress. Mr. Modak has designated certain styles of dress which he is prepared to allow to Indians. Before his dress dictatorship is established, may we ask whether his exclusion of the non-Maharashtrian style of wearing the dhoti is due to lack of space or oversight or because he is "imitating" Western ideas of what constitutes decency in dress? Mr. Modak would set up a double control in dress: He would on climatic grounds insist on all Indians wearing the lighter clothes of the country; On grounds of decency he denies European women the lighter-than-sari dress that have evolved. Truly this is but a reversal of the English convention and as little rational as that. Mr. Modak's acceptance of Gandhiji's dress as national is a feat of imagination. As for Pandit Nehru, he has certainly set a fashion but that does not make it national.—Ed., *I. S R.*]

II.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your issue dated October 7, you have in a note entitled, "The Paraphernalia of Dress," bracketted Mr. Modak's admonition to his community and Mrs. Mehta's general reproof of middle-class families. Their only difference, you seem to imply, is in the audience they address. This, however, is all the difference. Mrs. Mehta is talking to and of a section of the community which can be westernised only in matters of dress, and there too only partially. Mr. Modak, on the other hand, is persuading a community which has been westernised in ideas, and in the most important and fundamental of them—religious ideas, not to become westernised in externals also. The first attitude is one which seeks conformity in ideas and conformity in externals; the other conformity in externals covering a revolution in thought. There is the more point to the revolution underlying Mr. Modak's dress nationalism since he is socialistic as well as Christian in his outlook. The difference between Mrs. Mehta and Mr. Modak is all the difference between the impossible and the insidious: Mrs. Mehta would stop all progress while Mr. Modak wishes to pour new wine into old bottles.

There are two other possible attitudes, that of Turkey under Ataturk and the other of Afghanistan under Amanullah: Ataturk's revolution was an all round one in externals and in thought; Amanullah's touched only the outside shell of Afghan life and the new clothes could not keep in the old thought.

Bombay,
October 17, 1939. } Yours etc.,
V. A.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

GANDHIJI AND NON-VIOLENCE.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Mahatma Gandhiji's word of encouragement or congratulation to Poland in the hour of her sore trial and his unconditionally throwing in his weight on the side of Britain and Allies that profess to fight for the sacred cause of democracies in Europe, have at once evoked severe criticisms of his life-long profession and advocacy of principles of Truth and Non-Violence. How can he ask Poland and her allies to resist force by force? How can he believe the skin-deep covering of Truth of the Allies' cause, when the real issue at stake is the natural fear of ultimate eviction by Germany and Italy of the Allies from their imperialistic domination of weaker peoples on earth? Do these inferior nations enjoy real or full democracy? What if the totalitarian states succeed?

The answer is that Gandhiji would be giving the premium to German force and aggression if Poland were advised to sit quiet or show the other cheek in a calm and non-violent manner. Germany lost her territories and colonies in the last War; and there was no doubt that, without another war or threat of war, there was no chance of her successful retaking of them. She could not hope to get them back with the help of the League of Nations or of a tribunal of Arbitrators without a sufficient or efficient sanction behind their award or verdict. She could not be indefinitely crippled by her interested foes. 'Sama,' 'dana' and 'bheda' and simple threat of force have easily brought round the several portions of old Germany erected by the Treaty of Versailles into independent and buffer states as against German resurrection. But Poland had defied them all, having tasted freedom and independence and desiring to maintain her integrity as a separate nation. The last means of 'danda' was adopted by Hitler to "bring Poland to her senses," in the face of Allies offer to help Poland in case she resists German aggression. The Czechs and others deemed prudence the better part of valour, and did not shed a drop of blood.

Gandhiji has no objection to adopting any means short of actual violence. But with the ancient sages of India he holds that if one person uses violence against another, that other is not only entitled or justified but even bound to offer or use violence to the extent, and only to the extent, of avoiding, resisting or neutralising such force. "Violence defeats violence or renders it nugatory." This applies to individual men and nations as well. It is a Samahita dharma or rule of life in contact with others. The Eikantika dharma may be different in that it may advise simple suffering without protesting or raising your little finger in return. That might lead to self-discipline and indirectly to reformation of the opponent. But this is of no use in the case of self-protection of individuals and nations. Governments have committed to their charge and protection the vast numbers of their subjects constituting the country's population. It would be but criminal to preach them non-violence which would mean complete effacement from off the face of the earth. But a self-defending attitude, though involving violence in return, both arrests and crushes the latter to some extent. Germany could not hope to get such a cheap victory hereafter. She may fear to strike, and is forced to look before she leaps. Best safety lies in such fear. Thus Gandhiji while advocating non-violence, does not mean to give the violence of the aggressor premium that it never deserves, but would only mean to say that any violence offered in arrest, mitigation, defeat, or destruction of violence started in the first instance or resort is no real violence of the same sort as the first but is of a different character altogether. Its purpose is different and the means limited to the barest necessity. Hence Gandhiji is perfectly consistent in his new orientation of his well-known principles. Herein lies the fact that he is not a mere saint or idealist but a true philosopher and statesman. And India must be proud of him, and of his lead.

Madras,
October 10, 1939. } Yours etc.,
R. V. V. TATACHARIAR.

[Mr. Tatachariar's original and ingenious explanation does not accord with Gandhiji's own commentary published in last week's *Harijan* and it must, therefore, be rejected. In two articles Gandhiji explains his position in detail. In the course of the first, "India's Attitude", he answers a correspondent who argues that there is little to differentiate the attitude of Britain and France from that of Germany, in these words:—

> There is this great difference: However incomplete or equivocal the declarations of the Allies are, the world has interpreted them to mean that they are fighting for saving democracy. Herr Hitler is fighting for the extension of the German boundaries, although he was told that he should allow his claims to be submitted to an impartial tribunal for examination. He contemptuously rejected the way of peace or persuasion and chose that of the sword. Hence my sympathy for the cause of the Allies. But my sympathy must not be interpreted to mean endorsement, in any shape or form of the doctrine of the sword for the defence even of proved right. Proved right should be capable of being vindicated by right means as against the rude, i. e., sanguinary, means. Man may and should shed his own blood for establishing what he considers to be his 'right'. He may not shed the blood of his opponent who disputes his 'right'. India, as represented by the Congress, has been fighting in order to prove her 'right' not by the sword but by the non-violent method. And she has carved out for herself a unique place and prestige in the world although she is yet far —let us hope, not very far—from the independence of her dream. Her novel method has evidently struck the imagination of the world. It has the right to expect India to play a decisive part in this war, which no people of the world have wanted by insisting that the peace this time is not to be a mockery designed to share a nong the victors the spoils of war and to humiliate the vanquished.

Gandhiji's own position in regard to the war itself as opposed to the peace that is to follow, is stated in another article, "On Trial", to be this, "I must declare my faith that it is better for India to discard violence altogether, even for defending her own borders." But the attitude of the Congress is not the same. When the Congress offers full cooperation, it means, as the Bihar Premier said in moving the resolution adopted in the Bihar Legislature, that "India is waiting only for a gesture from Britain and millions would rush to give their lives in the battlefield to help her in the present war." While both are agreed on the kind of peace to be worked out, there is a world of difference between the policies commended during the war itself. That is why Mr. Kishorilal Mashruwala, President of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, has in a press statement suggested that, in the absence of any clarification, the Congress resolution was a renunciation of satyagraha and likely to lead India to a tragedy. Mr. Tatachariar's explanation might be applied to the Congress attitude. It misses the mark hopelessly so far as Gandhiji is concerned. He in fact rejects that very policy as illogical and tragic. "Surely," he writes, "the means

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

adopted for driving an enemy from one's house must, more or less, coincide with those adopted for keeping him out of the house. If anything, the latter process must be easier. The fact, however, is that our fight has not been one of non-violent resistance of the strong. It has been one of passive resistance of the weak." The reason for Mr. Tatachariar's error is to be found in the statement issued by Gandhiji on September 16 explaining the Congress Manifesto. He had there remarked that he was alone in adocating unconditional support to Britain and had appealed to all parties in the Congress to give the manifesto their unquestioned loyalty. These two sentences read together had misled Mr. Tatachariar and other readers to ignore a warning which had been slipped in between and which has in the passages quoted above been now expanded by Gandhiji. That warning was in these words: "Unconditional support could only be given on a non-violent basis. ..But the Committee could not take a purely non-violent attitude." Gandhiji probably glossed over the more important difference of opinion that had sprung up between him and the Congress Working Committee, in order to discourage dissensions in the party. Gandhiji often acts on the basis, though his readers are often apt to forget, that as a man out of the Congress, he is not subject to the restrictions aud discipline of that body. This too is a source of much misunderstanding. Ed., *I. S. R.*]

LIFE INSURANCE TRUST PLAN

THE outright payment of the Insurance money to the widow or children in one lump sum is a great mistake. To apply a real test you would only ask yourself how your wife would invest such a sum now without any help whatever from you. The woman who has been "All the Wife and Mother" is ill-equipped to invest and safeguard funds designed to her family's protection for many years.

Therefore take advantage of

OUR INVESTMENT TRUST PLAN

For further particulars apply to :—

THE SECRETARY

CENTRAL BANK EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE CO., LTD.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad)
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh)
Karad	" ").	Dondaicha	(" ")
Tasgaon	(" ").	Nandurbar	(" ")
Satara	(" ").	Shirpur	(" ")
Kirloskarwadi	(" ").	Shahada	(" ")
Shirala	(" ").	Sakri	(" ")
Koregaon	(" ").	Sindkheda	(" ")
Wai	(" ").	Taloda	(" ")
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Nasik)
Shevgaon	(" ").	Satara	(" ")
Ahmednagar	" ").	Kalwan	(" ")
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahals)
Palghar	(" ").	Kalol	
Kalyan	(" ").		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Vardo, Esq.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... ,, 5	Ditto (Body)	... ,, 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... ,, 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... ,, 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon

The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 14, 1939 No. 7.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest— I will not equivocate— I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch— *And I will be heard."* WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

War Prospects.
Italy and Germany.
India and Britain.
The Next Step.
The Return of Dr. Benes.
Destroying Hitlerism.
Mysore and Mangalore.
Baluchistan Administration.
Long Lived Frogs.
Independence or Closer Co-operation ?
The War and the Press.
Rumours and Propaganda.
The Quest of Peace.
India and Britain Together.
The Congress Resolution on War.
Qualifying Non-Violence.
India and the War.

NOTES.

War Prospects :—According to the information available in this country through the Press and the radio, the War should not last longer than a few months. The New Year should see the War ended, Hitler and Hitlerism destroyed, Sovietism and Soviet Russia bestriding Central Europe, and perhaps the Western democracies preparing for another war to deal with it. Poland is gone out of the picture. Soviet Russia has absorbed the eastern and larger half of the country and Britain and France have not quite made up their minds whether they should regard this as an act falling within the terms of the guarantee given to Poland on the eve of the Nazi invasion. France meanwhile is taking drastic measures to put down Communism within her borders, which Russia can not regard as encouraging to her future relations with her late ally. The Soviet Government, once it has left behind its policy of territorial non-aggression, seems resolved to be content with no half-measures. By her Pacts with the Baltic States, Russia has practically eliminated other Powers including Germany from the Baltic. The Nazi Government has undertaken a plan of complete repatriation of all Germans from the Baltic countries in order apparently to avoid complications with her powerful ally. The war is now confined to the German-French Frontier. The British and French are together awaiting the big German offensive which, it is stated, will be led personally by Herr Hitler. The internal situation in Germany seems desparate and if the Allies inflict a defeat on the Germans on this front, a revolution followed by a civil war is almost certain in Germany. The attempt to establish a Communist Government after the last War was crushed but the chances of a similar attempt succeeding now are greater. Meanwhile the United States, since Russia entered Poland, appears to be veering towards a more determined neutrality than previous Presidential utterances led one to believe. Italy's attitude is ambiguous. The British Prime Minister made a statement on Thursday in reply to Herr Hitler's offer in his Danzig speech, but he had not a word to say on Britain's view of the Russian annexations in Poland and her subsequent negotiations with the Baltic States.

Italy and Germany :—Historians have stigmatised Italy's defection from the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria. Stephen King-Hall in his "Our Own Times" observes :

> At the outbreak of the war Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, the partner of Germany and Austria-Hungary. With her miles of defenceless seaboard, intervention on the side opposed to Great Britain was practically out of the question. Italy, however, continued to toy with the project of implementing her understanding with the Central Powers, until she could secure from the Allies sufficiently favourable terms to induce her to add her weight to the support of their cause. She secured these terms by the Secret Treaty of London.

Mr. Winston Churchill's reference in his broadcast speech to Italy's attitude at the beginning of the last War, was more complimentary. He made no mention of any bargain. "In those days of 1914 also," he said, "Italy was a neutral but we did not know the reason for her neutrality. It was only later on that we learned by the clause in the original treaty of the Triple Alliance that Italy had expressly reserved to herself the right to stand aside from any war which brought her into conflict with Britain." A reference to the correspondence which culminated in the Triple Alliance, does not bear out Mr. Churchill's interpretation. The secret clause merely said that the Treaty was not directed against Great Britain. "None of the contracting parties would think of declaring war on England, for none of them could conduct it with success ; but if England declared war there would be no choice." Thus was Bismarck's annotation summed up in the despatch of the German Foreign Office immediately before the Treaty was signed. The German and Austrian view of Italy's defection was more in accord with Mr. King-Hall's view of it than with Mr. Churchill's.

India and Britain :—We publish this week three articles on India's attitude to Britain and the present War in Europe. Mr. George S. Arundale, President of the Theosophical Society, hopes that both Britain and India will appreciate their responsibilities and rise to the occasion. He points out that India enjoys more freedom even today

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

than do most other countries in the world; that, if we have grievances against the British Government, we are not entirely content with the rule of Congress ministries; but that at the same time Britain can in many ways improve the existing position. Mr. Modak takes the Congress attitude and calls on Britain to prove her *bona fides*, applying India as the crucial test to her professions of democracy. Mr. Ganguli sees in the attitude of the Congress a departure from its old declarations and an unseemly anxiety to confer with the Viceroy. The invitations extended to nearly every Indian politician in the past week lend point to Mr. Ganguli's comparison, made before these developments, to the Round Table Conference. The period of provincial autonomy has weakened the Congress position. During this period the party has been both divided and opposed. It is no longer possible to assert with the old assurance that the Congress represents every section in the country. Unfortunately the Congress has not acted in the past with the idea of functioning as the sole organization in the country. It has looked to others to accommodate themselves to its views instead of slowing down its policies with a view to taking everybody along with it. Only when opposition has grown troublesome, has it started negotiations which have failed or fizzled out. Obsessed by Hindu-Muslim unity, the Congress has failed to see the necessity of winning other friends when it found the Muslim League disinclined to co-operate. As a result it faces the Muslim League at each subsequent peace negotiation with less strength than it did before. In the discussions with the Governor-General at Delhi, Mr. Jinnah was empowered by Dr. Ambedkar and Sir Kurma Reddi to put their points of view before Lord Linlithgow. In the circumstances, Congress leaders could have refused to meet the Viceroy but they could not insist on his not inviting others to consultation with him. The differences that political parties have with the Congress are, it is true, mostly internal and the demands of the Congress manifesto have general support. But the internal differences have this bearing on the present negotiations at Viceroy's House: That the other parties do not want to see the credit for India's co-operation to go to the Congress and any consequent increase in its political power. This is the basic cause for Congressmen insisting on a postponement of differences till political power comes into Indian hands as well as for non-Congress anxiety for a settlement while a third party holds the balance. We hope that Lord Linlithgow will not adopt the obvious policy of making the differences an excuse for refusing a declaration. The differences, as we all know, are there. The problem is how to get over them.

The Next Step:—The Congress Working Committee has thrown the burden of decision on the British Government and there is some speculation as to what that Government will decide. The Liberal and Labour British press has so far shown itself sympathetic to the Congress demand for a declaration of war aims but it is significant that the heart of the London *Times* has not been moved. The *Times* declares that all that the Congress asks for has been done by the British Government since 1919 and that the progress so far attained without revolution—it has little knowledge obviously of what the Civil Disobedience movement was in effect and that even today the country has not recovered completely from it—would be endangered if anything was done to hasten the speed of reform. Political reform, so far as the *Times* sees it in relation to India, can be retarded safely but it cannot be hastened. Lord Zetland seems to hold very similar views and it is not unreasonable to regard the *Times* verdict as a reflection of official opinion. It is well, therefore, for the Congress to be prepared for a rejection of its demand for a declaration which may be more or less courteous. The manifesto clearly states that the Congress is anxious not to put difficulties in the way of France and Britain in their fight against Hitlerism even if it is not able to offer active co-operation to the British Government. The obvious inference is that, even if the Congress withdraws from its position of responsibility in eight provinces, it will allow those who feel that they can render help in the existing conditions to carry on, while Congressmen devote themselves to constructive work in the country.

The Return of Dr. Benes:—The calm and dignity with which he bore himself during the crisis of last September, won Dr. Benes the respect and admiration of the world. What must have hurt him more than the vituperations of Herr Hitler who was his declared foe, was the attacks launched him by countries with whom he was in ideological sympathy. A London journal was moved to write of him: "Have you noticed that Dr. Benes who is the idol of our sentimentalists, was allowed to resign the office of Presidentship without a single word of appreciation from his people? They felt he had led them down the wrong path...in an evil moment Dr. Benes allied himself to Soviet Russia." It was of Dr. Benes' Government that Mr. Chamberlain told Herr Hitler last September. "However much you distrust the Prague Government's intentions, you cannot doubt the power of the British and French Governments to see that the promises are carried out fairly and fully and forthwith;" — a statement which with its background of events seemed to accept or acquiesce in Herr Hitler's abuse of Dr. Benes. It speaks much for his magnanimity and patriotism that the Czech statesman should come forward with a proposal to raise a Czech army against Germany to fight with the Allies.

Destroying Hitlerism:—Among the war aims repeatedly declared by the British and French Governments, what has been hailed as the most important and the most tangible is that of "destroying Hitler" which has at last developed into destroying Hitlerism.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

difficult to understand what is meant by this. The *Times of India* uses it as an excuse for Anglo-French reluctance to declare war on Russia. There is no such thing as Hitlerism, at any rate to our knowledge. By using this phrase in preference to Nazism, Mr. Chamberlain seems to have intended to make it clear that he has no quarrel with Nazism, much less Fascism. Will Hitlerism be destroyed if Herr Hitler gives up the leadership of the German people? Obviously it will be, only for the purposes of signing a peace, if the old system continues. The insistence on the destruction of Hitler can mean nothing more nor less than the detention of the German Leader in Anglo-French custody in order to incapacitate him politically. This seems to be a very inadequate ground for letting loose a world war.

Mysore and Mangalore :—The growing rapprochement between Mysore and Mangalore, which were parts of the same kingdom and shared a common Kanarese culture a century ago, evidenced by the visits, now almost a regular annual fixture, of the Mysore Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, strikes observers as having more than ordinary significance. But what? Sir Mirza Ismail in his speech in opening the bridge at Kateel, was himself moved to ask the question. But he did not see in it a desire—subconscious it may be—towards a closer union with South Canara. He gave it a very broad significance as emphasising the fact that we are citizens of the same country and united in her common allegiance. But that would apply equally to Malabar and the Ceded Districts, which the Dewan does not visit every year to open bridges and address students. However that may be, it is evident in all the speeches which Sir Mirza made during his visit that he found himself in congenial surroundings. There is a breadth and spontaniety in his remarks which is unusual in the speeches of administrators in their own jurisdiction. His appreciation of gardens at the Flower Show Exhibition at Mangalore, was lyrically reminiscent of his Persian ancestry :

The kiss of the sun for pardon,
And the song of the birds for mirth,
You are nearer God's heart in a garden,
Than anywhere else on earth.

This was surely written if not by a Persian by a highly persianised Indian.

Baluchistan Administration :—It is generally thought that all Baluchistan tribes are Muslims. This is not the case. In the short report on the affairs of the Kalat State included in the Administration Report of the Baluchistan Agency for 1937–38, we read, "Certain priests of Zikri tribes in Mekran spread false propaganda to the effect that their religionists were forcibly being converted to Islam. From the enquiries made it transpired that those who had embraced Islam had done so of their own accord. His Highness the Khan summoned the head of the Muslim Mission and the leading priests of the Zikris tribe to Kalat and a Farman was issued to the effect that no interference would be allowed with their religious sentiments." Incidentally it is noticeable that the Baluchistan administration has evolved an English of its own which is not easily intelligible to outsiders. Here is a specimen :

> The bye-river was running opposite Begari mouth this year up to September but all of a sudden a ghara which had already begun to form widened and the course of the river switched on from left to right bank opposite Begari mouth. The main river met the bye-river at its D/S end and its main current ran exactly along the right edge opposite the Begari mouth. The main river has again receded to the left side leaving a bye-river on the right side near the mouth of Begari, where a slow scour is occurring. It has left a very low katcha between the main and the bye-river.

The Report devotes many tables to detailed information about live-stock in the Agency. It is not easy to see what purpose statistics of castrated animals are intended to serve. The number of cows over 3 years old, according to Census, was one lakh and seven thousand. The number of approved bulls at stud was only 19 which fell far short of the number required to be maintained at one per hundred cows.

Long-Lived Frogs :—In an interesting article on Frog Folklore in the July number of the *Quarterly Journal* of the Mysore Mythic Society, Dr. S. T. Moses dismisses as incredible stories of toads occurring in stone, chalk, coal, etc., dislodged by the chance hit of a pickaxe, because, he says, they assume the capacity of toads to live for periods extending even to geological ages without air, food and water. Dr. Moses does not seem to have come across the account of the discoveries at Sopara, thirty-seven miles from Bombay, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1882. The site has within the last two years been further explored and found to have been the seat of the largest Buddhist stupa in Western India. Bhagvanlal Indraji records the finding of a live frog imbedded in clay twenty-one feet underground in the course of his excavations. "It is," he observed, "of a different species from ordinary frogs. It is about an inch and a half long and has a reddish stripe down the back. The sides are dark green, the chest white, and the arms and legs are dark speckled with white spots. A brick-coloured stripe passes over the eyes to the sides. The mouth was closed, and the seam of the closed part was of sulphur colour. The throat throbbed violently. I believe that it closely resembled a variety found in some of the old Kanheri cave cisterns." At the time of his writing, it was alive and kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum at Byculla. As the frog was found four feet below the stone coffer containing the relic box, which was itself seventeen feet underground, it must have been there for one thousand eight hundred years. Sopara was a great city in the days of the Mahabharata. The stupa was in existence before the third century A.D. Bhagavanlal Indraji's account of his discoveries at Sopara were published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1881–1882.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, October 14, 1939.

INDEPENDENCE OR CLOSER CO-OPERATION.

His Excellency the Viceroy has now nearly finished the series of interviews which he has felt it desirable to accord to representatives of organizations claiming to be mouthpieces of political parties, communal interests, and Indian States. To take the last first, Lord Linlithgow has had interviews with His Highness the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar. Other rulers and chiefs have voluntarily placed themselves, their sons, their people and the resources of their States at the disposal of His Majesty through his representative in India for the effective prosecution of the War. The Congress after the ground had been prepared by two interviews with Mahatma Gandhi, its unofficial head, was given the opportunity of representing its standpoint through three of its official heads, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Left-wing leader, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, was also invited by the Viceroy probably at the instance of Gandhiji himself. The President of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, has, of course, been honoured with a prolonged interview, and remained in Delhi for further negotiations. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Punjab Prime Minister, was at Delhi to mediate between the Congress and the Muslim League and had more than one interview with His Excellency. Dr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, was invited to place the case of the Mahasabha before the Viceroy. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and Mr. Aney, as leaders of the Democratic Swaraj Party, were also among those invited to give His Excellency the benefit of their views. Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. M. C. Rajah, leaders of the scheduled castes from two different standpoints, Sir T. Pannirselvam as leader of the Justice Party and the Indian Christian community of Madras, and some provincial Muslim League leaders, have also had the privilege of meeting His Excellency and placing before him their own particular aspects of the Indian problem in relation to the situation created by the War. The Liberal leaders, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir (also representing Parsi interests), Pandit P. N. Sapru, President of the Liberal Federation, have met the Viceroy as has also the non-party leader, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The Khaksar leader, Allama Mushriqi, who is now in a United Provinces prison for breaking a Police order, has conveyed to His Excellency his readiness to place several thousands of trained men to preserve order in the country and if need be to fight the Empire's War on all fronts. His Excellency has not so far invited a representative of the Indian Women's Movement to a per... conference. Rani Rajwade at the last All I... Women's Conference claimed that women h... distinctive political role and the Confer... adopted a resolution extending its sphere ... politics. She may be given an opportunity ... placing the Indian women's views on ... situation before His Excellency, so as to ... up the exploration of opinion undertaken ... him.

The Congress and the Muslim League have ... before themselves the goal of Independence, t... is, the severance of the connection with Brita... Any proposals that they may have made m... be understood in the light of this fa... Congress accepted office in the provin... with the declared object of wrecking, not wo... ing the reform scheme. That object has b... achieved so far as the Federal, and m... important, part of it is concerned by the Wa... It will be extremely awkward for the Crow... Representative to be haggling about the ter... of Federation with the Princes when the lat... were unreservedly placing all their resources ... his disposal as Crown Representative. L... Linlithgow in one of his recent addresses to ... Princes advised them to have a Civil Li... separate from their personal expenditure. ... Their Highnesses had carried out this adv... they could not have so promptly and complete... come to the help of the Imperial Governm... His Excellency was therefore right in concludi... that the outbreak of War made any further actio... in pursuance of Federation impossible. ... has been repeatedly declared that the scheme ... the Government of India Act, Federal an... Provincial, formed an organic whole and m... stand and fall together. The Congress leade... do not evidently take this view. At a... rate they do not seem to be in a hurry ... act on it. The British Government t... judging from the speeches of the Secretary ... State and others in the House of Lords, are not ... apparently anxious to press the integral unity ... the Reforms scheme at present. The positi... thus created leaves scope for the large majori... of the Indian people who are decidedly again... separation from Britain but which at the sa... time feels the present position of India in ... Commonwealth humiliating to Indian self-respe... The school that favours Dominion Status is ... of date. Dominion Status according to t... latest and most authoritative declaration ... tantamount to Independence so far as th... Dominions are concerned, while entailing on the... part of Great Britain all the old obligations ... Eire has declared her neutrality in the present ... War. Mr. De Valera said recently th... circumstances might force Eire into greater co... operation with Great Britain but they hav... not so far done so. In the United States, on the ... other hand, the neutrality of Eire seems to b... accepted, and the anomalous status of Eire ha... been recommended for adoption by Czechosl... vakia and Poland in relation to Germany. ... other and larger grounds too we have more than

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

once expressed our feeling that Dominion Status is unsuitable in the case of India. There remains, therefore, only two alternatives: Independence or closer co-operation. Independence in the light of the fate which has befallen Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland within the last twelve months, can not be contemplated as a practicable alternative even by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. There remains, therefore, only the alternative of closer co-operation as the means of making the relations between Great Britain and this country such as the people of India can regard with pride. How this can be effected must be reserved for consideration.

The War and the Press :—"I was disgusted to see repeated the hackneyed war nonsense," writes Critic in the *New Statesman*, "about the 'poisoned chocolates,' while a correspondent in the *Times* pointed out the absurdity of talk about German bombers deliberately bombing individual Polish peasants. The *Daily Mirror* has a truly marvellous story about Germans dropping bright toy balloons full of mustard gas for the children." There would and should be no need to quote the passage in this country but for a tendency in some Indian newspapers to reprint the wildest and tallest stories from the British press. We are sorry to see that some of the organs of nationalist opinion are the worst offenders in this matter, while at the same time they staunchly support the Congress resolution to await a declaration of war aims before throwing in their strength in the fight to destroy Hitlerism. There might be something cheering for them in the rather childish rhymes with which soldiers are reported to be brightening up their camp lives but we do not see why Congress newspapers whose sheet-anchor was at one time proclaimed daily to be non-violence, should reprint some of the most bloodthirsty verses in their columns.

Rumours and Propaganda :—Some time back the press and the radio announced that the German Freedom Movement had reported the disappearance of Dr. Goebbels. This was hailed as almost a great victory though the value of Dr. Goebbels either militarily or morally for the Germans is always denied, until a later message said that he was believed to have been interviewed by foreign journalists in Berlin. This was again followed up by a cable that Dr. Goebbels was under custody and was to "disappear slowly." Dr. Goebbels so far from slowly disappearing has, according to the last message (Tuesday), addressed a party meeting on Winter Help when he asked his audience to prepare for fresh sacrifices. This particular report and its echoes seem to us pointless. Dr. Goebbels is not the key figure in the War with Germany and his presence or disappearance is not of any great value. When he does "disappear" as politicians must at some time, it will now require more than one message to convince the public.

THE QUEST OF PEACE.

A few days ago I passed another milestone in this life—the seventy-first. My friend, Mr. M. G. Joseph of Coonoor, had for some years been sending me a gift of flowers from his garden with his greetings on this event. This time it was a basket of great golden chrysanthemums "grown by my own hand," which kept fresh and diffused their gladness around for several days. Along with the flowers was a letter in which Mr. Joseph directed me to read Numbers, VI, 24, 25, 26. I had read many of the books of the Old Testament but Numbers I had somehow skipped. The psycho-analyst would have explained the omission as the outcome of a rooted sub-conscious repugnance to numbers. He will not be altogether wrong. All my life I have revolted against numbers. It seems as if it were today, though the incident is more than half a century old, that a maternal uncle bitterly reproached me for condemning the custom of enforced widowhood. "Who are you," he cried, "to set yourself against the whole body of our kith and kin?" He ended in high rage by pinching a bit of earth from the mud floor of the house and throwing it on my head. "My curses on you. May you be utterly ruined." If this had happened today I might have been somewhat perturbed. India is now wedded to majority rule. Mass meetings are the final authority in all matters. But in those days I was completely under the spell of the great rationalists. Merely to refuse to bend the knee to custom, is a service to society, J. S. Mill taught; even eccentrity is preferable to blind conformity as a force in the expansion of human freedom. Carlyle also had written that the majority are mostly fools. All great movements began with small numbers. As they waxed in numbers they waned in loyalty to their ideal. Democracy in those days was sharply distinguished from mob rule. It stood for certain definite principles, foremost among them being freedom of conscience. Acton interpreted History as the march of man towards greater and larger freedom. If majority rule had then prevailed, not a single one of the reforms for which the group to which I was drawn stood, would have survived. Some of the reformers themselves might have met the same fate. To escape it, several who began with great enthusiasm dropped out confessing pathetically that they were not equal to the domestic and social strain which conformity to their principles would entail.

This digression is by way of explaining my neglect of Numbers. On reading Mr. Joseph's advice I turned over the pages of my dilapidated copy of the Bible and lighted on these verses :

The Lord bless thee and keep thee :
The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee :
The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee and give thee peace.

I was deeply moved. Mr. Joseph and I have not met for years and before that very infrequently. The *Reformer* has been the link between us. The speaker has his audience before him and knows how his words are received. The writer has not this great advantage. He has perforce to walk by faith, not by sight. "Cast your bread upon the waters and you will find it after many days." It is this thought which sustains and upholds the writer who feels that he has a message to convey, a mission to fulfil.

God give thee peace, says the Hebrew Prophet. Jesus Christ also regards Peace as a gift. "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid." The *Gita*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and the bhakti schools of Hinduism hold the same doctrine. By His grace, says the Gita, thou shalt attain eternal peace. Obedience to the Divine will is the way to Peace, teaches Islam. In all these faiths Peace is a gift of God. Only, in Hinduism Peace is bound to follow renunciation in the spirit of faith. In Christianity it entirely rests with God whether Faith is rewarded or not by Peace. The wind bloweth where it listeth.

And there is also this to be noted: the gift of Peace is to the individual and, therefore, limited in time. The Seers of the Upanishads were not content with this. Their aims were universal and eternal. And they taught not how to obtain Peace as a gift but how to ensure it as of right. Theirs was the way of knowledge. The Seer of the Kathopanishad with conviction declares:

"Eternal Peace is to those spiritual heroes who see within themselves the One who is in all beings, Eternal among the ephemeral, the Inspirer of all consciousness, the One who dispenses desires in diverse form—Peace is to them and to none else."

Here we have the clue to Peace not only as an individual but pre-eminently as a world desideratum. Peace comes of viewing our particular problems against the background of the Universal. When a bereaved mother took her dead child to the Buddha in the hope that out of his compassion he may call her baby back to life, the Master did not accept or refuse her prayer. He suggested to her that she should bring him five grains of mustard seed begged of a family in which no one had died. The mother goes from house to house and everywhere she meets with sympathy. The grains of mustard are gladly produced. But when she asks if any one had died in the house, one and all lament that there have been several. And she comes back to the Master of Compassion, and tells him that she did not find a single house where no one had died. Then the Buddha delivers his message to her. Death is the lot of all living things. What is universal is not a matter for mourning. The argument would not go down with the European who is passionately wedded to his own particulars. Thus we have the angry protest in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*,

> That loss is common does not make
> Mine own less bitter rather more.

But being an Indian with a keener intuition for the universal than for the particular, the bereaved woman becomes Buddha's disciple and rises to be one of the greatest of them.

What is the root cause of our dissensions today? It is certainly that we attach supreme importance to our particular interests, as individuals, communities, nations, races and religions, and completely ignore the Universal which lies behind and unites each to all. When the nations are educated out of this error and not till then, will there be World Peace. Peace cannot be ensured by War. It can not be ensured by organization. It can be ensured only by educating men and women to see the Unity behind the particulars the wood before the trees.

This is the one and only lesson which it is India's mission to impress on humanity. If she herself loses faith in it or yields from opportunist motives to the temptation to compromise over it in order to strike a bargain which seems to bring some immediate profit, then there is nothing left for her but to reconcile herself to be the perpetual camp-follower of nations which have more faith in themselves and are prepared to make great sacrifices for it.

K. NATARAJAN.

INDIA AND BRITAIN TOGETHER.

(BY GEORGE S. ARUNDALE.)

As I survey the world as a whole, I feel ... happy that so far as India is concerned the ... of Hitlerism is practically absent. There may ... differences between the Government of India, ... the British Authority generally, and certain sections ... of the Indian people. Some of us may feel ... necessary to insist that this war shall be a ... for India's freedom no less than for other freedom ... in other parts of the world.

But while there may be this much of conflict, ... remains very true that India is governed in ... spirit of peace and of goodwill. There is a freedom ... in India, even despite the Defence Ordinances, ... like of which exists in very few other countries. ... There is an individual liberty of speech and ... action, and an impartiality of justice, entire ... without parallel as regards any country which ... subject to a measure of foreign rule. There is ... very wide liberty of the press, and the very ... Governments themselves may be attacked and ... their policies with a very wide impunity.

I remember very well after travelling through ... continent of Europe last year, feeling how delightfully ... free I was when I returned home to England. The ... atmosphere of no other country compared with ... free atmosphere of England. I felt that my ... individuality was honoured by a free State, and ... therefore I felt all the more eager to give reverence to ... the State because of the reverence it gave to me.

I felt the same when I returned home to India. I ... am in a free country again, even though it may be ... freedom which many of us believe should be ... exchanged for another and deeper kind. But I say ... very deliberately that India might go farther and fare ... worse, even if she went farther into Swaraj.

I am definite and emphatic that India must have ... her Swaraj, that she must govern herself, for there ... can be no true freedom which does not come from ... within. She must be herself, for only through being ... herself can she be real and true. And I no less ... emphatically believe that only India's self-rule can ... be the best for her and also for the world, even if her ... self-rule compare unfavourably in form—it never ... can in life—with other-rule.

But let us not be led away into undue denunciation ... of what is, through our eagerness for what we think ... should be. The Government of India is a very ... honest Government and I am quite certain that the ... members of the Indian Civil Service, while the ... British personal equation must necessarily have ... weight with them, are very honest in their eagerness ... to do their best; and so often their best is a really ... wonderful best.

There must be no enmity in India as she enters ... the last lap of her progress to the goal of freedom. ... It is very easy to point out the defects of British Rule. ... Is it after all so very difficult to point out the defects ... of the Congress Governments under the rule of ... which we are now? So far as regards the common ... people, among whom I class myself, there is not ... much to choose between one Government and ... another as there sometimes seems to be, though we ... well know that a really good Indian Government ... must be far more advantageous to the Indian people ... than a really good British Government.

But as Indians march together in India for the ... achievement of Swaraj, let them take care to observe ... the good that has been done in India by their British ... friends, and, if it may be, let the British and these ... selves march together to that which shall result in ... the greater common happiness of both.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I feel very sure that India and Britain must fight together in the war which is now upon us, and I am eager that, as the months of warfare pass, Hindus, Musalmans, Buddhists, Parsis, Jews, Jains, Sikhs, Christians and all other communities, shall come closer and closer together, so that that Universal Brotherhood which is the high objective of the war may at least be achieved within the smaller area of that which Dr. Bhagawan Das has called, as Dr. Annie Besant called it before him, the great Indo-British Commonwealth. Let us establish a wonderful Brotherhood of East and West to be the very heart of the greater Brotherhood which shall some day emerge.

From one point of view different sections may be fighting for different rights, but the war is to help us to perceive the One Right, and to adjust the different smaller rights to the Supreme Purpose of the Universal Right. Even where differences cause conflict, there must ever remain unbreakable friendship. Our foes must be our friends. Each one of us must be true to his own conscience, and there are many consciences. But enfolding them all is the One Conscience which the war will help us to discover and honour.

THE CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON WAR.

(By Cyril Modak.)

The Wardha Manifesto has hit the nail on the head with one graceful stroke. It combines chivalry with outspokenness and nationalism with internationalism. It is generous without being sentimental. And it assuredly voices the feelings uppermost in the hearts of conscious nationalists throughout India at this critical moment. But, perhaps, its finest feature is the courteous opportunity given to the British Government, which calls itself a democracy willing to make heroic sacrifices to defend democratic principles, to show the *bona fides* of democracy.

It is obvious there can be no dualism in democracy. There can be no valid distinction between the ideal of democratic rights and privileges, the ideal of a government of the people, by the people, for the people, and the practice of high-handed suppression of those same rights. No nation can convincingly call itself democratic which presumptuously believes the boon of self-government to be intended by heaven for itself and not for other nations. Such a distinction is based on a vicious dualism. The dualism is inevitable when the logic of democracy is used to make a case for imperialism. Bannerman was right when he said that "good government is no substitute for self-government."

A relative democracy, one which does not believe in itself enough to extend its privileges to all peoples, is self-negative. When a nation believes that it is the birthright of its people to be free and govern themselves for the best interests of all, by the representatives of the people, it logically believes that this principle is capable of being universally applied. The moment that nation makes exceptions with reference to the same birthright of other nations, it negates its democratic faith, inspite of its diplomatic protestation to the contrary. It gives the lie to democracy. It cannot sustain its claims. It is playing a game of hypocrisy which by its own inherent hollowness must run out in futility. India has given Great Britain an opportunity to examine her political and, therefore, moral standards, and choose once and for all between democracy and hypocrisy. We are watching with dubious minds what choice the Britain of Shelley and Burke, Mill and Wilberforce will make.

The unfaltering faith that Britain professes in freedom and democracy should enable her to see issues clearly, under the searchlight of dispassionate realism. It should be evident to her that a democratic form of Government superimposed by an autocratic regime cannot be defined as democratic. It should be clear as daylight that when this autocratic element is foreign, and retains the power to issue ordinances, in the teeth of popular disapproval, to curtail not only democratic rights but civil liberties, such a state of affairs is a lamentable contradiction of democracy. It should not be hard for her to understand that there can be no training in democratic self-government under foreign tutelage and dictatorial authority. We are waiting anxiously to see the British Government acquit itself honourably

It does not need statesmanship of any high calibre to see that if the British Government had sincerely intended democracy for India, the India Act would have been a very different document. There would have been definite plans for an increasingly strong national defence, military and naval, manned by Indians and officered by Indians. There would have been extensive plans for military and naval training for Indians at various centres of the country. There would have been greater confidence reposed in Indian ministers who would have been allowed to control the Revenue and Military departments. If Britain had truthfully intended democracy for India there would have been no need for the Viceroy's special powers in the event of war, which amount to dictatorship, and cancel the small measure of popular government that was otherwise in evidence. India would not have been declared a belligerent country unless the Indian National Congress, representing the largest section of the country, had so decided. Certainly, there would be no defiance of the will of the people, no opposition to and suppression of the legitimate rights of the people as is fast happening in India.

Appeals are being made to Indians to be loyal and support Britain in this war because she is fighting for liberty and democracy. Do those who make such appeals fancy they are addressing audiences of credulous schoolboys? Do the words "liberty" and "democracy" not ring false in their ears? What is the loyalty they wish to arouse in Indian hearts? Is it loyalty to the ideals of liberty and democracy? Or is it loyalty to a myth? And, obviously, it does not occur to these officials that those who are capable of being aroused to the latter are thoroughly incapable of appreciating Britain's so-called noble stand for the former, and thus have no need for such appeals! The Wardha Manifesto leaves no room for doubt that India is loyal to the ideals of liberty and democracy. It is up to the British Government now to show its *bona fides* and convince India that Britain too is equally loyal to the ideals of liberty and democracy: and how her loyalty to these great ideals will affect her connection with India. The gravity of the present crisis should suggest to Britain the course of honourable frankness and consistency.

The great issue that the imperialistic powers must face, at latest at the close of this war, is precisely that which the Wardha Manifesto raises in the case of Great Britain. Is democracy worth believing in?

If it is, can it be applicable to parts of the human race and denied to other sections? Or is it worthwhile enough to be universal? Perhaps if Europe, including Britain, had understood Christianity, which they have endeavoured to carry to other peoples, there would have been no need for war, because there would have been on the part of the various nations an attempt to establish liberty and brotherhood instead of markets and colonies in other parts of the world. Instead of the brutal race for markets and colonies,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which must inevitably lead to conflict and more and more savage and destructive methods of war, there would have been the humanizing effort to lay the foundations of universal justice, liberty, and democracy. This alone can ensure peace. This alone can protect civilization and ensure progress. This alone can avert the calamity of the utter annihilation through war of the best of the race.

Force is not the last word in human relations. Blood-shed is not the great ultimate of the universe. Those who put their faith in guns and bombers and submarines, and all the latest inventions of the Devil's workshop, may yet be rudely awakened to the fact that these are weapons not of liberty and democracy but of exploitation and domination. The nations have yet to learn that the great principles of justice, truth, love, and non-violence are the ultimates, and that liberty can only be defended by the impregnable fortifications of justice, and democracy can only exist under a regime of non-violence. Differences settled by force are not settled at all but aggravated. Rights suppressed by force are not suppressed for ever but strengthened. Justice deferred by force is not deferred for all time but is given a greater momentum.

But Britain must remember that the *bona fides* of democracy are respect for the views of the large majority; effective measures for the maximum well-being and progress of the people, and for the protection of their liberty in accordance with the considered opinion of the people; and unequivocal action implementing such decisions as the country through its representatives might make. No amount of verbal jugglery will do. Nothing but the actuality will bear the strain of analysis. India has had time enough for careful observation, classification, and definition, and can distinguish between the intention of democracy and the intention of domination.

As far as we are concerned we believe, in the words of that devoted prophet of Liberty, Shelley:

"To suffer woes that Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power which seems Omnipotent;
To love and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent;
This like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free;
This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory!"

And it is this freedom that we seek—this victory that we covet.

QUALIFYING NON-VIOLENCE.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,

I agree with almost every word of what Mr. J. M. Ganguli says in your issue of September 30th about qualifying non-violence. The man, who, instead of thrusting a dagger into his opponent's heart pays somebody else to do it, or directly or indirectly encourages somebody to do it, deserves greater condemnation for being violent than the man who openly uses a violent weapon to remove his enemy.

Violence is violence, whether direct or indirect. There can be no non-violence which can aim at violent destruction by indirect means. I should think the time has come to cease talking of these high moral principles if at every step they have to be qualified in one way or another.

Yours etc.,

Khar,
October 4, 1939. } VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

INDIA AND WAR.

(By J. M. GANGULI, CALCUTTA.)

The visits of Congress leaders to the Viceregal Lodge, one after the other, bring to mind the story of the spider inviting the fly to walk into its parlour.

In view of their changing attitudes and their lack of confidence in their own avowals, one cannot be sure of what may be in the minds of those leaders or what their aims and objects in the negotiations are; but whatever they may be, one would be glad if they are not disappointed in the end. Should they, however, fail to gain their objective, they should realise the tactical mistakes that they have committed in the conduct of the negotiations, for without these mistakes they might possibly have succeeded better.

Being in power in most of the provinces, and having considerable influence over the people, the Congress was in an advantageous position to press their point of view on the Governmenthat sought its goodwill and co-operation. But the Congress house was divided, and indecision and nervousness prevailed there. When the hour of trial arrived, the leaders found themselves unable to reach the heights, which their declarations of the Congress ideals demanded. In an atmosphere of popular acclamation, surrounded by multitudes of hero-worshippers, without fear of opposition or retribution from outside, imaginations can soar high, and tongues can wax eloquent from a decorated rostrum within a Congress pandal, where surroundings are inspiring and the enthusiasm of delegates is stimulating. But in cold moments of action it needs superlative courage and an uncalculating spirit of sacrifice to translate to action what the imagination has pictured and what spoken words have formulated. Independence and purna swaraj are ideas, which come naturally topeople arriving at fulness of their growth and development, but to be advance guards in the realisation of those ideas, leaders are wanted who have the iron will to go the length of their utterances without a quail and without a hesitation. Is such strength of will noticeable in the Congress leaders?

That was tested recently when they sat in conference at Wardha to chalk their line of action during the war. Not long ago, the Working Committee had resolved to keep out of the war in pursuance of the Haripura resolutions of the Congress, and had advised the Congress ministries not to co-operate in war-work in the provinces and even to resign if co-operation was unavoidable. That resolution of the Working Committee had further committed the Congress Exeoutive to a non-co-operating attitude to war. But when time arrived to take action, the Wardha assembly looked at one another in indecision. They felt weak and helpless, and could only think of taking the counsel of others. Men whom they had ostracised, leaders of organisations which they had condemned as communal and reactionary, were all sent for to come and prop up the great national leaders, who found themselves facing realities, which were incidental to their ideologies and which called for action. In thus exposing their weakness and indecision Congress leaders made a great tactical blunder. To show weakness at the time of dealing with an opponent is to give a great psychological advantage to the other side. But the leaders were inexperienced in tactics. In every way, they demonstrated their timidity and weakness. After their previous resolutions, declarations and commitals, the occasion required only a few minutes' deliberation to resolve on the final steps to be taken on them and in accordance to them. Such prompt

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

decision would have created a great impression in the other camp and also on people following the Congress lead. It would have proved the strength which they felt in them, the strength which an adversary always wants to estimate.

Instead of that, however, they prolonged their conference from day to day, showing clearly that they lacked the courage to be decisive. Their nervous behaviour reminded one of the indecision of the British ministers as to what to do when Napoleon, after Waterloo, arrived in the English waters in an English ship seeking English hospitality. When after prolonged sittings the ministers finally decided to despatch him to St. Helena, no British minister come forward to put his signature to this decision, out of fear of public condemnation on account of the atrocity of the St. Helena order. The Wardha leaders' fear and hesitation to come to a prompt decision had perhaps more than one reason, one of which apparently was, as explained subsequently by Pandit Nehru at an Allahabad meeting, their uncertainty as to their ability to implement their decisions. Pandit Nehru's confession weakened the Congress position still further in the eyes of the British Government. When a General of an army thus openly confesses weakness and shows nervousness in moving, what else should he expect but defeat and rout?

From another point of view also Pandit Nehru's statement is worth considering. If the Congress leaders had realised their inability to implement their words, declarations and repeated resolutions, should they have said those words and passed those resolution, and made the Congress the laughing-stock of the world? What did they have in their mind, when they framed those high sounding resolutions, if they did not feel in them the strength to go all out for their achievement?

* * *

Following its blunder in showing weakness and indecision at the time of acting, the Congress Executive blundered again. When the Government open negotiations and invited them to discussion, they should have objected to the Government's inviting leaders of antagonistic organisations like the Muslim League, also to the discussion. The Congress claims to represent the whole country and the whole nation comprising all communities; but the moment they allow without protest other organisations to participate in negotiations with the Government about a settlement between India and England, that moment they not only weaken that claim, but even forego it. When that claim goes, the claim of the Congress as the national organisation of the country to represent it in dealings with the Government is torpedoed. The British Government understands the tactics of weakening the position of the Congress by not admitting its claim to represent the country, and for that reason they make it a point to invite other groups and organisations antagonistic to the Congress whenever they meet its representatives. But the inexperienced Congress leaders do not understand the tactics of strengthening the Congress position by insisting on the Congress being dealt with alone in all discussions relating to the country's political status and future. Unless the Congress be prepared to stand firmly by its claims, it cannot expect to influence effectively the Government and drive home its advantage. An adversary is always interested in encouraging the formation of rival groups in an enemy's camp to put up rival claims against one another. But holding up one group against the other, he belittles the position of each and forces them all to modify their claims, till at last, after cancellation and neutralisation of many points raised by them, a compromised settlement is arrived at, which contains the elements of weakness and disintegration in an embryonic state that are sure in the course of time to all the more strengthen his hold and overlordship on them. That is simple enough and commonly practised tactics, which can be foiled by the leading party on the other side refusing to be drawn into group discussion in the enemy's camp and forcing him to recognise its claim to represent the other groups even when they are actually present. In spite of being in an advantageous position the Congress has miserably failed to play that game.

Commonsense and repeated experience of the past should also have warned the Congress against acquiescing in discussions with the Government when the latter were at the same time confering with other and rival groups also over the same issues. Gandhiji has reminded the Marquess of Zetland that the old bureaucratic language should be forgotten. But he and the Congress have failed to remind the Government that the old method of dealing must also be given up. Gandhiji has claimed for the Congress that it is the only national institution that represents all interests and all communities, and that it has nothing in its policy or programme that can be said to be detrimental to the interest of any group or community. Not that the Government do not realise that, but they cannot be expected to give force to the Congress position by admitting it, unless the Congress were to bring pressure to bear on them to do so. The Congress should have also pointed out that no good purpose could be served by sitting round a table with zealous and rival people pulling one another's legs and arguing in different directions, and that, therefore, it did not propose to waste time and divert energies by being a party to the farce of another round table conference. The idea of round table conference is as imperialistic as the idea of Federation in the form in which it was presented; and it can never solve the Indian question, though it can certainly make it worse.

The fact is, however, that the Congress leaders are lagging so much behind the ideals set up before them that they cannot command the strength and firmess required to maintain the gains already obtained and to utilise those gains for securing recognition of their position from a Government that is conscious of its strength and is disinclined to leave its entrenched position. Wanting in such strength and firmness they naturally, therefore, seek to follow the easier method of bargains, for which they always welcome any conference on any condition. Like an exhausted fly they buzz round a spider's web waiting for only an invitation to go into it.

* * *

The plight of Poland has evoked world-wide sympathy. But that is not because her case is the most heart-rending in the annals of human history. Attack on weaker countries by stronger ones has been common and frequent throughout ages, and each attack has been as lacking in moral justification as it has been the cause of misery and suffering. Even recent history is no more free from stain in this respect than the past. Think of Slovakia. Think of Abyssinia, a country in a different continent which Italy swallowed. Think of China, which has been encroached on territorially and economically by European and American powers, and has now been invaded by Japan. Going further back into history, year after year, the picture of attack, usurpation and exploitation of weaker native people in Africa, India, Australia, America, and practically all over the globe

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by militarily stronger European powers, comes more and more fully in view.

Judging, therefore, from the point of view of that philosophy, which has led strong powers, one after the other, to give touches to that picture, there is nothing strikingly pathetic in Poland's case. Rather it may be pointed out by those, who have been harder hit by the expansionist ardour of strong countries, that her case merits less sympathy than others. If her ancient history be not taken into account for consideration of the present issue, her present independent status is hardly of twenty years' standing, dating back as it was, only to the Treaty of Versailles. Then again her boundaries materially encroached on other peoples' territories. It might also be urged against her that she herself had not been without expansionist ideas at the expense of the weak, and that she had actually made territorial claims against Czechoslovakia, when that country was pressed by Germany last year.

With all that, however, Poland is now the object of sympathy for the world, that judges not on merit but is influenced by propaganda. If this world, that is now sympathising with Poland, had judged on merit, it would have melted into tears for Abyssinia. An innocent non-interfering country, with no expansionist ambition, encroaching on nobody's land, and bordering not on the attacking country's frontiers, was invaded by a country that unabashedly said that Abyssinia was wanted for its colonial expansion. The world kept silent. America did not send appeals to Italy; *Democracies* did not feel their ideals endangered, nor did they feel called upon to ally themselves in resisting the invaders: and the personal and pathetic appeals of the Abyssinian king from door to door of European and American Governments fell on unresponsive ears.

The invasion of Abyssinia seems even to have been forgotten. It is a thing of the past; its annexation is settled fact,—an enquirer is surely to be told to-day by even those world powers, who are appealing to nobler instincts in humanity for upholding the cause of Poland. But are not Poland's defeat and its occupation by Germany and Russia also complete and accomplished facts? Was not also the absence of Poland as an independent State on the political map of the world a historical fact at the time of the Treaty of Versailles? If that treat could upset a historical fact, and if Poland's allies avow that they would ignore and undo the present facts of Poland's defeat, surrender and occupation at the time of the concluding treaty of the present war, can not the facts referred to in the case of Abyssinia be undone and upset?

That is a question well worth answering by those, who say that they are fighting to-day not in self-preservation, but in defence of the principle of non-agression by the strong against the weak. If they want to prove their sincerity to the world they must definitely proclaim that the case of Abyssinia shall also be taken up with that of Poland at the end of the war, and that both countries shall be freed from foreign occupation. If I have proposed a definite proclamation about Abyssinia alone, it is not because I do not appreciate the feelings of a vast number of freedom-loving people in the world for Albania, native Africa, India, China and other occupied and forcibly colonised countries. I have referred to Abyssinia in particular because it is not only such a glaring and fresh example of most high-handed usurpation, but also of indifference to it of those, who are today making protestations of their adherence to higher human ideals.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Wai (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar " ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha (" ").
Nandurbar (" ").
Shirpur (" ").
Shahada (" ").
Sakri (" ").
Sindkheda (" ").
Taloda (" ").
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara (" ").
Kalwan (" ").
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

"MODERN-INDIA."

Illustrated Monthly.

First issue on 22nd October, 1939. Annual subscription Inland Rs. 2/- Foreign sh. 6/- payable in advance. Communications to the Manager, "*Modern-India*, Poona, 2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATIO COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANADLWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, t is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma : —

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,

SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,

PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors:—{K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY OCTOBER 7, 1939. No. 6.

"*I will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Mr. Churchill in the Cabinet.
War Aims.
Kenya Indians and the War.
War and Racialism.
Viceregal Interviews.
Mr. Jinnah's Jehad.
War and the Church.
The Paraphernalia of Nationalism.
War and Non-Violence.
Duke of Windsor.
Principles of Non-Violence.
Westernisation & Nationalism.
Nationalism and Christian Indians.
The Bombay Government and the Press.

NOTES.

Mr. Churchill in the Cabinet:—An incident of personal interest consequent on the War is the admission of Mr. Winston Churchill to the Chamberlain Cabinet. The Prime Minister had for many months resisted intense pressure from influential men of his own party to take Mr. Churchill in his Cabinet. Mr. Churchill has been the ablest critic of the Prime Minister's foreign policy in the House of Commons. He is head and shoulders above any other Minister, has served in important offices of State, with distinction, was closely associated with Mr. Lloyd George as a colleague in the prosecution of the last War, has travelled widely and written brilliantly, and has influential social connections in England and in the United States,—some of which advantages are not possessed by Mr. Chamberlain. The one thing against him is that he has changed his political coat more than once. He left the Tories to join the Liberals and, when the Liberal fortunes showed signs of ebbing, returned to his old allegiance where he was not fully accepted. To those acquainted with Mr. Churchill's record in the last War, the Prime Minister's declaration in one of his statements that he will not be hustled into any operation against the advice of military experts, meant more than a precept of prudence. Mr. Churchill's broadcast last week which was relayed in more than a hundred centres in the States, has been enthusiastically acclaimed in that country. The entry of the United States into the war on the side of the Democracies, which would turn the scales against the Russo-German alliance. The tone of Mr. Churchill's broadcast was in marked contrast to Mr. Chamberlain's speeches on the War, which had always left some backdoor open for a negotiated peace. Mr. Churchill has shut and banged the door on the Fuhrer's face, while throughout showing studied deference to Russia and Italy. Russia, to his mind, has the same purpose as Britain, namely to put an end to Hitlerism, in invading and annexing half of Poland.

War Aims:—Mr. Winston Churchill quoted the Prime Minister's definition of War aims. The terms of it, he said, could not be bettered and could not too often be repeated. It is "to redeem Europe from a perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression and enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and their liberties." Mark the repeated emphasis on Europe and Europaens as the objects whose interests are to be protected and advanced by this war. There has been some controversy regarding the request by the Congress Working Committee to be informed of the precise objects of the War. Here they are in black and white stated by the Prime Minister and echoed by the First Lord of the Admiralty. Mr. Winston Churchill declared a few sentences later: "We have the heart and moral convictions of India on our side." Mr. Churchill was, no doubt, thinking chiefly of the Princes in that declaration. The Princes have offered their support to the King Emperor purely for reasons of personal loyalty and not because they are anxious to save the independence and liberties of the peoples of Europe. Their heart and moral convictions incline more probably to the Nazis than to the democracies. Their chief preoccupation in recent years has been to stem the tide of democratic sentiment which threatens their existence. The removal of the Nazi menace from Europe and the safeguarding of the independence of European peoples, it must be clear to every fair-minded person, are not objects for which any responsible body of Indian leaders can urge their people to make sacrifices. They must have some reason which holds out hopes of a brighter world for their own people.

Kenya Indians and the War:—The Indian in Kenya has always protested strongly against the treatment meted out to him in East Africa and it should be more difficult for him to offer full and unreserved co-operation in the crisis that the Empire faces, than for any other member of the Empire unless it be the South African Indian. We were, therefore, surprised to read in the *Kenya Daily Mail* the report of Mr. J. B. Pandya's speech in the Kenya Legislative Council on behalf of the Indian community. Mr. Pandya said that the differences which Indians had with the Government and the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

European community "are merely domestic and such as are bound to exist in any large family." Neither the Kenya Indian nor the Kenya European has ever accepted this in the past and if Mr. Pandya's views are representative of those of the Indian community today, we should be very much surprised. If the differences are domestic, there seems to be no point in the continuous agitation let loose in this country to intervene on behalf of Indians in Kenya. There is nothing, and no one should know this better than Mr. Pandya himself, to justify the assumption that the troubles of Kenya Indians can be managed by their leaders themselves. Mr. Pandya who has often led deputations or paid private visits to this country to tell us how few rights Indians have in Kenya, showed an exaggerated sense of responsibility. "We have been talking and demanding rights in this country but we are also aware of the fact that rights have their corresponding duties and responsibilities," he remarked. It is just because Indians had little rights in Kenya that they, even the leaders among them, have very vague ideas of what their duties are. Even in the preparations for participating in the War, we do not know whether the Kenya administration is ready to enlist all its peoples equally without distinction. Mr. Pandya's arguments show that the Indian community is willing to render the fullest help to Kenya in the crisis that calls forth its best effort. Where he failed was in not referring in any way at all to the disabilities imposed on it by the administration, which prevent the community from making its full contribution.

War and Racialism :—The attitude that in emergencies differences must be repressed, has grave dangers, particularly with administrations like the Kenya one. It is an encouragement to the Government to rely on emergencies for a solution of their problems. Mr. Pandya had another reason to be circumspect in offering full support. If the end of the War should see Kenya with Uganda and Tanganyika raised to Dominionhood, we are sure the Kenya Indians would send another deputation to India to secure guarantees against the repressive acts of a White Government. There is nothing in Mr. Pandya's speech to show that he has any assurance that the sinking of "internal differences" will not be utilised by Europeans to advance their own narrow sectional interests in Kenya. Indian leaders have often been outmanouvred in Kenya and they need to cultivate a little caution. The differences which Mr. Pandya airily dismisses as domestic, are in fact nothing of the kind. The attitude of the Kenya European to the Indian is but a symptom of the disease which threatens Western civilisation. It exists in South Africa and the other Dominions, in the United States of America, in Britain, in Germany—in fact in all Europe except in Soviet Russia, the one country which lays no claim to "protect" Western civilisation today. The supreme question f non-Europeans is, Will the present War see t disappearance of that attitude or will perpetuate racialism in a more intense form It is a matter for deep disappointment that t present-day leaders of Europe are evading th issue. Mr. Chamberlain in saying that t will not permit Herr Hitler to domina over Europe and that he is fighting for th freedom of small nations in Europe, ha seized a perfect rallying-point for Europea He assures them that racialism shall not aga be permitted as between Europeans. He ha not the vision to rally Asia and Africa to h support by a similar assurance to them. An nobody in Europe feels the need as yet fo insisting on this issue. It is all the mo necessary that non-Europeans should steadi press forward the principle of race equality a every opportunity. Mr. Pandya has done a service to East African non-Europeans by h abandonment of this principle. After the la War, Japan tried to get it accepted but wa defeated by the manouvring of Presiden Wilson who feared the consequences in hi own country of the acceptance of race equalit by the League of Nations.

Viceregal Interviews :—The interviews whic the Viceroy has been having with Congress an Muslim League leaders, have alarmed the leade of other groups. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, and Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar Liberals, Dr. V. D. Savarkar, Hindu Maha sabha, and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Independen Labour, have jointly sent a representation to th Viceroy reminding His Excellency that they to expect to be honoured in a similar manner. Lor Linlithgow, we have no doubt, is following th shrewd advice of Polonius to his son, "Gi everyone thine ear but few thy voice." If th Viceroy has not sent for Liberal, Hindu Maha sabha and Scheduled Caste leaders, it is easily explained by the fact that he is sure of their support under any circumstances, and wants n personal assurances of it from them. Th Congress and the Muslim League have adopte as their creed independence of the British co nection and the representative of that connectio naturally wants to ascertain what precisely the mean. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who was the firs to be called, does not belong to any party but h is an ex-Member of the Government of India an a member of His Majesty's Privy Council and i thus entitled to be first consulted by the Viceroy It is rather a mark of confidence than a sign o neglect that Sir Chimanlal and the other signa tories have not been called to Simla and New Delhi. In view, however, of the claim of the Congress and the Muslim League that they alone can "deliver the goods," and also of the prestige of being consulted by the Viceroy it is to be hoped that His Excellency will give an opportunity to others also t display their wares at the Viceregal Court without, of course, any obligation on his part t purchase any from the exhibitors. Since the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

above was written, news comes that Mr. Savarkar has been invited to meet the Viceroy.

Mr. Jinnah's Jehad :—The expectation that his interview with His Exalted Highness the Nizam would have impressed on Mr. Jinnah the advisability of adopting a conciliatory and statesmanlike tone in dealing with national problems, has not been realised. The President of the Muslim League has made Lord Zetland's speech in the House of Lords on Indian affairs, the excuse for a tirade not only on the Congress but on Hinduism, which, apart from its irrelevancy, is derogatory to the speaker himself as a man of refinement and culture. Mr. Jinnah is at liberty to denounce the Congress for its aims and methods as a political organization. It has certainly laid itself open to the charge of not adhering in office to the principles it professed in opposition. That it is not the first party to do so, is no excuse, because it professes more than any other to be guided by hign moral principles. When Mr. Jinnah accuses the Congress, however, of "reviving throughout India the Hindu renaissance and domination and supremacy of Hinduism over the entire sub-continent," he is gratuitously indulging in language provocative to many who differ as much as, perhaps more than, Mr. Jinnah himself from the Congress. More than that, what he says is not the fact. The Hindu renaissance began a century ago and had very little to do with politics. It was the flowering of the genius of India repressed for centuries, in the warmth and glow of the freedom born of the study of English literature and history. This is even more true of the revival of Hinduism. Mr. Jinnah is paying an undeserved compliment to the Congress in attributing to it the "dominance" of the Hindu renaissance and Hinduism. Besides, "dominance" is utterly alien to the Hindu spirit. A religion and culture to which Spirit is the sole Reality, can not become 'dominant' even if some of its votaries wished to do so. In his last book, on Moses, the late Professor Freud remarks on the coincidence of monotheism with religious intolerance. The Turkish writer, Halide Edib Hanum, has also touched on the point in her account of the Turkish Renaissance. The cosmic outlook of Hindu philosophy and religion marks it out as a system which may permeate but can never dominate any other, as the monuments of Hindu culture in the Far East amply testify.

War and the Church :—A friend writes, "I listened on the radio to a service in a Church in Great Britain on the War. I have myself in days past conducted Divine Service and have preserved some ideas of what it should be. Humility, reverence and charity, I have always felt, are essential qualities in a sermon. These qualities were totally absent in the sermon which was preached in this Baptist Church Instead, the Preacher seemed to bully and browbeat God for having let loose on the world a monster like Hitler, and he passionately called upon his congregation to do everything in their power, to consider no sacrifice too great, to kill this demon which God (apparently in a fit of absent-mindedness) had inflicted on His children. The Service ended with a prayer to the same simple-minded God not to lead us into temptation, to deliver us from evil, and to give us this day our daily rations. The Priest had caught the war fever. 'When the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted'."

The Paraphernalia of Nationalism :—We publish this week two articles, one by Mrs. Saudamini Mehta of Calcutta and the other by Mr. Cyril Modak of Lucknow, on practically the same theme, Nationalism and Westernism. Mrs. Mehta addresses all her countrymen; Mr. Modak reproaches the Indian Christian community alone. Both of them agree that matters are better today than they were "twenty years ago;" both congratulate the women for preserving their national dress when the men had forsaken theirs; and both look to Non-violence and Truth to save the country out of a present Westernist craze. Mrs. Mehta quotes the Upanishads and Gandhiji; Mr. Modak quotes Christ and Gandhiji. Mr. Modak will be glad to note that what he reports of a section of India which has been politically the least susceptible to Gandhian influence, is confirmed by Mrs. Mehta's account of middle class life. None of the two are quite fair to the objects of their censure when they pick upon the externals of dress, speech and food. Both Mr. Modak and Mrs. Mehta tell us, for example, that women have been more sensible than men in so far as they retained their national dress. They forget the conservatism of Indian men so far as their women are concerned. Then, again, the European has always been lavish in his praise of the sari; often contemptuous of the dhoti. This is seen in many mixed marriages in which the European woman takes to the sari while the Indian husband gives up the dhoti and adopts trousers. It was once cattily suggested that the chief reason for a marriage between an Englishwoman and an Indian was that the lady who liked the sari but was very much influenced by the opinion of her friends, wanted a justification for dressing in the Indian way. On the other hand, several European travellers and quite a number of residents in this country have expressed grave doubts of the capacity for self-government of a people whose national dress was the dhoti. It is possible to argue from this that even the retention of the women's national dress is a sign of "slave mentality"— both in relation to Indian male convervatism and to European opinion. It is one of the misfortunes of present-day politics that so much importance is attached to the style and material of one's clothes. Mrs. Mehta remarks and Mr. Modak suggests that the Good and the Pleasant are incompatible. There is no reason, however, why this should be so. A large amount of our troubles arises because we insist, in our thought and in the education we impart, on making the distinction.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, October 7, 1939.

WAR AND NON-VIOLENCE.

Pacifists who condemn war are not necessarily and actually believers in absolute non-violence. But it is difficult to see how one who believes in absolute non-violence, can be a supporter of war whatever may be its aim. Gandhiji's attitude to the present war between Germany and Great Britain and France, has shocked and surprised many in this country. It will no doubt be equally surprising to his friends abroad who as their contributions to Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's compilation presented to Gandhiji on Monday, his 71st birthday, show, have almost without exception understood him to be an opponent of violence in any shape or form and an uncompromising believer in soul force. Not only so, but on this specific issue between the Nazis and the Democracies he had expressed himself in quite a different way. John Hoyland's contribution to the birthday book is a thorough-going plea for renouncing violence absolutely and without qualification. Hoyland quotes Gandhiji as telling him in the course of an interview :

> Ultimately, he (Gandhiji) declared, force, however justifiably used, will lead us into the same morass as the force of Hitler and Mussolini. There will be just a difference of degree. Those who believe in non-violence must use it at the critical moment. We must not despair of touching the heart even of the gangster, even though for the moment we may seem to be striking our heads against a blind wall.

Hoyland quotes again :

> Non-violent resistance is the best method under all circumstances. I do not think that Hitler and Mussolini are after all so very indifferent to the appeal of world-opinion. But today these dictators feel satisfaction in defying world-opinion because none of the so-called Great Powers come to them with clean hands, and they have a rankling sense of injustice done to their people by the Great Powers in the past. Only the other day an esteemed English friend owned to me that Nazi Germany was England's sin, and that it was the Treaty of Versailles that made Hitler.

The seemingly glaring discrepancy between Gandhiji's recent statements and those quoted by Hoyland, is to be explained by the fact that we, Indians, are almost unconsciously led to talk in absolute terms when we speak to Christian missionaries. In actual behaviour, in the presence of our problems, we are apt to be more accommodating than Western intellectuals who have arrived by logical processes to a conviction of the futility of violence. Bertrand Russell is an outstanding instance. He is a scientist and a philosopher. He has no tolerance for mysticism of any kind. He has studied the potentialities of modern weapons and their effects on modern war. His conclusion is that there is no way of avoiding the disasters of modern war except a resolute, persistent, unflinching propaganda against all war, in the full knowledge that results can come but very slowly. He concludes his closely reasoned little book, "Which Way to Peace?" with the following declaration printed in bold type :

> If I am right in this — and the reasons which I have set forth, on the basis of official and ex- pronouncements, are overwhelmimg—the duty of ev- friend of mankind, of everyman who cares for a aspect of civilised life, of every patriot, and of ev- parent who desires the survival of his children, simple and clear. (The following is in bold type): abstain from fighting, and from all voluntary par- cipation in war between civilised states, to use ev- effort to persuade others to do likewise; to bring possible influence to bear to prevent the participa- of his country in war; and, within the limits of capacity, to aim at similar results in other countr- also.

A declaration by the Congress or even singly Gandhiji if he could not have persuaded Congress, that as a believer in non-violence as religious creed, he can not agree to the partic- pation of his country in any war, would hav immensely strengthened the cause of pacifis- all the world over. The rights of conscientio- objectors are recognised in Great Britain. Lo- Samuel's opinion expressed in a recent spee- that conscientious objectors should not b- exempted, evoked sharp criticism in the Britis- Press. It is true that India as a whole is n- and never was committed to absolute no- violence in the Gandhian sense. The Bhagava- Gita is a philosophical plea for war in a defen- of dharma which might be interpreted to mea- Democracy by those who practice Democrac- The participation of India in this or any othe- war, therefore, can not be objected to on ground- of religious principle. It is quite within th- rights of an Indian political leader to accor- support to the war if democratic principles ar- extended to the Government of his country This is exactly what Gandhiji means. Hi- dharma as the virtual leader of the Congress i- not the same as his dharma as a moralist. Th- paradox is inherent in our dual nature as being- endowed with physical bodies and non-materia- souls. The Gita advocates war for dharma and- also proclaims ahimsa as the supreme dharma- Strict rules were laid down for limiting the violence of war to soldiers of the warrior tribes- bearing arms and in the ranks of battle. The- position of the Gita clearly was that killing- enemy troops in open war was no violation o- the dharma of ahimsa. That is probably- Gandhiji's position which has been carried t- impracticable extremes by his western pacifis- admirers.

Duke of Windsor :—The return of the Duke- of Windsor to England after three years since- his abdication, is one of the incidents of the War- situation which has an intensely human interest. The Duke soon after arrival in England as the- guest of a personal friend, called on his brother, the King. It is announced that the Duke who- is a Field-Marshal has temporarily relinquished- the dignity and as a Major-General will join the- Army in relatively a subordinate capacity. His- photograph widely published, on the doorsteps of- the War Office where he had gone in his new- capacity, shows that the Duke has entered- on his new role unhampered by any thought- of the supreme Headship of the State which- he had voluntarily relinquished.

*Mahatma Gandhi. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, 7s. 6d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PRINCIPLES OF NON-VIOLENCE.

(By Prof. P. A. Wadia, Bombay).

We celebrate today (October 2) the jayanti of one whom we in India regard as the exponent of the longings and aspirations of the people who dwelt in the valley of the Ganges in ages past, longings and aspirations which an ease-loving generation like ours might be in danger of forgetting under the glamour of a commercialised civilisation leaning on the support of bombs and machine guns. We are today in the midst of a war in which we are participants, as an appendage of the British Empire. When in 1914 the nations were called upon to sacrifice their millions, in the name of liberty, democracy and self-determination, who could have dreamt that at the end of the sacrificial blood offerings, we were sowing fresh seeds of blood, and would have to prepare for another and a more terrible haulocaust of precious human lives? We are now faced with this war. What shall be our attitude? In answering this question shall we not turn to the life and teachings of one whom we look upon not merely as a leader, but as the very embodiment of all that is best and highest in India's culture and civilisation? What is the essence of Gandhiji's life and teachings? Is it not to be found in his doctrine of truth and non-violence?

Let us dwell for a moment upon the implications of "non-violence." There are two possible interpretations of non-violence—and both seem to be present in Gandhiji's writings and pronouncements. He frequently speaks of his method as the method of "soul force." Referring to the *non-violent* movement in South Africa he said: "Passive resistance is a misnomer..." The idea is more completely expressed by the term "soul force." Active resistance is better expressed by the term "body force." That this "soul force" of which he speaks is not ahimsa or Love, may appear paradoxical—and yet it must irresistibly force itself upon those who desire to penetrate to the truth behind the misconceptions created by human prejudices and by the will to believe. Non-violence involves very often a type of coercion more effective than violence—and Gandhiji uses it as a weapon for the redress of social injustice. "In my humble opinion," he declares, "the ordinary methods of agitation by way of petitions, deputations and the like is no longer a remedy for moving to repentance a government so hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of its charge as the Government of India has proved to be,"—an observation which would be equally applicable to any government past or present which exploits the power that it possesses for the promotion of its possessor's interests. And yet the confusion between non-violent resistance and love or ahimsa is not difficult to understand when one remembers that Gandhiji was endeavouring to harmonise the insight of a great religious teacher with the necessities of political leadership. The practical advantage of non-violence as a political weapon lies in the fact that it affords protection against resentment which violence is apt to create in both the parties to a conflict.

But this note of expediency which marks the use of non-violence as an instrument of strategy for an oppressed group must be distinguished from that religious idealism that underlies the doctrine of ahimsa which can make no claim to social efficacy—for if love is an absolute value, it can desire no return for itself—and it is most potent where it is purest. Gandhiji has dreamt—and who will not dream with him?—that the only hope for the redemption of of society lies in the universalism of love. It is the hope which once animated the early Christian community, a hope that has been born again and again, and refuses to accept the spirit of defeatism which guaranteed equality in the eyes of God and yet accepted whithout questioning slavery, injustice and war as parts of a world order which God had devised on earth for the weakness of human beings and perhaps as a check on sinners.

Let us forget for the moment the disillusionments that humanity encountered at the end of the last war—and ask ourselves the question what are we going to do to-day, when we are in the midst of another war which threatens from day to day to grow into a world war? When the Indian National Congress asks for a declaration of British policy with reference to India, they might as well have raised a larger question. Can the individualistic societies and nation states of our times, absorbed as they are in a group selfishness, renounce their policy of acquisitiveness and the diplomacy of power and profits? For so alone can the dissolution of the world in which we are living to-day be prevented. Will the allied countries, with which our own destinies are linked, work at the end of the war not for a peace dictated by considerations of war guilt and revenge, forced on unwilling statesmen by the passions of an electorate used to the sight of blood and fed on censored news and war propaganda, but for a better world order that demands sacrifice on the part of the victorious countries? At this crucial moment shall there not be searchings of the heart on the part of those who are capable of thinking? If there is an imperialism that flourishes on the economic utilisation of the resources of dependencies, there is another and more subtle type of imperialism that looks upon self-governing colonies as preserves to which access is to be denied in practice if not in naked theory, to those outside the preserves. You cannot have co-operation inside your nation or empire and competition outside. And so at the end of the war history might repeat itself: in the hour of victory in the ardent desire to "protect" peace they may overlook the promotion of justice and the reparation of wrongs—and the blood sacrifice of millions may have been offered in vain.

We have been told that political movements are determined by forces of nature rather than by pure idealism; that the desire to substitute absolute justice and forgiveness for vengeance can result only in an ascetic withdrawal from the world and in the disavowal of political responsibility and yet there can be nothing more tragic for the world than such a spirit of defeatism. Gandhiji's teachings and life are an ever renewed plea for the sacramental character of all life —whether individual or group life. If the values of civilised life are to be saved, we must refuse to believe in the inevitable selfishness of group life. Forgiveness may not always induce repentance in the wrongdoer; but yet it may. Loving your enemy may not always soften the enemy's heart: but are there not possibilities that such a result may be achieved? Love and unselfishness may not always shame an opponent into a relation of reciprocity: but they do have that effect at times. And if the nations of the world are to be saved from the chaos and destruction that now threaten, we need to have new illusions, a new madness of the soul, a new all absorbing enthusiasm which can enable us to break through the brutal aspects of man's collective behaviour, so that justice may be realised on an international scale by the pouring out of a love that seeks no return.

———

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

WESTERNISATION AND NATIONALISM.

(By Saudamini Mehta, Calcutta.)

Western civilisation has been dominating the world for the last two hundred years. Western ideas, Western manners and Western modes of living are spreading throughout the world. And no wonder. With the help of scientific inventions, the Western countries have become powerful and have conquered many countries of the Eastern hemisphere. Whosoever is in power is admired and also imitated. In India the British have been in power for nearly two centuries and so naturally the conquered nation had admiration for its conquerors. It is not surprising that the Indian intelligentsia in the nineteenth century should have succumbed to British ideology. What is surprising is that some people should continue to suffer that delusion even in the twentieth century.

Now let us see in how many things and ways we imitate our rulers. In education, in manners and modes of living, in dress and costumes, in artistic tastes, in industrialism and even in our outlook of life we imitate the west. The aim of modern education in India, according to most people, is to acquire proficiency in the English language. A school where English is taught well, even at the cost of all other subjects, gets the reputation of being a first-class school. We have a false notion that these Anglo-Indian schools have a very good sense of discipline and that our children should learn it. Bertrand Russell says in his book "On Education": "The fundamental idea is simple; that the right discipline consists, not in external compulsion, but in habits of mind which lead spontaneously to desirable rather than undesirable activities." What these English schools teach is only external compulsion which has been found to be extremely harmful as is evident from the example of Germany. No country excels Germany in external discipline. It leads to militarism of the worst kind. We do not want that in India. Then why should we desire that our children should imitate the Western nations in outer discipline?

Another weakness among our people living in big cities is to learn to speak English well. If our children learn to speak correct English at an early age, then we are flattered and we feel that they are well-educated. The craze for imitating the English people makes us forget that there are far better aims of education than learning to speak English with a perfect accent.

Unfortunately we cannot even imitate well the methods of education prevailing in Western countries. Though their methods are far from perfect, they are much better than those in India. We should realise that every country should have its own peculiar and suitable method of education and that no country can progress by blind imitation of other countries.

In the mad passion for copying the West we have lost all sense of imagination. It has become a fashion to arrange one's house with hideous furniture on Western models. We forget that these heavy chairs with big cushions are peculiarly suitable for cold climates. But we do not pause for a moment to think of the utility of things that we use; we at once jump to the conclusion that this kind of furniture must be good because the English people use it. More Anglicized people eat on the table and look down upon those who are not civilised enough to introduce this Western mode of eating. Those who are supposed to be more advanced do not stop here. They imitate the Western people in the habit of smoking and drinking. To them, those who do not smoke and drink, are not sufficiently smart to move about in fashionable society. But we know at what cost our young men have adopted these Western habits! How many examples we have before us promising and capable young men who have ru their lives by falling into these vicious We habits! Luckily, by Mahatma Gandhi's influ the Congress governments are having Prohibi in their Provinces and the drinking habit become very soon a vice of the past in parts of the country.

The habit of imitation has deprived us originality. Even in the matter of dress, we g up our own national dress which peculiarly s the climate of our country and adopted the West costumes which are meant for cold countries which are also extremely expensive. As a re of our slave mentality, twenty years ago, an Ind dressed in European costume was respected m than a man dressed in Indian dress. Fortuna we are beginning to realise that thick coats and collars and socks look ridiculous in hot countri Even English people are giving up these unnecessa clothings in this country. Our Indian clothes wh are easily washable are admirably suited for country. Our women, being wiser than men, not give up their saree—which is one of the beautiful and artistic dresses in the world—in pref ence to European dress. But even women could resist the temptation of imitating their West sisters in some ways. Lately face-creams and to powders, rouge and lipsticks have entered ma Indian homes. And high-heeled shoes have beco common among bourgeois ladies. None has benefi by these things and they have only increased t expense of living.

Indians who were once renowned for sculptur painting and all kinds of fine arts have practical no artistic sense left in them now. Our artisans h such fine sense of colour and designs in old da and they used to make beautiful "chundadis" Rajputana and lovely "Patolas" in Patan. B foolishly we gave them up in order to imitate t Western taste. Instead of buying beautiful han woven Indian cloth, we began to buy dull, inartist cloth that came from Manchester. Later, we ga up all good swadeshi things to replace them cheap and hideous Japanese goods. Little did realise in imitating the foreign aesthetic tastes th we were killing our own indigenous industries. A we gave up buying pretty hand-made things of ou own country, our artisans became poor and ultimately gave up their profession altogether. Thus, Indi which was one of the richest countries two hundre years ago, became the poorest country of the world.

When the rich men of our country saw th capitalists in Western countries were maki enormous profits from factories and workshops, th began to introduce industrialism in this country. do not want to enter into a controversy as to whet industrialism has benefited this country or not. B one thing is certain that our capitalists imitate on Western capitalists in making huge profits but th do not imitate them in looking after the welfare an comforts of the workers. John Gunther writes in hi "Inside Asia": "To India belongs the doubtfu honour of having the worst slums in the world. The bustees (hovels) of the jute workers near Calcutta are worse than anything in Poland, worse than Naples o Glasgow or even Shanghai. Workmen getting three or four rupees a week live in cells with no light, n water, no sanitation, the entrance of the hovels is a tunnel streaming with sewage. Nine to ten people may live in rooms eight feet by six. Disease squalor, degradation of the human being to the level of animals are rampant as men live in stinking filth."

Thus we see that we imitated the Western people in things that suit us. But may we not now stop and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

think for a moment whether it is desirable to go on imitating the West any farther? So far we have not gained much in our imitation of the West. I do not mean to say that we have learnt nothing good from western civilisation. But unfortunately we have mostly imitated the undesirable things from the lives of the Western people and did not care for the desirable aspects. Even after being in contact for 175 years with British people, we have not learnt punctuality, regular habits of life, the necessity of taking physical exercise, sense of duty and responsibility. Neither have we imitated them well in patriotism and in the habit of working co-operatively, in the service of the community for the common good.

Before going further in our pursuit of Western ideals we must find out on what Western civilisation is based and where it is leading to. European civilisation seems to be based on violence and greed. Westerners thought that they had created a magnificent civilisation and yet today we see it crumbling down before our own eyes. Their innumerable vast factories, their wonderful scientific inventions, their capitalism, their imperialism and even their communism have not been able to establish peace in Europe. And what is Europe today? It has become a huge slaughter-house. Is it then desirable to follow in the foot-steps of the European peoples? Is there nothing on which we can rely to save our country from disastrous violence? We have our principles of Non-Violence and Truth to rely upon in this hour of peril. We had a glorious civilisation in the past and we can get plenty of inspiration from it if we wish to. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has a beautiful passage in his "Autobiography" about India—old and new. The passage is long but I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few lines from it. He says, "And yet India with all her poverty and degradation had enough of nobility and greatness about her." And further, "Despite the woeful accumulations of superstition and degrading custom that had clung to her and borne her down, she had never wholly forgotten the inspiration that some of the wisest of her children, at the dawn of history, had given her in the Upanishads. Their keen minds ever restless and ever striving and exploring, had not set refuge in blind dogma or grown complacent in the routine observance of dead forms of ritual and creed. They had demanded not a personal relief from suffering in the present or a place in a paradise to come, but light and understanding: 'Lead me from the unreal to the real, lead me from darkness to light, lead me from death to immortality' (Brihadaranyak Upanished). In the most famous of the prayers recited daily even today by millions, the gayatri mantra, the call is for knowledge, for enlightenment." This passage reminds us that we can have no better guidance than that of the Upanishads to revive our ancient civilisation. We need no more imitate the West blindly. We may take the good points from the Western civilisation and blend them well with the good points of our own ancient civilisation and thus create a new ideal for young India to follow.

There is one fundamental difference between the philosophy of the East and the present practice of the West. In Kathopanishad we have a beautiful shloka which says.

"One thing is the Good, and quite another is the Pleasant. These two to different ends bind a man.

Of these two, for him who taketh hold of the Good, it is well: He fails of his aim who chooseth the Pleasant."

The modern ideal of the West is to choose the Pleasant and leave off the Good. Thus they miss the aim of life and ultimately create a chaos out of which it is difficult to come out. The modern outlook of life in India is based on this principle of choosing the Pleasant instead of the Good. But we should take care to remove this ideal before we go too far. A man or a nation which chooses to take up the Pleasant path instead of the Good path may prosper for a time but its prosperity can never be ever-lasting. The history of the world has ample examples as to prove this theory. Mighty Empires rose and fell because of this principle.

Let us hope that the younger generation of India will create a new civilisation based on the ancient ideals of Upanishads and in harmony with the present conditions. Then we shall no more need to imitate the West.

NATIONALISM AND CHRISTIAN INDIANS.

(By Cyril Modak, Lucknow.)

Nationality is a constant feeling of belonging to a particular nation. It is nourished by common historic traditions, deepened by achievements and suffering mutually shared, kept alive by the stimulus of a common national goal. Prof. Harold Laski says, "It is obvious that there is something exclusive about nationality, that the members of any given nation have a sense of separateness from other people which gives them a feeling of difference, of uniqueness, which makes domination by others so unpleasant as to involve profound discomfort to a point which may involve, even justly involve, resistance to that domination." (*Liberty in the Modern State.* P. 194.) While nationality is a constant feeling which becomes the foundation of effective citizenship, nationalism is an expression of outraged nationality or bellicose nationality. Outraged nationality finds expression in what we may call freedom-seeking nationalism, while bellicose nationality manifests itself in empire-hunting nationalism.

The West is familiar with empire-hunting nationalism inevitably leading to War and all its horrors and destruction. Westerners coming to India, especially as missionaries, confused the empire-hunting brand of European nationalism with the freedom-seeking type of Indian nationalism; and the confusion led them in all earnestness to teach their converts that nationalism was out of focus with Christianity. We will not let ourselves be detained here by a consideration of this and other ways in which many foreign missionaries have proved to be pawns in the iron hand of imperialism. But this choice morsel from the pen of a missionary must be quoted, "There are far more missionaries who attend parties in Government House and other such functions than there are those who have close contacts with nationally minded Indians, especially if they are Congressmen." (Leonard M. Schiff. "The Present Condition of India." p. 158.)

Christianity as it was presented to us, upto twenty years ago, helped to deplete our nationality and make us hanker after the most stupid relations and kinship with the 'Whites' generally, and the rulers in particular. Freedom-seeking nationalism inspires countless men and women to struggle against entrenched wrongs, to defy power that has all the ruthless weapons of war and to demand liberty in the face of full-panoplied imperialism. This nationalism is the expression of full-blooded nationality when that nationality is violated. Quite clearly, then, a parlour nationalism is evidence of depleted nationality.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And that is the grave problem we face in the Christian community. Perhaps about 8% or 10% of our Christian Indian brethren have a national consciousness. In the rest there is a strange and sorry absence of the feeling of nationality, that thrilling sense that they are unique and that they are unique because they belong to the Indian nation; that the great heritage of the past belongs to them; that the future will be what they strive side by side with their countrymen and countrywomen to make it. They lack the spirit of nationalism because they have no feeling of nationality. There are scores of evidences of this sad fact of the abdication of nationality among the majority of Christian Indians. They prefer to identify themselves with the foreigners in matters of dress, although the feminine part of the Christian community has bravely withstood this folly. They try to imitate the foreigner in mode of living, in language, in cultural tastes, and in political sympathies. The Indian point of view does not appeal to them. They want to escape being identified with Indians. Often outlandish names cap these embodiments of denationalization. And when 'nationalism' is in vogue, some of the ambitious ones flaunt their parlour nationalism and expect, without paying even one-tenth of the price, to get the confidence of Indian nationalists. India has no use today for carpet knights. India needs those who are tried fighters. India calls those whose hearts leap at the sound of her agonized voice, and who reply,

Hail to Thee, Mother! thy proud sons greet thee,
Fair as the moon and as clear as the sun,
Terrible fair as a bannered army;
Patient and strong till the day be won;
Calling they sons to the high endeavour
Sealing them true to the task begun.

But how many of such Christian Nationalists are there in the whole peninsula.

The paucity of Christian nationalists in India is a phenomenon which can claim no parallel in any other country of the east or the west. Not that we want bellicose nationalists such as those of the west. But it is ironical that the religion of Jesus, the Prince of freedom-seeking nationalists, should have been the cause of our losing our sense of nationality and the capacity for nationalism. In fact, upto a few years ago, our religious teachers from the west frowned on any sort of participation by Christian Indians in political life, although their own brothers and sisters in the "homeland" took part in politics and yet presumably remained good Christian. The assertion that Christianity is against non-violent revolution, that Christianity is meant to teach the slave to be a better slave, and subject people to be better subject-people, and the rich to be better plutocrats bears the royal seal of the Devil himself. It can find no sanction in the original Gospel of Christ. It will be acceptable only to imperialists and capitalists. The contention, nay, the conviction put forth here is that Christianity, if it is true to the inspiration of its Founder's life, and to his teachings, must touch men and women with the fire of the noblest nationalism.

His plan for the Jews seems to have been that under his leadership, they should put aside all thoughts of vengeance, renounce the method of violence and by wholly non-violent resistance convert enemies into friends, and by his new strategy of religiopolitical action establish the great brotherhood, the "Kingdom of God," the divine Commonwealth in which love, liberty, and justice would prevail. It was a plan not of violent revolt but of revolutionary reconciliation. Would it be too much to say that this may also be his plan for India; and that through Mahatma Gandhi India has at length discovered it? Does it not impose a heavier nationalistic burden on Christian Indians?

As followers of Christ we are commanded to seek to establish the divine commonwealth on earth which implies that we must struggle for the political, economic, and moral rights of the disinherited, so that they might have a concrete evidence of the Fatherhood of God, believe in His love, and learn to serve Him, and with joy do His will. We must achieve right relations with God, mentally, spiritually, morally, and physically by using our physical, moral, mental and spiritual resources to establish justice on earth, so that our fellowmen are able to live the full and abundant life. And the vital, unquenchable inspiration must come from our contact with God. We cannot love God as positively and completely as Jesus commanded without realizing His universal Fatherhood. If God is the Father of *all* races He cannot be partial to *one* race but, rather with the loving heart of a Father wills that all His children, regardless of accidents of complexion, language, climate, geographical position, manners and customs, should enjoy the fruits of liberty, justice, and brotherhood, working together, facing dangers together, and together achieving for the good of all. If this is God's will, what is our duty?

We dare not exempt ourselves from fighting for the God-given rights of our countrymen and our fellowmen, to remove the causes of their poverty, malnutrition, and inequalities of opportunity, on the grounds that we love God and worship and serve him by going about "preaching" the Gospel. We must remind ourselves that the Founder of Christianity proclaimed the Gospel of Reconstruction—"The Lord's year of jubilee," which was according to the old Jewish Law the Sabbatical year, observed once in forty-nine, for redistribution of land, release of slaves, cancellation of debts and the beginning of a reconstructed life for the nation. And we must bear in mind how he proclaimed it, in what setting, with what accompaniments. It was done in the midst of untiring national service, healing, feeding, liberating. Jesus would have had to be a different sort of person to divorce action from theory, and to preach in a idealistic vacuum. We dare not exempt ourselves from action on behalf of the children of God. If we do so, we cease to love God, and love merely an idol of Him that we have made for our convenience and set up in our hearts. We either love and serve God as the universal Father and act accordingly, or our actions betray that we love our own image of God, made to suit our prejudices and interests. And when we do this we certainly do not "worship Him in Spirit and in truth", but carnally and falsely.

Fr. J. C. Winslow rightly observes, "There is still too much tendency to regard religion as an affair of the individual soul, and to ignore the larger obligations which it imposes. I think it is true that Indian Christians still need to develop a keen social consciousness. What is required is something parallel to the movement of 'Christian Socialism' associated with the names of Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley and Henry Scott Holland in England in the last century, a movement which will see the redemption of society to be no less the end of religion than the redemption of the individual" (Dawn of Indian Freedom—p.202). When Christian Indians determine to live by Christ's Gospel of Reconstruction they will develop a keen social and national consciousness. And when this happens on a large scale, then indeed, we shall find the banner of Christian nationalism in the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

vanguard of our nation's sacred fight for justice and for liberty.

Indian Christianity will lack both perception and genuineness if it fails to recognize its great opportunity for co-operation in the national campaign. If, as we believe, original Christianity has a contribution to make to India, it must endeavour to begin making it in India's days of struggle and sorrow. Nothing but petty criticisms can be offered from outside. We need no gilt-edged invitations. We are Indians. Are we proud of our motherland with all her faults, not ignorant of the shortcomings of our countrymen or of the social practices of the land, but resolved to give our lives to change frailty into strength, captivity into freedom, evils into forms of good? Christian nationalists must be forthcoming, not one by one, but in appreciable numbers, who will enter the struggle, take their places side by side with their non-Christian comrades, and instil the Christ-conscience into Indian politics, into Indian public life, into the ranks of those who espouse the national cause, and prove that they are, like the best of their non-Christian comrades, above the enticements of reward, office, or power. If we have the unflinching initiative, the sturdy tenacity of purpose and the integrity of the Christ-Life, let us offer this contribution to India's national regeneration.

THE BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS.

By thirty votes against three, the journalists of Bombay, at a specially requisitioned general meeting on Saturday September 30, reversed the decision of their Executive and condemned the recent Order of the Bombay Government on five newspapers of the city, banning them from publishing any news of the riot of August 1, or expressing any views on the Urban Immovable Property Tax.

The meeting was convened at the premises of the Journalists' Association of India, Queen's Mansion, Prescott Street, Bombay, at the requisition of 21 members and as, under the constitution of the Association, a month's notice to the members had to be given, the holding of the meeting was delayed. Mr. K. Natarajan presided.

Mr. E. G. Nair, moving the resolution, said that it was a protest against the high-handed order imposed on a section of the Bombay Press, restraining its liberty and violating the freedom of the Press which was its sacred right. Freedom of the Press was a right recognised in every democratic country of the world and any attempt to gag it amounted to a violation of the principles of Democracy. It was, therefore, imperative that a strong protest should be launched.

Mr. C. K. Narayanswami, seconding the resolution, declared that, though he was a Congressman himself, he was painfully compelled to condemn an order of a Congress Government, as he deemed that it was not only an infringement but a direct encroachment on the rights of the Press.

He pointed out that Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure was meant to be used against criminals, and as such should not be applied to the members of an honourable profession.

He was of the emphatic opinion that the course adopted by the Bombay Government, even in special circumstances, was absolutely uncalled for and unjustifiable.

Messrs. Mahashabde and Ghate vehemently opposed the resolution and argued that the order was quite justified and necessary in the exceptional circumstances which prevailed then. And especially as the order was a fiat of the popular Government it had to be tolerated. Mr. M. B. Rao said that it was too late to protest against the order.

Messrs. Subba Rao, Batuk Desai, Acharya, Kabadi. Karai and M. Dadachanji also supported the resolution.

Mr. B. G. Horniman speaking in support of the resolution observed: "The resolution seems like flogging a dead horse. It has been decided by the Chief Justice of Bombay in very scathing language that the Government's order tampered with the freedom of the Press. In my mind the order has left a stain on Bombay journalism and journalists. I, therefore, think that it is very necessary to support the resolution unanimously. Censorship of news in war time may be excusable. I would rather walk out of my office, and be a footpath-sleeper than have my writings submitted to the censorship of the Public Relations Officer or for that matter even a Minister of the Government.

"When after my deportation from India censorship was imposed on the "Bombay Chronicle" edited by Mr. Brelvi, the only self-respecting response was that the leading columns of the paper were left blank until the Government returned to its senses. I feel that the resolution should have been couched in stronger terms of condemnation. I think that Mr. Munshi went far out of the way of his powers to impose restrictions on the freedom of the Press.',

Concluding, Mr. Horniman paid a tribute to the Chief Justice for upholding the liberty of the Press.

Mr. S. A. Brelvi said that, though the constitution of the Association prevented the meeting being held earlier, the time factor had no bearing on the issue before them which was the preservation of the liberty of the Press. As journalists, it was their duty to assert that liberty and oppose all encroachment on it. That the order was passed by a Congress Ministry made it doubly the duty of those of them who, like him, were Congressmen throughout their public life and wished well to the Congress, to act towards it as true friends. It was the duty of a true friend to point out the mistake of his friend and thus truly befriend him though the performance of such a duty might be very painful. If they were to be true to the principle of the liberty of the Press for which Congress itself had fought ever since its inception, they must, in the interest of the Congress itself which they loved, perform that painful duty.

The resolution was then voted upon and carried by thirty votes to three.

The following is the text of the resolution:—

"Resolved that in the opinion of the Journalists' Association of India the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate issued on the 1st August under Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure directing five specified newspapers to abstain from publishing any news, articles or comments relating to the riot that took place that day or any other riot which might have occurred or may occur in the course of the next two months and to any agitation or protests against the Urban Immoveable Property Tax is highly objectionable.

"On the ground of principle as an infringement of the legitimate right and duty of the Press to report and comment on current events and on questions of public interest and importance, the due exercise of which right and due discharge of which duty is essential to the growth and maintenance of civil freedom and ordered government based on law and not on the individual sentiments of any person in authority."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It will be remembered that this resolution was placed before the Executive Committee of the Association when the order was issued but it was rejected by a majority of votes and Mr. S. A Brelvi, Chairman of the Executive Committee, one of the Secretaries and three members of the Committee as well as Mr. K. Natarajan, President and Mr. B. G. Horniman, Vice-President of the Association had resigned in protest.

The meeting of the Association held on Saturday also passed a resolution moved by Mr. R. K. Prabhu and seconded by Mr. M. B. Rao appointing a deputation to meet Mahatma Gandhi, the President and members of the Congress Parliamentary Committee, the Premier and Home Member of Bombay asking them to urge the Central Government to repeal the Press Emergency Powers Act and suggesting in the meanwhile to Congress Ministries not to resort to it and that whenever it was considered necessary to take any action against the press it must take the form of prosecution in a court under the ordinary law and not of an executive fiat.

Mr. Natarajan left the chair to oppose this resolution. He said that Gandhiji and the Parliamentary Board were party organs without a recognised constitutional standing and that the Association which was claiming a constitutional right should not go behind the responsible Ministers. He expressed his pleasure at the meeting passing by an overwhelming majority the resolution of protest which been thrown out by the Managing Committee and thus vindicating the rights of the Press. He added that, nevertheless, he was not withdrawing his resignation of the Presidentship which he had submitted. As the hour was late he left the meeting.

LIFE INSURANCE TRUST PLAN

THE outright payment of the Insurance money to the widow or children in one lump sum is a great mistake. To apply a real test you would only ask yourself how your wife would invest such a sum now without any help whatever from you. The woman who has been "All the Wife and Mother" is ill-equipped to invest and safeguard funds designed to her family's protection for many years.

Therefore take advantage of

OUR INVESTMENT TRUST PLAN

For further particulars apply to :—

THE SECRETARY

CENTRAL BANK EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE CO., LTD.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Wai (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar " ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ah...
Dhulia (District W... Khandesh).
Dondaicha (" ")
Nandurbar (" ")
Shirpur (" ")
Shahada (" ")
Sakri (" ")
Sindkheda (" ")
Taloda (" ")
Malegaon (District Na...
Satara (" ")
Kalwan (" ")
Dohad (District Pan... Mah...
Kalol

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

The Manager,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House,

Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE

SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports,
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

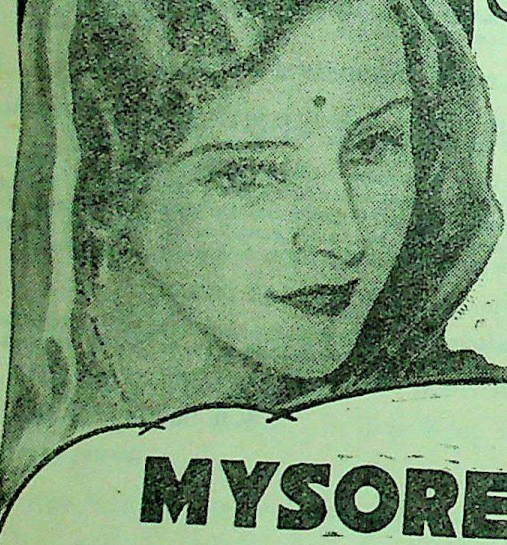
Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports,
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

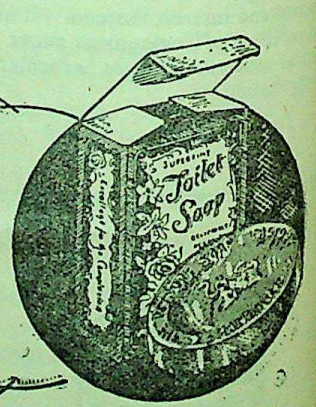


For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....It is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 30, 1939. No. 5.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Sigmund Freud.
Warsaw Surrenders.
This Independence.
"Delivering the Goods."
A Word to the Viceroy.
An Assistant Viceroy?
Congress and Co-operation.
Italy and the War.
The C. P. Ministry and Mr. Modak.
Reflections on the War.
A Politico-Literary Parable.
Mahatma Gandhi Qualifies his Non-violence.
Here and Now.
Culture or Civilisation?
Extension of Prohibition.
The "Dayanodaya's" Last Word.
Liquor Permit Committee.
The Jews.

NOTES.

Sigmund Freud :—Dr. Sigmund Freud, the famous discoverer of the treatment of nervous disorders by the method known as psycho-analysis, died in London on Saturday at the age of 83. The idea underlying his method is that these disorders are the effect of some repression of a desire cherished at some time past, seeking expression in an abnormal manner. His theory has undergone much modification at the hands of contemporary psychologists. The popular idea of it is that repression is harmful and, as a corollary, freedom of self-expression should have a large place in the bringing up and education of children. This is perfectly sound but it is sometimes pushed to absurd lengths as, for instance, when the Archbishop of Bombay cited it against Prohibition. Another perversion of it, to a certain extent due to the examples of Dr. Freud himself, is to accord the sexual impulse the central place in human nature. The illustrations given by Dr. Freud in proof of his doctrine are several of them highly forced. For instance, he held that "slips of the tongue" had more importance as indices of a man's disposition than his conscious utterances. With this idea he encouraged his patients to talk at random and tell him everything that happened to come to their minds during a sitting. When he found that this often yielded fantastic results he turned to dreams as a surer index and got his patients to recall all the dreams which they had dreamt. For interpretation of dreams he developed a highly complicated technique. His deductions might have been true of the Viennese but they were utterly unreliable as indications of the working of minds brought up in a system in which religion occupied the centre. Dr. Freud's books were burnt by the Nazis as embodying a degenerate philosophy. He himself had to leave Vienna where his life's work was done, and seek asylum in London. His last book is devoted to proving that Moses was not a Jew but an Egyptian and that what has come down through the centuries as the religion of the Jews, was derived originally from Egyptian sources. Dr. Freud was a Jew by birth rather than from conviction. "My parents were Jews and I have remained a Jew," he said. Even in his early days, long before the Nazis came on the scene, he had bitter experience of the anti-Semitic prejudice in Austria. In fact, it was at the University, the home of culture, that he first tasted it. He wrote of this experience :

> I could never grasp why I should be ashamed of my origin or, as they began to say, of my 'race'. As to the nationality which was denied me, I gave this up without much regret. But this first university impressions produced one very important result for the future. I became familiar early with my destiny—to belong to the opposition and to be proscribed from the compact majority. A certain independent judgment was in this way developed.

Warsaw Surrenders :—After a heroic resistance of twenty-two days, Warsaw was to surrender on conditions to the Germans on Friday. The sufferings of the population during the last three days under a constant shower of incendiary bombs, were terrible. The last straw that brought the gallant defenders to supplicate for peace, seems to have been the scarcity of water. While there can be nothing but admiration for the Polish patriots, one can not but regret that Great Britain and France were unable to offer direct help to the beleaguered garrison and had to content themselves with trying to divert a part of the German army by attacks on the fortifications on the Franco-German frontier. Should they not have advised the Polish leaders not to sacrifice the flower of their Army in trying to defend what was all too plainly an indefensible position ? Since the object of the war is now declared to be the destruction of Hitlerism, was it necessary to involve the relatively weak Polish nation in it? Anyhow, Poland is now out of it and Polish independence is no longer in issue. Even if the Nazis can be turned out of the western part of Poland which they have allotted to themselves, the Eastern and larger half of the country which has been absorbed by Russia, cannot be restored to a resurrected Poland. The population seems to have welcomed the Soviet troops as deliverers. The Sovietisation of the territory, which is proceeding apace, will render its reclamation by any future Polish regime impossible. An episode in the story of Poland's loss of independence, which is not without its humourous side, is the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

appropriation of £. 25 millions of Poland's gold reserve which was being sent out of the country through Rumania, by the latter as security for the expenses incurred by it on the large number of refugees from the devastated country pouring into Rumania. It is not unlikely that Herr Hitler will lay claim to this gold and there may be another country added to the list of those whose independence has proved illusory.

This Independence:—Those who raised the slogan of Independence in Indian politics and profess it still, might consider the fate of the three countries which twenty years ago achieved it. They are European countries too, which were protected by the till recently accepted maxim that the White man is entitled to, and always has the capacity inherent in him to, govern himself. First in the list is Austria which had Independence thrust on her against her strong desire to be united to the German Reich. Next was Czechoslovakia which had enjoyed a large measure of autonomy in the Austrian Empire. Herr Hitler in his "Mein Kampf" repeatedly complains that the Czechs were shown undue partiality by the Imperial Government. Mr. Masaryk, who later became President of Czechoslovakia, was an influential member of the Austrian Parliament and for long his aspiration was only the attainment of something like Dominion Status within the Empire. If he and his countrymen had stood by the Empire in the crisis of the last War, the Empire and Czecho-Slovakia would have emerged from it purified and invigorated. Unfortunately other counsels prevailed and the Czechs were persuaded to join the enemies of the Empire. Czech regiments which had taken the oath of fealty to the Emperor and wore the Imperial uniform, deserted as soon as they reached the war front and went over to the enemy and even offered their services to him. For this service to the cause of democracy, Czechoslovakia was created an independent Republic twenty years ago. Last year it surrendered its independence on the advice and at the insistence of the leading Allies in the last War. And now comes Poland. After twenty years of fevered existence, this unfortunate country is again partitioned among its old masters. The imminent fall of Warsaw ends another inglorious chapter in European history. *No one likes slavery, but a thing does not* become slavery by being merely called slavery. The Indian people realise that they have enjoyed more freedom under British rule than under its predecessors and that they are enjoying more freedom today than their kith and kin in the neighbouring Indian States. To oppose Independence is easily represented as hugging the chains of slavery and it is not pleasant to be so represented. That is why many people who do not believe in the Independence goal being anywhere in the range of practical politics, do not come forward to express their dissent. But now that matters are taking a serious turn, they have all emerged from their seclusion a silence and manifested in various ways t desire to be of help, at any rate not to b source of embarrassment, to the British Emp The only difference, and as we have shown i no difference at all but really a matter phrasing, is while the Princes and Gand declare their offers to be absolute, the politi and communal organisations offer suggesti with a view to make their co-operation perfe Even Mr. Subhas Bose can not covet the fate Poland for his country.

"Delivering the Goods":—An orthodox Hin friend of the old school was fond of proving t validity for all time of the varnashrama fourfold caste by pointing to the history civilisation. In the first period, mankin according to him, was ruled by wise and selfl men. This was the golden age. Next ca the rule of might when the man of blood a iron dominated human affairs. The third, wa the age of Commerce when everything wa measured by its money value and the riche man and nation dominated poorer men and weak nations. The fourth and last stage, in friend's scheme, was foreshadowed by the Labo movement. He did not live to see Soviet revolution in Russia, or he would ha hailed it as the crowning proof of theory. The age of Commercialism has n ended. The European struggle may be inte preted as the struggle between it and t Labour age which has to supersede it. The struggle is bound to be long and bitter. Th extent to which commercialism has penetrate outside its legitimate sphere, is shown by t so-called dowry system in marriage against whi reformers have been fulminating for ma years past without much effect. In the field politics, commercialism has left its stain in t hateful phrase "delivering the goods." We do not know when this was first introduced in political terminology. In India its vogue is comparatively recent. One never heard th phrase from Sir Pherozeshah Mehta Gokhale. What are the "goods"? Who is th salesman? What is the price? The "goods in the context can only mean the mass voters. The man who can deliver the "goods is the one who can somehow get these most illiterate, inarticulate beings to vote for h nominees at the elections, often by promise which are not meant to be kept and, as a matte of fact, are not expected to be kept. The 'price depends on the state of the market, which means on the relative urgencies of the buyer and the seller, the former to buy, the latter to sell. In a famous book "Compromise" published in the latter half of the la century, John Morley deplored the tendency in his time to apply political standards th that is to say, the counting of heads as the criterion of right and wrong, to intellectual an even religious domains. Politics at that time was only just beginning to come under the influen of the commercial age. But commercialism

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was in the air. "We are not cotton spinners all," protested Tennyson, "some love England and her honour yet." Even in the Poet's lifetime, in spite of the protests of men like him, Carlyle, Ruskin and others. Cotton had become the dominating factor in British and Indian politics. It has, indeed, been the main battle ground on which Indo-British interests have fought each other for over half a century. The one thing that will remove antagonism and sweeten the relations between the two countries, is the elimination of the commercial spirit in their dealings with each other. Their motto should be not *caveat emptor* but "Do unto others as you would wish them to do unto you."

A Word to the Viceroy :—Lord Linlithgow and the Secretary of State are considering what action they should take on the Congress Working Committee's resolution bearing on India's position in reference to the War. Lord Zetland said in the House of Lords that it was too abstract and that he was waiting to get a concrete interpretation of it from the Viceroy as the result of personal talks with leaders. As a matter of fact, there is nothing abstract about it. It consists of a number of general propositions, each concrete in itself, but it fails to provide a thread on which all or most of these can be strung into the semblance of an intelligible programme which might furnish a basis of action. It is loaded with surplusage and is, therefore, inartistic, palpably so, and that is no doubt why Gandhiji felt it necessary to stress its artistic character. It may also be that the Working Committee's resolution has been purposely left vague in order to admit of a wide scope for adjustment in negotiation with the British Government. However that may be, Lord Linlithgow and the Secretary of State would do well to avoid anything savouring of a 'deal' with any party, because it claims to be able to "deliver the goods." Every stable constitution must rest on a stable social foundation. Social conditions in India were never more disorganised than they are today owing to various causes, not the least of them being the Hoare Federation scheme. In consequence, a party which honestly believes and promises that it can deliver the goods might find in the course of the next few months that it cannot keep its engagement. The only safe course for Government is to proceed on sound principles and on a correct estimate of the raison d'etre of its own existence in this country. It will take long to discuss this point in detail. Broadly speaking, British rule in this country had answered the much-felt want of a power which would control the fissiparous tendencies of religion, language, sect, caste and province, and establish a unity which would give the country the strength to discharge her mission to the world. In other words, the polity which India needs is one which would exert a steady and imperceptible pressure on all divisions so as to mould them into an organic whole. This the British Government in India did through the greater part of the nineteenth century. Every foreign rule is under an overwhelming temptation to find and act along lines of cleavage. If it yields to it, it renounces the great mission of Empire which is to promote a synthesis of varieties of race and culture. The scheme of the Government of India Act must be recast so as to resume this main purpose. One essential condition of it is that it should know no differences of citizenship The equality of all men before the law should be real and specific. All weightages and preferences are contrary to the healthy functioning of a true Empire.

An Assistant Viceroy?—Surely the gossip retailed by the Simla correspondent of the *Pioneer* that Lord Hailey is to be sent out to India as Assistant Viceroy to help Lord Linlithgow to cope with his task, rendered heavier than usual by the War in Europe, is too preposterous to be suggested even as a possibility. For one thing, Lord Hailey is, we believe, an older man than Lord Linlithgow. Most of his manhood has been spent in working the bureaucratic machine in this country. When the late Mr. Montagu conceived the idea of introducing a sort of Parliamentary system in India, Lord Hailey was one of the few senior British Civil servants who grasped the opportunity which it afforded for his special talents. Naturally a good speaker, not averse to hearing his own voice like most of his fellow civilians, his ingenuity enabled him to pursue by parliamentary methods the identical ends which the bureaucracy has been pursuing since the Ilbert Bill controversy made India politically conscious. The most striking display of these qualities which he gave when he was Home Member of the Government of India, was the ingenious interpretation of the Declaration of 1917 to which we referred last week. If the object is really to assist Lord Linlithgow, and not to plant by his side an agent of the Imperial Government to act as a brake on what might be felt in Whitehall to be His Excellency's excessive consideration for Indian sentiments, the proper thing would be to appoint an Indian of ability, experience and integrity who will also serve as a medium to bring the Viceroy into closer touch with the currents of Indian life in their deeper levels beneath the froth and foam of politics. His Excellency has impressed the people as a wise and understanding statesman intent on doing justice to India. Lord Hailey will be more an embarrassment than a help at this juncture to Lord Linlithgow and the country.

Congress and Co-operation :—A statement by Gandhiji published on Friday shows that the condition on which Congress would offer its co-operation in the War, is that it should be enabled at once to tell the people that Independence will be granted to India at the end of the War. Gandhiji himself was prepared to offer co-operation unconditionally. The condition is obviously meant to satisfy Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru under whose Presidentship the banner of Independence was first unfurled by the Congress. From the debate in the House of Lords this week, it appears further that Congress Governments in the provinces will resign if this condition is not accepted.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, September 30, 1939.

ITALY AND THE WAR.

After the German troops crossed the Polish frontier on the 1st September and before Mr. Chamberlain announced from the Cabinet Room in 10, Downing Street that Great Britain was at war with Germany, Signor Mussolini made a last minute attempt to avert its outbreak. He sent a proposal to the French, British and German Governments for adjudicating the Polish-German dispute at a Conference of the five Governments, namely, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Poland. France, it was reported, agreed. Germany wanted to know if the British message transmitted to her the day before was an ultimatum and asked for twenty-four hours' extension of the time limit. Great Britain rightly made it a condition that German troops should be withdrawn from Polish territory before the Conference. Herr Hitler in his speech at Danzig last week laid the responsibility of the war on the British Government which did not agree to Signor Mussolini's proposal. Speaking in the House of Commons on Monday the British Premier did not directly contradict the Reich Chancellor's statement. He referred Herr Hitler to the statement of an Italian news agency on the 4th September to prove that the French and British Governments' position with reference to Signor Mussolini's proposals was identical. Even if this was not the case, the British demand would still have been perfectly correct; and France anyhow accepted it as such.

On the 23rd September addressing his party in Rome, Signor Mussolini threw out a suggestion that further extension of the war might be averted by accepting the extinction of Polish independence as a settled fact. "Europe," he said, "is not yet in effect at war. A clash may be avoided by the realisation that the desire to maintain or, worse still, to reconstitute the position which history and the natural dynamism of the peoples have condemned, was a vain illusion." Signor Mussolini added that the failure of Britain and France to declare war against Russia on her invading Poland, weakened their moral case in fighting Germany. On the last point, Mr. Chamberlain told the House of Commons that they had not before them all the materials yet for judging the consequences of Russia's aggression, implying that the question of war with Russia was not finally settled. The *Times*, however, has come forward with a justification for ignoring the hard fact that Russia is now firmly established over more than half of Poland. It argues that Great Britain has undertaken to destroy Hitlerism and that the fate of Poland is merely a side issue which should not be allowed to distract them from their appointed task. But the Pact with Poland expressly provided that "should one of the contracting parties become engaged in hostilities with an European Power in consequence of aggression by the latter, the other contracting party will immediately give the party engaged in hostilities all support and assistance in its power." His Majesty's Government, in view of the responsibility that rests upon them for a vast and variegated Empire, is wise not to declare war hastily against Russia while that with Germany is entering upon its most crucial phase. Such abstention can be justified on one of three grounds but not on that advanced by the *Times of India*. It may be contended that the Pact contemplates aggression by an European Power and not two; that Russia is not a European Power and has often excluded itself from that category; and that it is not in the power of Britain or France to give immediately all or any support to Poland.

The first would be quibbling. The second would be inconsistent on the part of Britain and France although it might have been advanced by Germany which, however, has come forward to acknowledge Russia as the other great European Power besides herself. The third is the real reason. Mr. Chamberlain in his speech in the House of Commons was perhaps thinking of it when he declared that His Majesty's Government would not engage in a military operation which had not the approval of their Army experts. It may also be urged that Russia has invaded Poland and taken over the Eastern half of the country in pursuance of a pact with Germany who is, therefore, the actual offender. Neither of these pleas, however, will satisfy the Poles that Great Britain and France have kept their promise to her. Dr. E. Banasinski, the Polish Consul-General in an interview to the *Bombay Chronicle*, spoke as if he regarded Russia's as the more reprehensible part in the destruction of his country's freedom. He declared that Poland would have resisted Germany even without the promise of assistance from the British and French Governments. "Our army," he said, "would have been able to keep the Germans at bay by dragging them deep into the country and by extending their lines of communication hundreds of miles, over territory where heavy guns and tanks would have been rendered more than useless by the condition of the roads and marshy areas. The Polish army's strategy was to prolong the fight till the rain and the weather and their own mobile technical equipment would assist them considerably." This plan was foiled by what the Consul-General called "the stab from the back" by Russia.

The C. P. Ministry and Mr. Modak:—Mr. Cyril Modak in his letter to the *Reformer* which was published last week, quoted approvingly, as proof of the "revolutionary" urge still behind the Congress, the Central Provinces Ministers as saying to him that they did not belong to the positions they occupied and that they longed to get back to the streets, the shish (?) and the struggle. This is not surprising in view of the perpetual trouble into which one minister after the other in the C. P. is always getting. The passion for "revolution" shown by these politicians, therefore, may be attributed not uncharitably to their finding the ministerial shoes too big for them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

REFLECTIONS ON THE WAR.

(By Wayfarer).

The War has given rise to many self-questionings. Have I to any degree, however trivial, been instrumental in bringing on this calamity on the world? Could I have done anything to avert it? Now that it has come, what precisely should be my attitude to it? Can I do anything to cut it short or at least to minimise its cruelties? What is my duty to the British Empire to which I belong? What should be my feelings towards the Germans against whom it is waging war?

Statesmen in their broadcasts proclaim that the attitude of the individual citizen is a factor for the successful prosecution of the war. Dictators do this as much as democrats. They mean by this, however, no more than that the citizen should pay his taxes, bear with his deprivations, allow himself or his sons to be conscripted without grumbling. The Poles have done all this but that has not prevented them from being defeated by the Germans who also have done the same things. It is clear, therefore, that success and defeat does not depend upon the material sacrifices of the individual citizen. Other things being equal, the country with a larger population will triumph over one with a smaller population, if material strength is the only criterion. The smaller country must always be the prey of the larger country. If it is not, it must be only because the bigger country finds it more profitable to let the smaller be, or because it is afraid of the jealousy of other Great Powers if it should seek to swallow up its smaller neighbour.

If some large countries are subject to small countries, it is because the former do not regard political freedom as the supreme good and have not equipped themselves with the weapons of destruction without which no nation nowadays can hope to retain its freedom. When a nation, big or small, feels that, above everything else political and economic freedom is the one thing which matters, it will have no great difficulty in procuring the armaments needed from any of the industrialised countries, if it can not immediately manufacture them itself. Gandhiji's non-violent plan which, in the last resort, reduces itself to witholding of taxes, is very effective as a means of paralysing an existing Government but it can not create or sustain a stable one. This is clear from the fact that Congress Governments in some provinces have to put down satyagraha against themselves by the same means as those employed by the previous bureaucratic regime. By the way, this method has not succeeded anywhere outside British India, not even in Indian States where it might have been expected to be more effective if it were really an indigenous invention, as outsiders take it to be. Political independence, as it is commonly understood, cannot be won by satyagraha. If the British Indian Government is unable to collect taxes because the people refuse to pay and it can not get a sufficient number of police and revenue officials to enforce payment, it will have to quit the country. This contingency, however, was never more remote than now. The Congress Governments in the provinces are collecting the taxes and more of them with greater vigour than formerly, and the Congress High Command is ready and indeed anxious to do the same at the Centre also. The British Government seems increasingly to appreciate the fact that the Independence which the Congress asks is not incompatible with its own interests. Mr. Subhas Bose will in course of time arrive at the same point as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has done. And this is precisely where the Congress was twenty-five years ago only instead of Setalvad, Srinivasa Sastry and Chintamani, we have Rajendra Prasad, Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Patel to guide the country, with Gandhiji in the background. The goal is the same though called by a different name. Freedom in the Indian sense which can be won by satyagraha and by it alone, is, altogether different. It is Freedom from Anger, Greed and Hatred. A State whose citizens have won this freedom, will be Swarajya which means not only self-government but also and even more the negation of a desire to dominate others. It will be not only at peace with itself but will also be the most potent instrument for securing world peace. Freedom from greed and hatred does not necessarily exclude physical violence. Physical force in itself is neither moral nor immoral. It is the motive which inspires its use that invests it with a moral quality. Instead of attacking the motives which make it morally reprehensible, Gandhiji and his followers have understood it in the purely negative sense of abstention from physical violence. It is because the individual citizens in the belligerent States have not, most of them, won Freedom from Anger, Greed and Hatred, that the States themselves feel bound to retain their belligerent character, even when there is no war.

Mr. Chamberlain's War to end Hitlerism will be no more successful in its object than President Wilson's War to end War and to make the world safe for democracy. Hitlerism is a symptom. not the cause of the present confusion. Fascism is the immediate forerunner of Hitlerism and though at present it is lying low, it is not to be left out of account. Then there is Stalinism. The Power which succeeds in conquering all these, will itself end by developing a new and more virulent sort of totalitarianism. Col. Lindbergh's warning that if the United States tried to save democracy in Europe, they will end by ceasing to be a democracy themselves, is a wise and timely warning. The futility of war as a means of settling international disputes, needs no proof. It is admitted and accepted by every one, but all the same it still remains the one resort of all nations which have arms with which they can enforce their claims. Everybody is ready to disarm if someone else shows the way. As nobody wants to do this, disarmament has remained a pious hope while rearmament has gone on at a feverish pace. It is obvious that Europe left to itself can not get out of this vicious circle, nor can America help, because America has not as yet emancipated itself from its European heritage. In Asia is the only hope. Here also Japan has fallen a victim to the European craze. China can help greatly. But the task immediately must be taken on hand by India which has in the British Empire in which she is placed, a lever by which she can operate world affairs. Thus our position in the Empire is a distinct advantage for the task which falls to us. Our influence must be steadily and persistently exerted to strengthen the anti-war sentiments in the Commonwealth and to counteract the forces which make for greed and hatred among the nations. Each individual can do his little part in this task. In fact, this is an individual's work more than that of organizations.

To return to the question with which I began. "The importance of the infinitesimal," was a phrase very current about the end of the last century. It was applied to moral as well as material concerns. Its truth is proved by the minute organisms such as vitamins and bacteria which for good or evil play an important part in our lives. So too in the lives of nations the individual, however insignificant, has, I am convinced, a deciding role. Indeed it is a commonplace of ancient Indian thought that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

every living being is a function of the Universe and the regular working of the Cosmic Order depends upon every one of them discharging its appointed task faithfully. Following these trains of thought I feel that if I had been more free from anger and hatred than I am, there might have been an infinitesimally less—greater strength in the forces against war, and who knows that minute addition might have turned the scale in favour of rational methods. The individual citizen can best help to promote the cause of peace by the same means of self-discipline and by using his influence great or small to eliminate these passions from State policy. My attitude towards the enemy countries should also be governed by the same principle. This war is not going to last for ever. It is the duty of every loyal citizen to strive every nerve to see it brought to an end at the earliest possible moment.

A POLITICO-LITERARY PARABLE.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

Hamlet and King Lear, the plays no less than the heroes, are the greatest instances of creative effort in literary art. The contradictions of life are left unsolved in both of them. The Tempest is a noble attempt at reconciliation, but with the help of powers and of beings which are not of this world. Whether this world in which we live is a multiverse or a universe, philosophers are arguing about. Practical men base their lives and their actions in the faith that it is a universe. Pandit Nehru is undoubtedly the finest and the highest example of Indian culture, Gandhiji being a 'thing apart' outside and above such measuring rods. Nehru probably believes in a universe and in that belief imagines that socialism or communism will solve all human contradictions and instal a millenium without the present contradictions but as he is also endowed with Hamlet's powers of analysis and thinking and has his qualities (or defects ?) of introspection and a sensitive conscience, it is impossible for the Pandit to advocate, much less establish, communism with the ruthlessness of Lenin and Stalin; and without ruthlessness and instant decisions, large scale results are not possible in this mad, or at least surprising, world of ours.

The sum and substance of my own personal conclusion—after watching men and events, intellectual and spiritual forces without bias much longer than Nehru—is that Lenin and Stalin, Gandhiji and Nehru, have *not* discovered a final panacea for this World's ills, and no such panacea is discoverable. Some forty years ago, writing anonymously in this journal, I expressed the hope that God would take birth again among men for removing suffering and injustice. That is still my hope, and I have no other.

If, however, men realize the impossibility of any 'ism' whatsoever removing all injustice, and simultaneously realise the need for ceaseless effort for *improving* living conditions, common sense, good will, compromise on steadily rising levels, and faith being the instruments, much of the present suffering and injustice will disappear. The Greeks, I am told, called this the Golden Mean. Dr. Larsen styled it, perhaps more appropriately, as the central poise between opposing enthusiasms—making use of both ends of the pole, but allowing neither to overcome the other.

Pandit Nehru is a master of fine sentiments, and of fine phrasing. But he could never excel Hamlet in those respects. If his father's ghost ever appears to him, from what little I knew of the father, I feel persuaded that he would advise his son that the time is inopportune for words—what is required is instant decision and immed[iate] action.

Pandit Nehru condemns Hitlerism as stro[ngly] as does Neville Chamberlain. Could the P[andit] think of any method other than Chamberlain's overcoming it, as hamletism can never successful against it. What Chamberlain proposed is that the war would be stopped as as the German people adopt a form of Governm[ent] which would listen to reason and arbitration, wi[th] word could be trusted, and who would undo wrongs executed by force—wrongs which Pa[ndit] Nehru condemns even more strongly. It is easy criticise imperialism and to condemn Chamberl[ain's] previous record. The counts are all there, Liber[als] and Socialists in England have agreed that t[hey] are all subject for all criticism or condemnation. could add a personal count—*viz.* that I had sho[wn] ten years ago a method which was approved by t[he] experts, and generally approved by the Governm[ent] of India, which, if considered and adopted w[ith] suitable modifications, would have enabled I[ndia] to enjoy Dominion Status and co-operate w[ith] England like other Dominions.

The time, however, is not one for recrimination, is the effects on India and the world and on Hi[s] which are more relevant, and which I am sure t[he] the Pandit's father would agree to be far m[ore] important. I dislike similes, as they often misl[ead] and never altogether suit the occasion. The i[dea] which is being advocated in this article is like[ly] however, to become clearer with the help o[f] simile. Suppose that a ward, who has reach[ed] majority is living in a house adjacent to his guardia[n] but ownership of which has not been granted b[y] the slow-moving guardian. Suppose also that t[he] guardian's house has caught fire or was perha[ps] set fire to, and that sparks are flying from it to t[he] ward's house. The ward would be considered very foolish person indeed if he argues about t[he] past misdoings of the guardian instead of helping putting out the fire. If Hitler succeeds and Engla[nd] goes under—which God forbid—there would be end., within a few months, of India's security, and end also of all the Congress governments. The terr[or] that would overtake India is unthinkable.

Pandit Nehru's masterly statement would have been in order if he had first promised co-operation this hour of dire need, and afterwards set out all t[he] grievances crying for redress. Perhaps he kno[ws] his Englishman much better than I do; and I f[ear] that younger India including even pacific youths, a[re] entirely with the Pandit. Perhaps I am out of da[te] and the sentiments which I have cherished, are al[so] antiquated. Nevertheless I trust that your larg[e] hearted and tolerant paper will find a place f[or] them.

MAHATMA GANDHI QUALIFIES HIS NON-VIOLENCE.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

It seems at times that Mahatma Gandhi has not yet completely got out of the state of impulsiveness that follows one's enthusiasm for a newly conceived idea—in his case the idea of non-violence. So long as this impulsiveness lasts, the idea does not crystallise, and its realisation does not go far and deep. Its conceiver goes about skimming over the surface, falling into misconceptions and inconsistencies and hurrying into misapplications and unthought-out interpretations. When an idea comes, it is therefore necessary to concentrate deeply on it so as

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to be able to realise its all sided implications and its possible stretch in different directions. In the case of an idea like that of non-violence in thought, deed and word, which involves a firm ruling of the mind and elevation of outlook above the common influences of sorroundings, such concentration and realisation become imperative. Gandhiji must no doubt be always trying to appreciate what in its fullness *Ahimsa* means while preaching and amplifying it in individual as well as in national and international political relationship. But in some unguarded moments and perhaps under environmental influence, he unwittingly steps away out of the compass of the *ahimsa* idea. An instance of such stepping away I want to bring to the notice of him and of those, who follow the trend of his thoughts on non-violence.

Not long ago, at the time of the German ill-treatment of the Jews, and again at the time of the German thrust into the country of the Slovaks Gandhiji offered the prescription of non-violence to the oppressed people advising them not to think of armed resistance, but only to adopt the method of non-violent satyagraha for melting the heart of the aggressors. That advice accorded well with his doctrines of satyagraha as a weapon against violence and evil. In his own country, against the aggressiveness of the Muslims he offered to give a blank cheque on behalf of the Hindus. His conception of non-violence has led him into such thoughts and deeds. Now, however, in offering sympathy and perhaps also moral support to the countries which have adopted violent means against the violent aggression of Germany, he has to all intents and purposes supported the use of violence against violence, and has thereby *violently* upset the basic premises of his satyagraha. He does not advise non-violence to the Poles or to the countries allied in their support. He rather pleads for sympathy for the adopters of violent methods of defence and even disapproves the imposition of any qualification or condition on the giving of such sympathy and support. So far as his own political party, the Indian Congress is concerned, he adds,—by way, it seems, of an after-thought rather than of a first inspiration.—that the Congress being pledged to non-violence can give only non-violent or rather moral support to the powers ranged against the attackers of Poland.

But is not the giving of moral support to a wrong or an evil, the same thing as the actual doing of it, from the point of view of even common law, not to say of that of high moral ethics? Is not a person giving such support to a criminal, a thief or a murderer, guilty in the eyes of law, no matter whether he actually draws blood with his hand or not? Will his defence that he was himself non-violent throughout absolve him of his complicity in the crime? If common law would only take cognizance of his actual act of support, active or constructive, violent or non-violent, moral law would also look into his mind and thoughts to judge his liability.

From the point of view of common law and also more from the point of view of moral law, which forms the essential foundation of the principle of satyagraha, therefore, Gandhiji's sympathy and support amount to little less than violence themselves.

Sympathy for Poland is all right; support for those, who go to her help, is commendable; but when extending such support and sympathy a non-violent satyagrahi must ask those who receive them to free them from the stain on them, if any, of violence which the satyagrahi wants to subdue by love. To subdue and conquer the spirit of violence by love, is indeed the idea of a non-violent satyagraha and not to suppress violence by more effective violence or to overpower a blood-stained fist by one also coloured red.

That such thoughts have escaped Gandhiji, is rather surprising; but a man with his softness of heart can well be overcome by emotions at the sight of suffering and oppression and at such moments he may even transgress the limits imposed on his thoughts and activities by the doctrines he has himself conceived, accepted and idealised. When, moreover, he is directly appealed to for sympathy and support he may even forget himself and what he stands for.

HERE AND NOW.

(By Cyril Modak.)

The dualism of the European tradition has its roots in ancient Greece and Rome. Christianity could not escape from this dualistic mode of thought which is responsible for many antics of interpretation. These antics were a direct reaction to the demands of power, either political or economic. Slaves had to be converted and yet soothed and kept from rebelling against their brutal masters and the brutal system which blessed slavery. Subject peoples had to be converted and yet mollified and kept from openly revolting against the tyranny of their rulers and the insane system of imperialism. European Christianity achieved the impossible by its antics of interpretation. At every revolutionary point of Christ's teachings an other-worldly construction served to silence the dispossessed, absolve the rich and powerful, and put the seal of divine approval on the *status quo*.

Thus all the inequalities between man and man, the gross inequalities of social status and economic advantages, of opportunities for training and advancement and choice of vocation, cunning inequalities proposed by the selfishness of man, were exalted as the dictates of the will of God. And the dazzling consolation offered was that man's earthly life was a brief probation for eternal life where earthly suffering would be rewarded by shining joy, where earthly poverty would be rewarded by flashing crowns, where earthly frustrations and disappointments would find delectable satisfaction. Riches were sneered at in the presence of the poor. All the privileges and advantages that animate men to strive against odds were treated with scorn in the presence of the unprivileged. This world's goods were theoretically derided. And all the time the rich grabbed at riches and the privileged safeguarded their privileges. The tide of discontentment was stemmed by a wall built by priests, with many texts, the key-stone of which probably was "Get treasure in heaven that never fails, that no thief can get at, no moth destroy. For where your treasure lies your heart will lie there too." (Luke: XII. 33-34)

But does the "heaven" of this verse refer to the Hereafter, some bright and happy abode beyond the clouds filled with refulgent seraphims and dulcet harps? Is it only beyond the grave that moths do not destroy nor thieves break in and steal? It is amazing and a little perplexing that so many sermons can be found on this verse with an other worldly interpretation. The context of the verse, which is not questioned by the most authoritative scholars, makes a "heavenly" explanation quite exotic and somewhat quixotic! The preceding verse ends by saying "fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom." Surely, few progressive men and women today seriously doubt that the "Kingdom of God" implies God's divine order here and now, on this planet of ours convulsed with war and hate and misery, for it is here that it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is needed. It is here that Jesus came to establish the New Order based on co-operation, love, and mutual sharing. The Hebrew prophetic tradition had never visualised a "Kingdom of God" somewhere beyond the grave but realistically on this earth. Those to whom Jesus addressed his massage of "the Kingdom of God" were trained by Hebraic prophecy to understand nothing 'but the New Israel on earth,' God's New Covenant with the Jews here on earth. The Jewish prophetic consciousness hardly ever thought of "immortality," but did envisage the "Kingdom of heaven" here and now, in a thoroughly "this-worldly" sense. As that keen thinker, Prof. John Macmurray says, "It is the absence of contrast between this world and another world, between the spiritual and the material, between the ideal and the actual, which is characteristic of the Hebrew religious culture." (Clue To History—P. 31.)

Having thus assured his hearers of God's will and desire to bestow His New Order upon men here and now, would Jesus, in the next verse, take a sportive sommersault, for no reason save perverse self-gratification, and tell the same hearers that they should turn their gaze towards the land of shades? Would it not have been like carrying on secret propaganda against God? It would have amounted to this: "God desires that the present world order be replaced by his New Order; but, look here, you must not do anything about it. You must have an other-worldly hope and put your faith in heaven. That is how you can defeat God's designs of bringing His Kingdom on earth." Does this seem reasonable? And yet this is in effect what other-worldly constructions and expositions come to mean. Many ardent Christians, commended for their piety and evangelical fervour, have nevertheless spent their lives ardently promulgating *just such a spurious interpretation. And it has borne undesirable fruit.*

Let us turn to the succeeding verse. Jesus urges his hearers, "Keep your loins girt and your lamps lit and be like men who are waiting for their lord and master to return from a wedding banquet." Granting for the moment that Jesus was in an escapist mood, and had just previously admonished his audience to lay up treasures in "heaven," because on this wretched earth thieves break in and steal, would it not be wildly incoherent, then, for him to urge the same audience to keep themselves in constant readiness, to be ever on the *qui vive* for the arrival of their Lord and Master? Or did he mean that they should gird their loins and keep their lamps lit in the dim distant, romantic Hereafter? This is what he should logically have meant if he had used "heaven" to denote the Hereafter. Surely, Jesus was not in an escapist and a playful mood to confuse his eager, unsophisticated hearers many of whom hung on every word of his. He was not playing ducks and drakes with this paramount issue. He was appealing to his audience not to relax the morale of the New Order, here and now. He wanted them to keep themselves in readiness for the divine Commonwealth not in "heaven" but on this self-same earth which would become as good as heaven, being radically transformed.

The only reasonable view, therefore, which does justice to the sanity and consistency of Jesus, seems to be to take the verse we have been considering not by itself but in its context. It is of a piece with the other verses, deeply dyed in realism. "Heaven" implies "Kingdom of Heaven" upon earth; the projection into the structure of this world's systems of the divine plan for the community of man "Heaven" implies. This world full of evil and suffering and ugliness transformed by the motivating power of the divine Commonwealth into "heaven" where God's will is done *en masse*.

From this point of view, what did Jesus mean by saying "Get yourselves treasure in heaven that never fails, that no thief can get at and no month destroy, for where your treasure lies your heart will lie there also?"

This is perhaps the strongest direct appeal that Jesus made to men and women to invest their hopes and aspirations, their energy and time, their possessions and attainments in the divine Commonwealth for the common good. He tells them not to be afraid or nervous, because God has willed the Commonwealth for mankind by putting the principle of community into the very foundation of life, by making love, justice, and equality the structural principles of reality. He urges them to recognize their part in this great drama of realizing God's Plan, and to throw themselves heart and soul into playing their part well. And with a fine sense of humour he adds that the common purse does not wear out as purses of private ownership do; and that the dangers that beset the old order, the Kingdom of Mammon, have no power against man's investments in the true community.

If we hold dear the things that pertain to self, if the most precious things in the world for us are our position, wealth, fame, power, and gratification, we shall quite naturally strain every muscle to achieve our purpose. If our treasure lies in the scientific realm we shall invest our best in that realm and find our greatest happiness in working on scientific problems. If our treasure lies in the field of literature or art we shall spare ourselves no sacrifice, no effort, no expense to get our object. But if our treasure lies in the divine Commonwealth we shall spontaneously give our best time and energy, our all to the actualizing of this New Order for humanity. Our interests, our attention, our effort are enlisted by the persuasive force of our emotions. What we desire most we most work for. "Where your treasure lies, your heart will lie there also."

This is simple enough. But there are complications, simple and complex. A simple complication arises from the fact that our treasure lies in two or more conflicting realms. Naturally we are divided. Our interests, our attention, and our effort cannot fuse into a single flame. There are contradictions in our lives. And these contradictions are not antitheses held consciously at a point of tension impelling us to higher and larger syntheses. They are contradictions which sap our energy and make us weak-willed, wavering between the two realms in which our treasure is buried. There are many people, for example, who have part of their treasure in the realm of brotherhood and part of it in the realm of racialism. And it leads to a very fantastic contradiction. They are deeply interested in brotherhood which implies love; which in turn implies equality; which again implies liberty. They speak about brotherhood, and even work for it. But they are also deeply interested in their race. And the moment this brotherhood demands that they give up some racial convention, myth, or privilege, there is sudden conflict. And often racialism claims their heart. The few who have all their treasure in the realm of brotherhood serve to offer a telling contrast.

On the other hand, a complex complication arises because some of us have part of our treasure in "heaven" and the other part on "earth." We profess to hold dear the spiritual needs of people as well as their physical needs. We claim that we want

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

individuals to have a change of heart and be saved and we also want society to be remade and redeemed. So far so good. But the vicious dualism that compells us to use conjunctions like "as well as" and "also" leads us astray the moment people claim economic justice, social equality, and political emancipation. The conflict that sets in expresses itself, in many instances, in a facile emphasis on the "spiritual," the "other-worldly" to the gradual exclusion of the "material." We escape from this contradiction by turning Jesus' Gospel of the Commonwealth into our Gospel of the Individual. We distract the attention of those who demand social and economic and political justice by drawing all kinds of red herrings across the path of their vision. We succeed in postponing the coming of the New Age; and pat ourselves on the back for serving the cause so ably, and incidentally in keeping safe and well-preserved.

Therefore, Jesus made such a strong unequivocal appeal to men and women to commit themselves unconditionally to the revolutionizing of the present order, which so often lays a premium on morality, and by riding rough-shod over human values destroys spiritual values. He wanted us to invest our all in the true community of man, the divine Commonwealth, in which men and women would find the brotherhood that is, and can be, the logical and moral derivative of the Fatherhood of God; in which men and women would find love the law of life, and therefore right relations the normal habit, in which war would become obsolete, and murderous competition would be outlawed; in which men and women would discover the indivisible wholeness and sanctity of life and know that the integrity of communion with God is determined by the integration of the community of man. But that way lies opposition, persecution, betrayal, and the Cross. That way also goes the Master still yearning for man's emancipation, still carrying the Cross we shirk to bear. Will we dare to follow him or choose the seductive bye-paths of compromise?

CULTURE OR CIVILISATION?

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Culture is a process by which the nature of the man, beast or vegetable kingdom is closely observed, watched, pruned, and perfected; or artificially fed, associated, trained, and developed in order to yield the greatest amount of the best in them with the least possible quantity or appearance of the undesirable therein; so much so that the product of culture, culti vation or education is so far removed from its original parent or kind that it is sometimes mistaken for a different species altogether being of a far higher order or grade. The brute in man is shaped into the very divine in him, even as the sour or bitter fruit of the original tree is changed into the most luscious or juicy one of the graft. If such culture should be found to exist in more than one field of human activity, it then constitutes what is so well known as *civilisation*. The very height of civilisation means and shows a very large number of such fields of activity, such as mental, moral, economic, and so on. And if the whole tribe or people happen to show the same advancement in all their several strata or levels of society, then civilisation is said to be assured and lasting.

But just as artificial ends have artificial means and aids, so, too, man's artificial growths and heights are attended with like dangers, deaths, decays and falls. If culture is not uniform or universal, then comes a stage when it is destroyed by the loop-holes of uncultured spots wherefrom the brute in man finds a way out and prays upon the best products of culture like vermin and pests in no time. The great devastating wars of the world are in point. They are but proofs of culture failures and ruins of civilisation. In other words, culture is not seen all round but only in parts; if man's brains have compelled Nature to yield unknown and unforeseen fruits of Science, Arts and Industry, his heart or character fails to rise equal to its full stature; and the result is that Man falls a victim to the creation of his own genius. And the worst fear is an utter annihilation of the whole human race from off the continent of Europe in the near future as it was so after the Maha Bharata War in Ancient India.

Madras,
21st Sept. 1939.

Yours etc.,
R. V. V. TATACHARIAR,

EXTENSION OF PROHIBITION.

Total Prohibition has been put into force with effect from September 1, in the following areas: (1) Broach, Ankleshwar, Jambusra and Wagra talukas of the Broach and Panch Mahals District. (2) Newara and Sheogaon talukas and Pathardi Mahal of the Ahmednagar District; and (3) Ankola and Kumta talukas of the Kanara District. Of these, all except Broach and Ankleshwar talukas have already been "Dry" Areas under the existing Prohibition schemes. The import, export, transport or possession of any country liquor, toddy, foreign liquor, opium or hemp drugs is forbidden in these areas except under a permit, authorisation or license issued by a duly authorised Excise Officer. This restriction does not, however, apply to an opened bottle of brandy purchased prior to September 1 for use in an emergency in a family, or to small quantities of Brandy, Rum or Champagne purchased for the use of an invalid or a sick person in a family on the strength of medical certificates from Registered Medical Practitioners or practitioners approved by the Collector for the purpose.

THE "DNYANODAYA'S" LAST WORD.

The *Dnyanodaya* writes:—

"*The Indian Social Reformer* has once more shown how regularly and promptly its respected editors read our columns. We have deeply appreciated this honour for years past, but we wish they would read them with carefulness and charity. For imagine our amazement at being charged in the latest *Reformer* with 'blatant smugness.' *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* defines 'smug' thus: 'Of commonplace, respectable, narrow-minded, self-satisfied, comfortable, unambitious, unimaginative character or appearance.' We presume the *Reformer* means we are 'self-satisfied.' As our columns for over two decades past have pointed out weaknesses in British Rule and in missionary work, we shall say nothing about the imported interpretations and illogical inferences of our Bombay friends."

We could not better the definition reprinted by the *Dnyanodaya*. We were commenting on its attitude on India's claim to Dominion Status not assessing its policy for the past two decades. On that the *Dnyanodaya* neither justifies its assertion nor produces the evidence which it claimed to possess.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LIQUOR PERMIT COMMITTEE.

The following members constitute the personnel of the Permit Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to recommend liquor permits in accordance with the prohibition rules: Mr. F. Stones, Mr. J. B. Greaves, Lt.-Colonel W. H. Hammond, Reverend J. Mackenzie, Mr. S. H. Prater, Mr. T. Suzuki, Dr. Poonsey H. Meisheri, and Mr. Motichand G. Kapadia.

THE E WS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Apropos of the reference to the Jews in your issue of the 16th, the following two epigrams—the first well known and the second not so much perhaps—may interest your readers.

THE CHOSEN PEOPLE

How odd
Of God
To choose
The Jews.

N. W. EWER

A REPLY

But not so odd
As those who choose
A Jewish God
Yet spurn the Jews.

CECIL BROWNE

Yours etc.
N. V. R.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District A
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District W
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ Khand
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(District Na
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(„ „
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(District Pan Mah
Palghar	(„ „).		
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).	Kalol	

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1 DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer peri are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertain from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operati Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balan not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and inter paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules m be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorpora Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Audito Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA
Managing Direct

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

The Manager,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Kamakshi House,
Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	,, 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	,, 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	,, 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	,, 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co. Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half- year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid tnis by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo ;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.

The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANADLWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, t is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more delicate perfumes in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma : —

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,

SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,

PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :- KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 23, 1939. No. 4.

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Between Right and Left.
Another Round Table Conference ?
Multitude of Council.
Lord Hailey's Broadcast.
Gandhiji and the War.
The "Dnyanodaya" on Dominion Status.
The British Premier.
Khaksars in Action.
Dr. Deshmukh's Divorce Bill.
Marriage by Proxy.
The Tragedy of Poland.
India and the War.
A War-Time Reflection.
Religion and War.
Independence and Empire.
India and the War.
Hitler's World Revolution.

NOTES.

Between Right and Left :—Social problems, in which, of course, are included political, economic and all other problems which affect human life and conduct, are not amenable to what is called direct action. The link in them between cause and consequence is nearly always remote and indirect and it is often difficult to determine which is cause and which, effect. The only certain thing about them is that their solution always involves a change of heart and outlook in individuals; and this is a slow process. The method of "direct action" in politics, introduced some twenty years ago, has yielded no result ; except bringing some persons to power and fame. On the other hand, it has caused much confusion in society. If we were asked what the most urgent problem of today in India is, we should have no hesitation in answering, it is to get rid of the stranglehold of satyagraha. Every man, woman and child believes that his or her every whim is satya and that unless it is gratified they are justified in making a nuisance of themselves by setting out to starve unto death or by resorting to devices for compelling the pity of others, hitherto practised chiefly by sturdy mendicants. We are tempted to make these observations on reading that Mr. Subhas Bose was asked by his opponents at Wardha whether direct action was possible now with so many unsolved problems confronting the country. The answer, of course, is, it is not. But it never was because the problems which confront the country today, are not of yesterday's origin. They were all there when direct action was first adopted against the earnest counsel of experienced leaders, without a single exception that we can recall. The difference between Mr. Bose and his opponents is that, while they have learnt wisdom from experience, he still persists in the old belief in the efficacy of the direct method. Nothing has helped more to bring into relief the untoward consequences of direct action, which often means blind fanaticism, than the experience of responsibility by members of the so-called Right Wing. Mr. Bose rightly points out that the acceptance of office by the Congress has lured the minds of men away from direct, that is, empirical action. But is that a misfortune ?

Another Round Table Conference ? :—One thing must have become clear to Mr. Bose during the last fortnight. The people of India without distinction of caste or creed or political opinion, are distinctly averse to changing masters. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who for all his perfervid declarations, is tied firmly to terra firma in the person of Gandhiji, realises that. The plea for an ultimatum, nevertheless, has been practically accepted though formally rejected by the Working Committee. This is evident from the announcement that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Chairman of the War Committee, is waiting the reply of the British Government to the long statement issued by the Working Committee in order to define his future plan. We can readily anticipate the reply of the British Government. It will in effect be that His Majesty's Government has given serious consideration to the matters urged in the Working Committee's resolution. They indeed, have never for a moment been absent from their mind. But the Committee will, Government are sure, understand that at the present moment all things have to be subordinated to the supreme effort of winning the war in order to ensure the survival of democratic ideas and institutions. As soon as this urgent task is out of the way, the future constitutional position of India will have the first claim on Government's attention. A Conference of all parties, communities and interests will obviously be the best way of determining what its broad outlines should be. The Indian Princes also will be invited to advise. By this means, it is hoped, that a scheme satisfactory to all parties can be reached without unnecessary delay. What will be Pandit Jawaharlal's response to such an appeal ? What other reply can he expect in the present circumstances ?

Multitude of Council :—His Excellency the Viceroy is according interviews to Indian leaders of different parties, in connection with the War situation. In multitude of counsel there is safety. But safety is not all that has to be sought now. The crisis should be utilised to draw people together and closer to a cause which all have at heart. In this we doubt if Lord Linlithgow will find much help

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in a multitude of counsellors. The Muslim League leader would want something to which the Hindu Mahasabha leader would not agree. There is not much difference between the Congress and the Liberal Federation nowadays, what little there is being merely of terminology. Yet, Pandit Jawaharlal repudiates as fantastic the idea of an All Parties Conference. Evidently he wants all the glory for his own Party which has just elected him to guide its policy in regard to the War. Congress might refuse to come into an arrangement, such as the one we suggested last week, comprising leaders of all parties to be co-opted in the Governor-General's Cabinet. In that case and if the Congress is prepared to shoulder the burden itself, it should be invited to do so and the responsibility for taking the other groups with it or of dealing with them in other ways should be left to it. If the Muslim League wants to do the same, it should be taken at its word. If the two can be brought to work in coalition, so much the better. We must get a move on and not waste time in seeking to reconcile irreconcilables. Whichever party takes over the control, it will soon find that there is only one way of doing most of the things that it will be called upon to do. As the Government have given up the old practice of dealing with all citizens without reference to creed or caste, it is best to give the new policy a full trial. At present each party thinks that it can run the administration perfectly if it had a free hand. In the Provinces it is being found out that this is not so simple as it seemed when politicians enjoyed greater freedom and less responsibility. The same may happen at the Centre.

Lord Hailey's Broadcast :—On Tuesday Lord Hailey broadcast from London some observations on the situation in India with reference to the War. It was a tame performance containing nothing to stimulate interest in this country. It was Lord Hailey, as Home Member of the Government of India, who started the quibble about the Declaration of 1917 on constitutional reform, which, for the next ten years, kept the Indian public in a state of acute suspense and, incidentally, eliminated the Liberals as a political force. A very capable administrator, Lord Hailey was concerned only to get through his daily task expeditiously without regard to consequences. If, as he remarked, Congress has hesitated to pledge itself to give unconditional support on this occasion, it is largely due to the clever way in which Lord Hailey threw doubt on what was subsequently acknowledged to be the plain implication of the Declaration. Two years ago the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry incurred much odium in official circles by forewarning them of the consequence of a policy of vacillating drift.

Gandhiji and the War:—Lord Hailey in the course of his broadcast observed: "Mr. Gandhi despite his horror of war, has expressed unconcealed belief in the justice of Britain's cause and is urging that any support giv... Britain should be given unconditionally." ... always risky to cite anything that Gandhiji ... as he has his own meaning which may not ... with that commonly given to words. ... present case is no exception. If Lord H... had read the explanation given in the *Harij...* Gandhiji to a correspondent, he would not ... so readily assumed that Gandhiji believes ... justice of a cause. Gandhiji writes:

> I have come to the conclusion that Herr H... responsible for the war. I do not judge his clai... is highly probable that his right to incorporate D... in Germany is beyond question, if the Danzig Ge... desire to give up their independent status. It ma... that his claim to appropriate the Polish Corridor ... just claim. My complaint is that he will no... the claim be examined by an impartial tribunal. ... no answer to the rejection of the appeal for subm... to arbitration that it came from interested quar... Even a thief may conceivably make a correct ap... his fellow thief.

Gandhiji expressly refrains from pronouncing ... the merits of the dispute. His compl... against Herr Hitler is that he would not sub... his claims to arbitration. Was Poland, ... other party, willing to accept arbitrati... Evidently not. The fact is that what L... Hailey understands by "the British cause" is ... the same as what Gandhiji regards as the c... of the War.

The "Dnyanodaya" on Dominion Status:—S... ing the opportunity afforded by a statem... on the War which asked Britain for ... assurance that the ultimate goal for India ... Dominion Status, the *Dnyanodaya* tells Ind... why we have not yet got this declaration:—

> Despite the assurance of Britain that Indian ... government is still the goal laid down by Britain, ... time for reaching that goal is being delayed by the ... members of the Commonwealth family—Ca... Australia etc—because self-government as it works ... India is gravely marred by such things as ... untouchability, wrongs to outcastes, to women and ... children. So long as such undemocratic things prevail ... the Commonwealth family, the Dominion Premi... will not, as yet, welcome India into the ... which Britain has promised. We have evid... in our possession showing that the foregoing ... the *only* reason why British Cabinet Ministers ... not used the term Dominion Status in referenc... India in recent years. All this means we must ... work hard to make India worthy of its destined ... by uprooting from Indian life those wrongs w... provide the obstacle to its full nationhood. In ... nation-building contribution we can every one ... our humble part, the Indian Christian Church ... particular.

Once more our readers will note that the edi... of the *Dnyanodaya* is in possession of sec... information which once again, we are sure, ... remain secret. The *Dnyanodaya* has had ... decency to omit South Africa by nam... even though it includes her by implicatio... We are astonished at the blatant smugnes... of its attitude. We learn for the first ti... that the Dominions are an obstacle in ... way of India getting an equal status in ... Empire, though we had suspected this ... tuality when it was announced that the und... sirability of Edward VIII remaining on th...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

British throne was suggested by the Dominions. The *Dnyanodaya* is perhaps well-intentioned in its ill-timed admonition to Indians to reform themselves but its remarks naturally lead one to ask whether such people as it depicts are good enough for the War in Europe. Or are we to conclude that the British Empire does not disdain to engage the barbarous Indians in their dirty work? We believe that Indians have suffered enough at the hands of the Dominions already without the addition of this fresh insult. The moment the Dominions, many of whom will not tolerate Indians on their territory or will only do so under humiliating conditions, start telling Britain what our status is to be, it will be time for us to cut loose from the Empire. It will be for Britain to decide whether the Dominions, all of whom are careful in this present crisis not to commit themselves to the despatch of troops abroad, are more valuable to her Empire, or whether India which is prepared to help without stint, if she is allowed to do so, will be a better bulwark. At all times the foreign missionary has sought to advance his religion as he understands it, by running down others. But at no time is it more misplaced than today when Europe has been brought to the verge of annihilation by the bankruptcy of its leaders, religious even more than political.

The British Premier :— In the whole range of history it will be hard to find a statesman possessed with a higher degree of smug self-complacency than the British Premier. In the first statement after the declaration of war with Germany, he declared that all his hopes, ambitions and aspirations as a politician had crumbled to the ground. A very large body of opinion in Britain regards his bungling as being at the bottom of the present chaotic condition of Europe. A writer in the *Spectator* contrasts Mr. Chamberlain's statement barely a year ago with the one which he made the other day. At the time of the Czecho-Slovakian crisis, he exclaimed : " How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas-masks here because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing." He now he avers ; " We shall not be fighting for the political future of a far away city in a foreign land. We shall be fighting for the preservation of those principles the destruction of which would involve the destruction of peace and liberty of the peoples of the world." Britain and France have now undertaken to restore Czecho-Slovakia as an independent State which they a year ago assisted in reducing to impotence. Mr. Neville Chamberlain suffers under two handicaps in taking a dispassionate view of the situation as the Prime Minister of the British Empire should, of the war situation. He has a sort of personal grievance at having been duped by Herr Hitler by promises which have not been kept. He is also embarrassed by the feeling that many of his own supporters fear that he may be still have hankerings after his appeasement policy which has borne disastrous fruit. Under the stress of the two sentiments, he may be adopting an extreme line which may exceed the necessities of the case considered both as a moral and as an international issue, and more particularly in relation to the varied conditions, moral and material, comprised in the British Empire.

Khaksars in Action :—Some days back a contingent of Khaksars headed by their leader, Allama Inayutullah Mashriqi, encamped at Lucknow, their object being to settle the Sunni-Shia dispute in that city, which had been going on for several months. Their arrival seems to have aggravated the situation. They were arrested. Before their trial came up before a Magistrate, the Allama, according to the *National Herald*, gave an undertaking to Government to leave the United Provinces with his followers and not to enter it for a year. Instructions were be given to the Khaksars of the United Provinces not to interfere in the Sunni-Shia dispute. Government accepted the undertaking and withdrew the prosecution. The *National Herald* reported on September 3 that all the Khaksars who 'invaded" Lucknow were allowed to go away in batches leaving their spades behind with the police as mementos of their visit. The Khaksars, however, have not kept their undertaking. Further incursions by groups of them are reported in the Press. The surprising announcement has been made this week that Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed, Vice-Chancellor of Alighar University, has applied to the Allama to nominate him as provincial head of the organization in the United Provinces.

Dr. Deshmukh's Divorce Bill :—At the Simla session of the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Bill to introduce divorce in the Hindu law of marriage, which Dr. G. V. Deshmukh had introduced at the Delhi session, was thrown out on the motion to refer it to Select Committee. The sponsor was not present to defend his measure, in deference to a mandate of the Congress. It is possible that the Bill would have met the same fate even if the Doctor was present. Mrs. Subbarayan has been recently publicly opposing the measure. She also belongs to the Congress party and was absent from the Assembly. Dr. Deshmukh has since issued a statement exhorting reformers not to be discouraged. But reformers who really care for the reforms which they advocate, will now seek support from quarters which are not inclined to make a convenience of social reform.

Marriage by Proxy :—On of the social customs common in India among certain communities marriage by proxy. The passing of a law this week by the French Parliament permitting soldiers in the field to marry by proxy, shows that there is nothing primitive about the custom and that it must have been dictated, as all customs have originally been, by a practical necessity. Several countries in Europe have now laws for the adoption of children.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, September 23, 1939.

THE TRAGEDY OF POLAND.

The conclusion of a "non-aggression pact" between Germany and Russia was announced on August 28. On September the first, German troops invaded Poland. On the third, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany. Japan had promptly declared her disapproval of the Russo-German Pact and declined to accept the German plea that it did not infringe the anti-Comintern Pact. But Germany seems to have persevered in her effort to bring about an understanding between Russia and Japan. The conclusion of an Armistice between the two Powers on the Manchukuo-Mongolian border was made public on September 16 and on the next day Russia invaded Poland. In the last fortnight, Germany has occupied Danzig and laid siege to Warsaw. The Soviet Prime Minister, M. Molotov, explained that the breakdown of the Polish State had necessitated the intervention of the Soviet Government to protect the White Russians and Ukranians who had been deprived of all rights by the Polish Government. The Polish Government had removed itself to Rumania. On Monday the 18th, the German and Russian leaders met at Brest Litovsk in the territory of Poland and issued a joint manifesto to the effect that their interests did not conflict though they were acting quite independently of each other. It is stated that the two Powers have agreed that Germany should take Danzig, the Corridor and Upper Silesia which were in the German Empire before the War, that Russia would take parts of Ukraine and White Russia which were assigned to Poland in the Peace Treaty, and that the rest of the present Polish territory will be constituted into a buffer State between the two Powers. The position would be exactly similar to that of Czecho-Slovakia after the separation of Sudetenland and the buffer State will eventually have to come under the protection of either Russia or Germany. As acompletely independent State it could not long maintain itself. It will be, to use the phrase of Lord Lytton of Afghanistan in the early eighties of the last century when Russia was a Central Asian power, an earthern pipkin between two iron pots.

The conclusion of a Pact between Herr Hitler and Soviet Russia shows that the former has gone back on his denunciations of Communism and that M. Stalin was secretly negotiating with Germany at the same time as he was negotiating with Britain. The antithesis between Nazism and Socialism is not more marked than that between Capitalism and Bolshevism. In fact, Nazism stands midway between Capitalism and Bolshevism and, therefore, nearer to it than Capitalism. As for M. Molotov's double-dealing, he on his part has charged Great Britain with not being sincere in the negotiat[ions] with the Soviet Government. The role of "h[onest] broker" in international affairs has been co[n]crated by distinguished precedents. The *Econ[o]mist* which denounces the conduct of the Sov[iet] Government as the blackest treachery in histo[ry] concludes a leading article headed "Dou[bt]ful Cross Roads" with the bitter reflection "th[at] Britain should be faced with such a hea[vy] struggle (as that entailed by the Pact) is [a] shameful burden placed by the bankruptcy [of] statesmanship on the shoulders of the people." It adds :

> Over and over again we have been given [the] chance of stopping the rot at infinitely smaller ri[sk]. But we have let the League of Nations die, and even [its] bastard offspring the Peace Front is barely alive. [The] bravery and endurance of the common people will [no]w have to pay heavily for the utter lack of courage a[nd] foresight in those who have held the high offices [of] state during the past eight years.

The *New Statesman* and *Leader*, which take a more sympathetic view of the action of the Soviet Government, holding that it is the res[ult] of the rebuffs with which Soviet overtures [for] co-operation with the Western democracies ha[ve] been met, also blames the folly of the Chamberlian Government in persisting in [the] wrong policy in the face of clear warnings fro[m] many quarters.

Bolshevism today is not the same a[s] it was ten years ago. The article which we reprinted two weeks ago from the *Spectator* on "Family Life in Russia" by Mrs. Cecil Chesterton, shows that the Soviet outlook has undergone fundamental change under M. Stalin. Even in this very episode [we] discern a notable change in the Bolshevik ideology. The old slogan "Proletarians of the World Unite" has given place to the Nazi idea of ethnic nationalism. M. Molotov's reason for invading Poland is to rescue minorities of the Russian race, Ukranians and White Russians, from oppression. White Russians, by the way, are so-called not because they are whiter than the other two branches, the Great and Little Russians also known as Ukranians, but because they have a partiality for white clothing. The Soviet army's march into Polish White Russia and Ukraine has been almost a walk-over. By the middle of the week it had occupied nearly the whole of the territory inhabited by people of the Russian race speaking Russian dialects and professing the orthodox Greek religion. (The Ruthenians or Ukrainians are Uniats who acknowledge the authority of the Roman Pontiff but follow the Greek ritual of worship. The Poles on the other hand, are strict Catholics.) Nazism, too, may shed many of its most obnoxious features notably, its fanatical anti-Semitism. But as the outlook is we need not despair of finding a ray of light in it to relieve mankind from utter despair.

Powerless as we in India are to influence the course of events in this horrible conflict, we can

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

only trust that the better and more rational and humane elements in the countries immediately concerned, will be not long in asserting themselves and bringing about a Peace which will commend itself to the judgment of history as just and righteous. It was said of the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava, that it was magnificent but not war. The Polish defence of Warsaw against overwhelming superiority of numbers and equipment and with the certainty that it must fail, merits a similar tribute. It is heroic. But it is rather mass suicide than war in which the belligerents on both sides are matched not too unequally. Dr. Schuschnigg, when the Nazi army entered Austria, announced that resistance would mean useless slaughter and bloodshed and that he would not, therefore, fight the invaders. Similarly in Czechoslovakia, Dr. Benes held back his well-trained army from resisting the German occupation of Sudetenland. Mr. Chamberlain in his statement in the House of Commons on Wednesday acknowledged that they could not avert the defeat of Poland but that Britain and France would not rest until Poland had won back her freedom. Probably the end of the week will see the fall of Warsaw. Once again will history have to mourn, "Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell."

INDIA AND THE WAR.

The past fortnight has been rich in declarations from Indian politicians and parties relating to the War in Europe. Special importance attaches to the resolutions of four leading political all-India organisations—the Indian National Congress, the National Liberal Federation, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League. The Independent Labour Party of Bombay and the Democratic Swaraj Party have also declared their attitude. The common points of their various policies are more significant than their differences. The first of these is the fact, surprising so far as the Congress and the Muslim League are concerned, that not one of them contemplates an India without the British. So far are they from making capital out of Britain's difficulties, as it was feared, that to most of them the question was how to co-operate with the Government without seeming to go back on past commitments. Independence, freedom and the fight against British imperialism, were all so many catch-words now thrown aside. The principal consideration in all men's minds has been that the present Government of India is preferable to Nazi rule in any case and it has had no small part in determining the attitude of political leaders. It is well to face that fact squarely. Anti-Nazism has been Britain's best friend in this crisis in India. As it is not possible for politicians who have stumped the country in the cause of Indian independence frankly to avow this, the resolutions reach the same conclusion through devious ways.

The best of these is the Congress Working Committee's statement which was published on September 15. Gandhiji has since revealed that it was drafted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In it India's attitude to the War is considered from the broadest point of view. The Working Committee seeks a clear statement from Britain of her war aims in regard to democracy and imperialism and "the new order that is envisaged;" and as to how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present. In brief the attitude of the Working Committee seems to be one of eagerness to fight the Nazis, provided the British Government is prepared to fight imperialism on all fronts. The indictment of British policy in Manchukuo, in Abyssinia, in Czechoslovakia and in Spain conveys the feeling that the Congress Working Committee requires reasons before it can believe or ask the country to believe that the independence of Poland is more essential to world democracy than was the independence of these other countries; and some proof that Britain had undergone a change of heart and was now prepared to fight Fascism all over the world. The first of these cannot be maintained. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Chamberlain is prepared to concede to the Indian National Congress what deterred him from an understanding with M. Stalin and the Soviet State. It is more likely that Britain in the midst of her "War to end Hitlerism," already in danger of being mixed up with Russia in a war to end Stalinism, will be thankful to keep herself free from other entanglements in China and in the Mediterranean. The Congress, we may take it, will not insist on this rather far reaching demand. The Congress statement raises immediately the issue of the moral justification of the present War. It must be proved to be a disinterested one so far as Britain is concerned. It must also be shown to be a good thing for India, both immediately and in the future. Both these can be easily done—particularly now that the Congress itself is anxious to be convinced.

The National Liberal Federation asks the country to give ungrudging and unconditional support to Britain, restates its faith in democratic principles and declares its repugnance to Nazism and Fascism. At the same time, it asks the British Government to create psychological conditions in India which may lead to general political appeasement and render the fullest co-operation possible. As measures in this direction, it suggests the replacement of the present Central Government by a responsible one and the creation of a modern and efficient Indian Defence force to enable India to defend herself. The Hindu Mahasabha makes much the same suggestions and in addition recommends changes in the Communal Award particularly in Bengal and the Punjab. It concludes with a warning to the Viceroy not to regard the Congress as representative of Hindu opinion. The Mahasabha statement contains such suggestions of detail on the Indianization of the army as the removal of the distinction between martial and non-martial races, the expansion of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Territorial Force and the University Training Corps, and the encouragement of arms and motor manufactures in India. The Democratic Swaraj Party in its resolution declares its sympathy with Britain and regrets that India, because of her economic and political condition and on account of the total disarmament now existing here, cannot give effective expression to that sympathy. The Independent Labour Party seeks a declaration that the ultimate political status of India will be Dominion Status and the throwing open of the Army to all Indians. In a lengthy statement it urges that only a clear declaration of the terms of the peace which must follow this War and an assurance that India will be consulted on questions of foreign policy, can create public enthusiasm for India's entry into it. It writes:

> India has a greater claim to participate in the foreign policy of the British Empire and in the making of the peace terms than any Dominion. The Dominions have the right to be neutral. Consequently they are not bound to undergo the consequences of a war resulting from a particular foreign policy if they do not approve of the justness or propriety of the war. But India has no escape from any war which the British Cabinet chooses to involve themselves in. If India is to be committed to war or peace then she has an absolute right to be consulted, which sadly is not the case to-day.

The Muslim League has drawn up an indictment against the Congress and has in effect told the British Government that, unless the Governors of Indian Provinces are directed to intervene more energetically and more frequently in the interests of the Muslim minorities, Muslim cooperation cannot be real and full. It also asks that no constitution for India should be framed without consulting the Muslim League. The attack on the Congress reads like a Nazi broadcast against the treatment of German minorities in enemy countries: "in the Congress-governed provinces today the liberty, person, property and honour of Mussulmans are in danger and even their elementary rights are trampled upon most callously." The League further states that this country is composed of "various nationalities and does not constitute a National State." The Muslim community is in a peculiar position in British India. Whilst it is advised by its biggest political party to keep back co-operation until the League demands are satisfied, it is the one community to which appeals have been addressed by Muslim rulers of Indian States to cooperate unconditionally. Most of the Indian Princes have been content to offer their services and the resources of their State—not as the Congress statement thinks for the preservation of democracy in Europe but out of loyalty to the King-Emperor. One or two have appealed to British India to do the same. But all the Muslim rulers, in whose States by the way there are a majority of Hindu subjects, have appealed specially to the Muslims of India for full cooperation. Of the many attitudes adopted by the various parties in the country, that of the Muslim League seems to be the most difficult to reconcile with the others.

A WAR-TIME REFLECTION.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

One of the worst features of war-time is that, along with so many other restrictions imposed on individual liberty, one's right of independent thinking and of freely expressing thoughts is also seriously curtailed if not directly or indirectly taken away. Indirectly because, though free expression of thoughts and opinions may not be actually forbidden, the strict notice likely to be taken of them by the Government of a belligerent country, if the opinions be in any way critical of the Government or of the Government's policy, effectively stops freedom of thought and expression. In a country under the political dominance of a warring country matters are naturally much worse, because people in a dependency are without many of the civil liberties enjoyed by people of an independent country. The people of such a country feel the difficulties more keenly, as their interest in the war being remote and a mere incidence of dependency, they cannot remain as absorbed and engaged in matters concerned with the war as the people of the fighting countries. But for all the bitterness coming through such mental strangulation, the people of dependent countries must thank themselves for their state of dependency is only the result of their own past lapses and misdeeds and present effortlessness.

A most unhappy consequence, however, of such restrictions is that much of the thought contribution on current topics, particularly political and economic, which thoughtful and far-seeing people of the time could and would have made, is lost, though such contribution might well have helped towards their solution and correct appraisement. In the absence of such deep thinking and unbiased exposition, the questions of the hour not only go unjudged and unappreciated but are vitiated by false colouration and misrepresentation indulged in by people, who either lack discernment and correct judgment, or under stress of circumstances feel compelled to write to the tune of the reigning government's propagandists. That is another incidence of dependency and an unavoidable consequence of war conditions to write thus against one's conscience and better judgment and even against one's cherished and avowed principles—many would perhaps say; but thereby they would not give any solace to free-thinkers and lovers of truth, who bemoan the sudden disappearance of straight-forwardness and honest view-points from the public press. Not only does this disappearance become plain and obvious in newspapers and periodicals, but there also appear often wilful and studied distortion and misrepresentation transfused into editorial comments and writings. Why that should be done is, however, not clear. The editors and conductors of papers may feel the pinch of censorship and of implied restrictions on freedom of expression, but for that reason there can be no explanation for their going out of their way to say and write what they do not believe in,—unless of course it be with a desire to enter their names in the good books of the State authorities. Those who adore the principle of observing truth and discarding injustice and untruth more than what may come from the approving smile of the powers that be, can well put off their political editorials till war clouds have cleared and normality of conditions has returned. And, if they feel their fingures itching for the pen they might better take up non-political themes and discourse on, for instance, social and moral philosophy. In that way they will be doing far more good to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

themselves and to the public than by dishing to them every morning or every week writings underlined by propagandist motive. Ordinarily they do not get much time, nor, perhaps do they feel inclined, for thoughtful study and deep undisturbed contemplation by themselves on issues and problems ultimately affecting human affairs. They should better utilise their precious leisure during war-time in such useful pursuit and in writing out for public benefit the product of their study and deliberation. The reading public after going through the news columns may turn or not to those thoughtful writings, but those of them who do so will be benefitted, and will no doubt be spared the suffering of reading literature inspired by timid mentality and by thoughts fixed on merely pleasing the country's government.

From that point of view a war can even be taken as not an unmitigated evil, for it gives forced scope and leisure for philosophical reflections over and penetrating analysis of non-political matters of great human significance, which busy journalists and leader-writers neglect, during the pre-occupations of peace time. Such occasional analysis and reflection from a high plane enrich journalism, do good to one's soul, heighten wisdom and clarify vision.

RELIGION AND WAR.

(By Paul Santamurti, Lucknow).

All nations profess to believe in God as the father of mankind. They either believe or do not believe. It cannot be both ways. They cannot for any length of time make people believe that they believe and yet act as if they did not. That method of doing things may be paying for a while, but, in the long run, it will collapse. A war or even a rumour of war will upset all systems and calculations built on pseudo-belief. If we say that we believe, what is the nature of our belief about our God? Do we believe that we have a bargaining god whose favours might be gained or whose anger might be averted by gifts, offerings, sacrifices, praises, prayers and cajoling? Or do we believe that we have for God a loving father who is as holy, just and righteous as he is loving and merciful? Do we believe that we could go on living as we would and expect God, holy and righteous, to draw our chestnuts for us out of the fire, simply because we pray to him, to do this or do that? If we neglect righteousness, mercy and love, the fundamental basis of all true faith, how can we expect God to heed our prayers merely because we stick to the official forms of prayers? What are all our fasts and prayers worth if they ignore, at bottom, truth, justice, fair play and love?

If we honestly believe that we want peace we must, first and foremost of all, eradicate all the causes of war, even if need be, through a thorough surgical operation, pain and suffering though such a process might entail. To plant a tree, that will bring forth bitter and poisonous fruit, and then, when the tree begins to bring forth, to stand up and pray to God, that its fruits should turn out to be sweet and life-giving, is to insult the person whom we pray to.

War is not God-made. It is the direct result of our having strayed away, from His Laws, from His Home and from His Love. The desire to get rich, to amass wealth, to accumulate capital, to hoard is the chief cause of all troubles. "The love of money is the root of all kinds of evil which, some reaching after, have been led astray from faith," says Saint Paul.

Accumulated capital or money-capital, is a dead thing unless it is allowed to multiply. So if it has to live, it must produce profit, dividends, rent, interest, or whatever name one chooses to call it by. If wealth is not to dwindle away, if it is not to disappear it must be productive and produce more wealth. Where accumulation stops, waste or deterioration sets in. Thus, in order to save capital from ruin, we have to resort to the exploitation of workers, by means of over-work, lower wages and various other kinds of man's inhumanity to man. It is only then, that dividends and profits will come. The lower the wages, the greater the profits, is the law of capitalist economics but low wages bring down the purchasing power of the people and that means less sales. When sales go down, production has to be restricted and restricted production leads to unemployment, higher prices and less consumption. Lowering of the standards of living, which is the result of unemployment and less consumption, leads to the destruction of the home markets. Nations have, then, to go in search of foreign markets, where they are sure to be greeted by the complications of international competition and tariff laws. The next step for each nation is, to secure colonies, dependencies of its own and erect tariff walls to safeguard its own interests and export capital. This breeds fear, distrust, desire for security, Armaments races, Imperialism, Fascism and War. Individually and collectively, we want to hold fast to our private rights of property in productive capital. In order that the capital may grow more and more and not diminish we want to earn profits and more profits.

It may be retorted that all capitalists and monied men are not wicked and that there are many, who are generous, kind, noble, charitable and even philanthropic and so on. Yes, there are many such people, and we thank God, that they are there, in spite of all the inhuman tendencies of a god-denying, man-ignoring and profit-hunting social order. But even if all the capitalists of the world were equally generous and philanthropic, the net result of the vicious system will not be anything different from what it will be, if all of them were wicked.

Be the individual capitalists however noble or enlightened, it will not make the slightest difference, and war will be, the inevitable and inescapable consequence of a social and economic order, based upon the private ownership of productive capital and whose chief driving force is the profit motive. Let us, for argument's sake, concede that a few manufacturers pay their workmen far higher wages than the rest. What will happen? First and foremost of all they will be driven out of the field, either by competition, or a by bankruptcy court, or by both combined. They will be soon standing, beside their erstwhile employees, or will be on the streets, in search of work or in the poor-house. Even if they escaped all these humiliations, the result upon society, will not be different. Their higher wages might raise the purchasing power of their workmen, for a time, which will mean more sales, more employment, more consumption, higher standards of life, and more production. All these will only be a day's wonder, because, increased production will immediately bring the prices down and the old process of low prices, less profits, reduction of wages, low purchasing power, less sales, restricted production, unemployment, less consumption, high prices, lower standards of living, destruction of the home markets, search for colonies and dependencies, tariff walls, export of capital, anxiety for security, Imperialism, Fascism, Armament races and War, have to be gone through, again and again, in a vicious circle, out of which there will never be even a hope of escape. So,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wars have deeper causes than the temporary insanity of individual dictators, and as long as the causes of war are not removed, root and branch, it will be futile to pray for peace.

Whoever might be responsible for war, God does not want it, and when anything that seems, for a time, to run counter to His will, happens, He is able to make that evil, which threatens the good, to subserve his plans of ultimate goodness for the world. So let us pray that along with the toll of human lives and carnage and bloodshed that this war might take out of the world, it might also take away all the causes of war and that, out of this war might come, a New Social Order, a New civilization with a lasting peace based on obedience to God's laws of Love and Brotherhood.

INDEPENDENCE AND EMPIRE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It was very chivalrous of Mahatma Gandhi to have assured the world that at the present European crisis, which of course affects India also, he is not anxious even about the "deliverance" of his country; for what will that deliverance be worth if Britain and France are defeated or if Germany is humbled? So the deliverance of our country, the sacred cause of our freedom, is virtually a secondary matter. We are to be interested in this matter only in times of European peace. We are to talk about it, and perhaps act, when Britain and France are safe and Germany is not humbled.

It raises not only a grave political issue, but a moral issue of the first magnitude. Can a nationalist, without loss of integrity, relax his interest in the cause of Indian freedom, no matter what the world situation may be? His first loyalty is to the cause of national well-being, and if that well-being demands political emancipation, he must be prepared at all times, under any conditions, to struggle for freedom. It is the first duty of the Indian nationalist, regardless of his party or creed, to fight for and safeguard the honour and betterment and freedom of his country. And this moral duty cannot be regulated by the state of affairs in Europe or any other part of the world. Surely, reason does not sanction selling the interests of the country on credit, for a remotely possible measure of responsible self-government to be doled out by Great Britain under insulting protests from Churchill and his kind.

Few of us are so blind as not to see that our country must be dragged into any war which Britain chooses to enter. But are we going to welcome the coercion? Are we not going to register protests against such domination? Just because Britain decides she must declare war, so as to maintain the balance of power and protect herself and her imperialist interests, is it morally imperative or logically necessary for India to give up her struggle for her own independence and democracy, and run with her gold and her men into the whirlpool of imperialism to help those who hold her as a subject country?

There is certainly no question about India's sympathy being on the side of democracy as against all forms of Nazism with its inhuman race-feelings and race-animosities. In the event of the democracies being threatened there should be no question of India's alliance with the democracies, but only if she attains to the status of an independent democracy and can enter such an alliance on terms of absolute equality and liberty. That is why it becomes so urgently incumbent on Indian nationalists and Indian leaders to do their utmost so that India might find her place among the democratic and self-governing nations as early as possible. Only when India can join the struggle as an equal partner will there be any honour and significance in her joining. If India were an independent democratic state, as she aspires to be, there is no question of her active sympathy with Poland. But such help can only be given by *India* not by *British India*. As it is, we can only wish Poland well and watch her brave defence with admiration, for India itself is in a worse condition than Poland.

With our passion for freedom, justice and democracy have we forgotten within 20 years the aftermath of the last war? Calcutta and Bombay used to have a race in war gifts not to speak of the hundreds of other sources of huge donations. Our Gurkha and Pathan and Sikh troops fought with celebrated bravery. We can not again pin our faith to the chances of future courtesies and benefactions. We dare not forget our first and solemn duty of keeping up the struggle for Indian independence, and of continuing with might and main to keep the nation prepared for non-violent action.

The present crisis, portending chaos and suffering and destruction, must spur Indian nationalists to strive for unity and solidarity. The only unity worth the name can be achieved on the basis of utter frankness, mutual good will, and political singleness of purpose. Somehow, our leaders must bring this about. Between all political parties, communal groups, ideological factions, between Rightists and Leftists, the High Command and the Forward Bloc, radicals and conservatives, between the various communities, somehow there must be brought about complete mutual understanding, trust, and willingness for concerted action. Any suspicions about political aims and objectives, any doubts about *bonafides*, any misgivings about a clash of personal and public interests and about the willingness to push forward and make sacrifices must be removed by deliberate effort. This is assuredly not the time to stand on ceremony. Waiving aside false pride and puerile feelings of personal prestige, all sections in India should be rallied together by the call of nationalism, welded together by the single drive of national service.

Such a lead will be more conducive than anything else to the infusing of fresh energy, hope and faith in the rank and file of the people. We cannot afford to let the faith of the masses in the struggle for independence waver at this juncture. We cannot afford to let youth feel discouraged or driven to desperation by a feeling of indefinite postponement. We cannot afford to give the impression that any section of Indian nationalists are losing their revolutionary spirit and enthusiasm. I remember when I visited some of the Congress Ministers of the Central Provinces a few days after the Ministry was formed in 1937, how heartening it was to hear their remark, "We know we don't belong here. We are birds of passage. We belong to the streets, the shish, the struggle, and are ready to go back to it all." This spirit must become contagious and touch the lives and hearts of youth and the masses. The gallant spirit of 1921, and the succeeding decade must again, and on a nation-wide scale, become the inspiration of India. With the passion of an inner conviction, with the whole-heartedness of complete understanding and goodwill, India must be prepared to act as one man for the national cause.

As the present war crisis assumes more and more menacing proportions, somehow our leaders must devise means of inculcating upon our people, the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

masses, the students, the bourgeoise, congressmen, and non-congressmen, the desperate need for individual and collective integrity, for individual and collective stamina, for individual and collective realism. It is only that at times of crisis obvious things are forgotten, and there is a feverish tendency to put first things second, that some of these things have to be said. The Indian struggle demands absolute integrity on the part of every individual citizen, and on the part of collective groups of citizens, whatever their insignia and labels. Without that no national struggle can be kept up; and even if it is sustained it can do nothing for the advancement and permanent good of the nation. The Indian struggle demands unshrinking courage from every individual Indian citizen and groups of citizens, because unless we have a tenacity of purpose, a quality of grim constancy under the worst conditions, we will hardly prove worthy of the freedom we seek. And the Indian cause demands sheer realism on the part of individual citizens and political and communal groups, since we know the sad results of sentimental or romantic patriotism. Liberty is an ideal to be sure, but we are out to complete and realize that ideal in action. We must be realists to see that it is in practice we must obtain and confer the liberty, equality and fraternity that we have sought and shall seek to the end. The romantic idealism that has coloured some of our nationalism in the past, and still colours the thought and inconsistencies of certain sections today, must be purged. And in its place we must develop a sturdy political realism that is determined to span the gulf between theory and practice, platform oratory and actual conduct, ideals and action.

The European crisis, therefore, should awaken us to take stock of our nationalism and to strive to put into it what it lacks. It should bring us closer together to face facts unitedly and realistically, so that we might be aware of our first duties, our first loyalties, the first demands on our lives, energies, and activities. The Indian nationalist demands justice for his country and the right, the inalienable right, of 360 million human beings to manage their own affairs and do their best for the economic, social, and political advancement of the country. The Indian nationalist protests against foreign domination and economic exploitation. And, therefore, it is his solemn obligation not to rest until his country has achieved freedom and justice and is capable of shaping its foreign policy as an honourable equal in the commonwealth of nations. We have nothing against Britain. But we do not, and, as self-respecting people who love liberty and democracy as deeply as the British or the French, we cannot, submit to the humiliating position of a subject people and be dragged into war as chattel. Thus, although we wish with all our hearts that the free democracies may be safe and triumphant, we wish it because we ardently desire that our nation should attain to the position of a free democracy as soon as ever it can. It must never be Fascism and Nazism; she is equally opposed to Imperialism; for all are species of the generic evil of domination. And domination is a denial alike of freedom and democracy.

Yours etc.,
CYRIL MODAK.

"INDIA AND THE WAR."

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have always enjoyed your trenchant observations on public affairs and your flair for nailing to the counter the none too infrequent fallacies and instances of potted thinking that lurk in the utterances of our public men. Your latest leader on "India and the War" was no exception. Amidst the din and dust of the propaganda that is seething around us at the moment, it is refreshing to turn to your clear-headed views on India and the war. When in the name of international liberty and justice, appeals are made to us to throw our entire resources in men, money and munitions unconditionally at the service of Great Britain, is it 'exploiting England's difficulty' (with the implied moral stigma) to question how the selfsame principles are faring with respect to India?

Sangli,
13th September, 1939.

Yours etc.,
V. R. KULKARNI.

HITLER'S WORLD REVOLUTION*

The Russo-German agreement does not come as a complete surprise to those who have studied closely the ideals which have been shaping the policy of Nazi leaders. These ideas have little to do with the official "ideology" of the Nazi programme, the rantings against "Bolshevic subhumanity" or the romantic vision of a trek of German colonists on the medieval model to win a new "Lebensraum" in the Ukraine. They are hard and realistic and to a considerable extent they have been stolen from the intellectual arsenal of British Imperialism.

In 1904 one of the leading spirits of British Imperialism, Sir Halford Mackinder, then professor of geography at Oxford set out for the first time, in a lecture to the Royal Geographical Society, his startling doctrine of "the pivot of history." The "pivot of history" was in his opinion "the heartland of the Old World," in the other words the great plain stretching from the mouth of the Elbe to the mouth of the Amur, the cradle of those barbarous hordes which, like the Huns and later the Mongols, had poured out from here to subdue the countries on its fringes, Western and Southern Europe, India and China. Against this "heartland," the centre of "land power," there stood the representatives of the other fringe, the Sea Powers—Great Britain, the United States and Japan. On this theory history, in the last resort, revealed itself as the struggle between the land power of the "heartland" and the Sea Powers for the control of the inner semicircle.

The idea Sir Halford later expanded and applied to the practical problem of the reorganisation of the world after the Great War. In a book, bearing the significant title, *Democratic Ideas and Realities*, published in 1919 while the Peace Conference was deliberating at Versailles, he urged the vital necessity of preventing Germany and Russia from joining forces. These two Powers were able by the control of the heartland to dominate not only the Old World but the world as a whole. They had lost the war because they had been fighting on opposite sides, but by that common loss they might well learn their lesson and unite. Sir Halford was not satisfied with the "Sanitary Cordon of buffer states" created at Versailles, but advanced an infinitely more daring and ambitious project, the exchange of the German population of East Prussia with the Polish population of West Prussia, the later Corridor. This proposal had the incidental advantage that it avoided the irritations caused by the Corridor, but its main objective was to destroy the bridge between the Soviet Union and Germany afforded by the continued existence of East Prussia.

These ideas of Sir Halford Mackinder might have remained completely unnoticed in Germany if it had not been for a man who later became

*The New Statesman and Nation, August 26, 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the dominant influence in Nazi policy. General Haushofer, the creator of "geopolitics," was an officer on the Bavarian General Staff, and from 1908 onwards was attached for several years to the Japanese Army. As a result of his observations, which went far beyond the immediate military sphere, he published on his return in 1912 a sensational book, *Dai Nippon (Greater Japan)* urging an alliance with Japan and beyond that the creation of a great transcontinental block consisting of Germany, Russia and Japan, to oppose the two Anglo-Saxon Powers. Having risen during the war to the post of a divisional commander, he took up after Versailles a professorship of geography at Munich, with the intention of developing that science into a weapon for the resurrection of German World Power.

It was Haushofer who seized upon Sir Halford's book in one of the first issues of the *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik* and recommended it as an extremely valuable medicine, which should not be refused merely because it was concocted by the enemy. Adding to it ideas he had gathered in the East, he developed the apocalyptic vision of a world-wide rising of the coloured nations of the East against the capitalistic rule of the Western Democracies, sponsored and led by the Soviet Union and by Germany.

These ideas, propounded by him the *Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik* had considerable influence upon the German Far Eastern outlook as well as upon Reichswehr circles. His real hour, however, came with Hitler's accession to power. Rudolf Hess, Hitler's deputy in the leadership of the Nazi Party, had been Haushofer's A. D. C. throughout the war and later on for a time his assistant at his institute for "Geopolitik." Through him Haushofer had come into contact with the Nazi movement almost from the beginning. In the days of its greatest defeat, after the abortive "Putsch" in Munich in 1923, he had hidden Hess himself and the archives of the party on his farm in the Bavarian uplands. He had been almost alone in visiting Adolf Hitler, when imprisoned in the little Bavarian fortrews of Landshut on Lech. Thus, although his marriage to a lady of Jewish extraction made official affiliation to the party impossible, he exercised through his contacts with its leading figures a profound influence upon its policies—in particular in the field of foreign affairs—much to the indignation of the racial purists in its inner circles.

Behind the convenient camouflage of the party's official doctrine the programme, which he first outlined in his great clarion calls to German youth in 1924, has today been brought nearer success. In seeking a rapprochment with Russia, Herr Hitler has adopted the policy of an influential wing within the party, which is also the policy of the General Staff. Such a rapproachement, if the Russians play the game as Haushofer wants them to play it, does not necessarily mean any disturbance of the older agreement with Japan under the anti-Comintern Pact, though it may disturb the Japanese Army for which the securing of Germany's assistance in the case of a Far Eastern struggle with the Soviet Union was the main factor in inducing her to sign that agreement. But on Haushofer's policy Russian and Japanese agreements would both be instruments in the same great plan, which aims at nothing less than the revolutionising of the "Colonial World" against the capitalist rule of the Western Democracies and the establishment of a New World Order, in which Berlin would distribute the spheres of influence amongst its partners and, where necessary, mediate between them. Whether Stalin, who, unlike the statesmen of the West, has studied the writings of the Nazis, will find the role allotted to him by the professor of Geopolitics sufficiently attractive is quite another question.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Wai (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar (" ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ah...)
Dhulia (District W... Khande...)
Dondaicha (" ")
Nandurbar (" ")
Shirpur (" ")
Shahada (" ")
Sakri (" ")
Sindkheda (" ")
Taloda (" ")
Malegaon (District Na...)
Satara (" ")
Kalwan (" ")
Dohad (District Pan... Mahi...)
Kalol

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Koshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1 DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

The Manager,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Kamakshi House,

Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mensana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

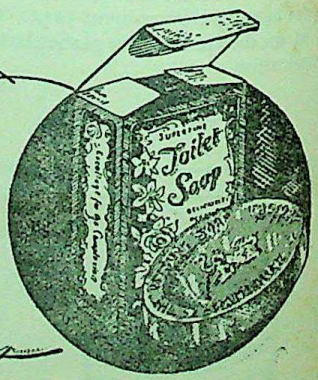


For **BEAUTY SEEKERS**

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE *Sandal* **SOAP**

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN. S. NATARAJAN.

Office :— KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 16, 1939. No. 3.

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Bargaining ?
Federation Suspended.
Indian Unity.
India and the War.
Defence of S. Africa and India.
Mr. Chamberlain Corrects Lord Halifax.
The Congress on the War.
A Lost Opportunity.
Poland and the War.
Mr. Kumarappa's Apologia.
The Jewish Problem.
The Travancore University Manuscripts Library.
Out of One's Element.
Sir Radhakrishnan and Benares University.
Mr. Baty on the Jews.

NOTES.

Bargaining ?—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Sir Jagdish Prasad have both deprecated any bargaining by India with Great Britain for the support which she is bound to give in the present war. Sir Jagdish Prasad is a member of the Government of India and if his speech in the Council of State was made in a purely official capacity, we should not be justified in applying to it tests which are inappropriate to official pronouncements which expound policies and which may or may not coincide with the speaker's beliefs and convictions. Sir Jagadish, however, prefaced his statement with an avowal that he was speaking as an Indian; and that is our excuse for endeavouring to see how far his observations showed a correct understanding of the Indian standpoint. When we say 'the Indian standpoint,' we do not mean a standpoint which would evoke the loudest applause at a public meeting. We mean that which a study of India's history and culture and the instincts into which these have crystallised, point as the direction to which the public mind is most likely to incline. Now, what is it that these two distinguished Indians deprecate when they deprecate bargaining? So far as we understand, it is the demand, petition or prayer that the political constitution of the country should be made such as would allow the men and women of India to grow to the full height of their physical, intellectual and spiritual stature. This is the aim and object, or should be the aim and object, of constitutional reform. How can this be called bargaining? You expect and require Indians to pull their weight in the Commonwealth like the self-governing Dominions. Is it bargaining if Indians plead that you should give them the same opportunities of self-development as has been given to these sister nations of the Commonwealth, in order that they may be able to do so? If Sir Jagdish asks his servant to go to Cape Comorin and bring him a handful of the famous sands in twenty-four hours' time, he should endow him with a pair of wings or else present him an airplane with sufficient petrol to last the journey. He should also have trained the man thoroughly to handle the intricate mechanism of the craft. If the servant on receiving Sir Jagdish's order, pleads respectfully like the 'mendicant' Liberals or demands turbulently like the khadi-clad Satyagrahi, that he has neither wings, nor a plane nor training in piloting the plane and that, therefore, arrangements should be promptly made to supply him with them so that he may efficiently and expeditiously carry out his master's order, is it right to scold him for trying to drive a bargain? Sir Jagdish said that the cause of Polish freedom was that of human freedom. Does it mean that as soon as Poland succeeds with the help of her great and powerful allies in repelling the German invasion, all countries including India will achieve their freedom? Sir Jagadish knows more than any other Indian the actual position of Indians in different parts of the Empire. He has striven hard to bring about an improvement in it and he knows how hard it is to secure even some small relief. Indians have the will but with these and similar handicaps, their contribution to the service of the Empire must lack in the fulness which comes of spontaneity. It is above all the duty of those who wish India to make her full contribution to the safety and stability of the Commonwealth, to take every opportunity of securing to the Indian people free access to the sun and air without which their growth must be stunted and they themselves be a drag on the Commonwealth. Since writing the above, we have seen Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's timely suggestion that the basis of the Central Government should be widened in order to strengthen the solidarity of the administration, which otherwise might tend to weaken under the stress of provincial autonomies, now that the Federation, which was to be the coping stone of the new constitution, has been indefinitely postponed. Nothing more is intended by those who incorporate much the same sort of suggestion in the support which they offered to Britain in the war.

Federation Suspended :—The Viceroy addressed a joint session of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly on Monday. His Excellency delivered a message from His Majesty the King. It ran as follows;

In these days, when the whole of civilisation is threatened, the widespread attachment of India to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

cause in which we have taken up arms has been a source of deep satisfaction to me. I also value most highly the many and generous offers of assistance made to me by the Princes and people of India. I am confident that, in the struggle upon which I and my peoples have now entered, we can count on sympathy and support from every quarter of the Indian continent in the face of a common danger. Britain is fighting for no selfish ends but for the maintenance of a principle vital to the future of mankind—the principle that relations between civilised states must be regulated, not by force, but by reason and law, so that men may live free from the terror of war, to pursue the happiness and well-being which should be the destiny of mankind.

(Signed) GEORGE, R. I.

Indian readers would have raised their eyebrows when they came upon the phrase "the Indian continent" in the Royal message. It is generally known nowadays that Royal messages are carefully edited by Ministers. Partition as a means of solving communal rivalries is in the air. Is there any significance in the use of the word "continent" instead of "country"? If so, what? If Russia, the United States and China are countries, why should that well-understood word be denied to India? Perhaps, we are reading more into the word than was intended. Our excuse is that Sir Samuel Hoare is a member of the Cabinet. The Viceroy's announcement that his great achievement, the Federation, will be suspended, cannot but cause a pang in Sir Samuel's heart. Does the word "continent" imply that, though India has escaped Federation, she may have to face partition at the end of the war? However that may be, the Government of India, now that Federation has gone into the back-ground, should be readjusted in relation to the autonomous provinces. The amendment of the Government of India Act which was carried through Parliament last week and the Defence of India Act, give increased control of the provinces to the centre. But what is needed is not control but co-ordination. The Central Government should be expanded so as to include non-official representatives. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Aney, all members of the Legislative Assembly, and leaders of their respective political parties, may be co-opted to the Governor-General's Cabinet. Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, President of the Liberal Federation to whose views the National Congress is steadily approximating, and a member of the Council of State, would naturally also be co-opted. All four are tried and responsible Indian leaders and their association with the Central Government will make it strong in council and inspire considerable confidence in the country.

Indian Unity:—Innumerable illustrations can be given to show that India is a country organically related in all its parts, the most distant from each other. Here is one from the last Sunday edition of the *Hindu* of Madras. Badrinath is a famous shrine seated several thousands of feet aloft amidst the eternal snows of the Himalayas. A recent pilgrim to this shrine contributes an interesting account of his experiences to the journal. Incidentally he mentions that the Raval or the High Priest of the shrine is chosen from one of the Nambudiri families by the Travancore State, in the extreme south, approved by the Maharaja of Tehri Himalayan State, and installed as the Trustee of the temple shrine to manage its affairs, both temporal and spiritual. This custom dates from the time of the first Shankaracharya, the founder of the shrine, who was a native of a village in Travancore, of the Nambudiri Brahmin caste and must be at least a thousand years old. Throughout the millennium, in spite of all political vicissitudes, the custom has been followed without a break. Thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the country, and of all castes undertake this arduous pilgrimage every year with practically little equipment, and along the mountain route at convenient intervals are rest-houses and other amenities provided by the piety of devotees. The writer in the *Hindu* speaks with great enthusiasm of the excellence of the arrangements on the way, available alike to rich and poor which has been in existence from ancient times without any official control. The whole thing seems to work automatically like so many other things in Indian life.

India and the War:—The announcement that the British Government is making preparations in the expectation that the war may last three years is perplexing. Two Great Powers are ranged together in this conflict with a third Power which has risen to greatness within the last six years from the state of utter depression in which she managed to emerge from the last war and the Treaty of Versailles. All the other countries, great and small, have declared their neutrality and are standing by, interested witnesses of this gladiatorial scene. These Powers have all joined in denouncing the aggression of Japan on China, of Italy on Ethiopia. They can not surely regard the invasion of Poland in a different light, more especially as it involves their own authority as member States of the League of Nations. But they seem to do so. They seem to regard "collective security" as a greater danger to their security than neutrality. But the point we wish to emphasise in connection with the announcement of the British Government is that in framing their policies the conditions of India should be given prominent consideration. To concentrate on European conditions and leave India to adjust her affairs to whatever may be found necessary to meet European conditions, is neither fair to this country nor advantageous to the Empire. We noticed with amazement that the Secretary of State for India is not in the War Cabinet. Lord Zetland seems either to have effaced himself completely or to have been left out as a negligible quantity. India has cause to be disappointed in either case. In view of the obvious fact that none of the slogans suitable to Great Britain and the self-governing Dominions are suitable to India—General Smuts has made the future of South-West

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Africa the decisive factor in moving him to oppose General Hertzog's policy of neutrality. Something should be done to inspire an active interest in the prosecution of the war in the Indian people. Passive acquiescence or even sympathy if prolonged must lapse into indifference. Notwithstanding that *nishkama karma* or action without thought of reward is ingrained in the culture of India, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's and Sir Jagadish Prasad's appeals to this ancient precept will find more acceptance among Indians than among other nations, the western idea that the workman is worthy of his hire, has gained much ground, and it is necessary to hold out some concrete gain in addition to the spiritual value of *nishkama karma* in order to meet this contemporary development, particularly among the younger generations.

Defence of S. Africa and India :—Our comments on the Chatfield Committee's thesis that India should fix her first lines of defence against aggressive powers in Egypt and Singapore, receive unexpected but weighty confirmation in the observations of an authority eminent both as soldier and as statesman, on the defence of South Africa which is the nearest analogy to India that can be thought of. In his first pronouncement as Prime Minister on the Defence policy of his Government, General Smuts declared that South African participation in the war must necessarily be limited by considerations of geography and the special conditions attaching to the country. He went on to say :

> Their primary duty was to place their own defences in the highest state of efficiency in order to render the Union safe against any inroads. Clearly at this stage, Government could not give encouragement to citizens who wished to serve overseas. It was for the Union to give physical (*sic*) support in all questions of trade, shipping and finance.

These sentiments apply word for word to India's defence problem. Like India, South Africa is surrounded on three sides by the sea. Unlike India South Africa is undefended on the fourth side by a great mountain barrier. A part of the territory of the Union, that held under a Mandate from the League, was taken from the Germans at the last war. The restoration of South-West Africa to the Reich is one of the cherished objects of Herr Hitler. There is, therefore, a definite danger to the Union on that side instead of an undefined possibility as in the case of India. To the defence of the Union on the northern frontier, it will be of vital importance if the enemy is stopped in Egypt. The Chatfield Committee's reasoning has therefore, more application to South Africa than to India. Singapore, again, is more important to South Africa than to India. The Japanese who are supposed to be the likely aggressors, want before everything land for their overflow population to settle on. Their statesmen have declared that they do not contemplate settling it in any tropical country. Moreover, the standard of life in this country is not higher than that in Japan and the tide of emigration, unlike water, tends to flow from a lower to a higher level. South Africa rather than India is, therefore, likely to attract Japanese aggression if there is really going to be any. Here, again, Singapore is more accessible to South Africa than to India. These considerations which bulk so largely in the eyes of the Chatfield Committee and the British Government with reference to India, have not occurred to the expert judgment of General Smuts. Nor has the British Government thought of suggesting to him the advisability of basing the defence of his country on Singapore and Egypt. If they did, he would perhaps dismiss it as a wild-cat scheme which will weaken rather than strengthen the defensive resources of the Union.

Mr. Chamberlain Corrects Lord Halifax :—The leader headed "A Lost Opportunity" in this issue was written immediately after reading Lord Halifax's astounding declaration in the House of Lords on Wednesday that His Majesty's Government's undertaking at the outbreak of the war not to bomb undefended places and civilian populations, was contingent on the enemy observing the same restraint. As the Germans had proclaimed their intention to ignore their own previous assurances on this matter, the inference was that the British too would not feel bound by theirs. We are glad that the impression conveyed by the Foreign Minister's impulsive declaration, reported to have been received with applause by such a staid audience as the House of Lords, has been promptly corrected by the Prime Minister in a statement next day in the House of Commons. Mr. Chamberlain said : "Whatever be the lengths to which others may go, His Majesty's Government will never resort to a deliberate attack on women, children and other civilians for purposes of mere terrorism." The declaration might have been more unqualifield than it is but it is a distinct improvement on the Foreign Secretary's, and will be received with much relief in this country which has to share the responsibility without sharing the councils of those in authority in this War. There seems to be a doubt about the authenticity of the declaration attributed to German Command and that also is a ray of hope in the deepening gloom of these days.

The Congress on the War:—The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has, after a week's deliberation at Wardha, released in a statement to the press its considered opinion on the European War. The statement has been carefully drawn up and it is on the face of it a formula based on the largest measure of agreement possible between different sections in the party. It is further reported that efforts will be made by Congress leaders to rally other political parties to the Congress attitude. In brief, the statement seeks from Britain an elucidation of the democratic and humanitarian principles involved in the present War and their applicability to India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, September 16, 1939.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY.

When the present war commenced a fortnight back, Herr Hitler announced that he had given strict injunctions to his air force to attack only military objectives. A few days ago, in reply to a question in Parliament, His Majesty's Government said that, so far as their information went, the Germans were adhering to their leaders' injunction to discriminate in their operations between military areas and open towns and villages, though several civilian lives were lost in spite of the care shown by the German bombers. This week, it is reported that Herr Hitler has declared his intention to abandon the humane principle of discrimination and has ordered his officers not to spare the civilian population, his excuse being that the Polish Government are encouraging the people to indulge in free lance hostilities, thus disentitling them to the exemptions due to non-combatants. This practically means that the war in Poland is to be a war of extermination. The announcement would have been received everywhere with feelings of horror and detestation. Apart from the merits of the German claims, this cynical avowal of brutality must arouse passionate indignation in every one who has a spark of humanity in him. Here was a great opportunity for Great Britain to win the admiration of the world by refusing to imitate Herr Hitler, grave though the provocation is. We fully expected she would not miss it on any account. We deeply regret that this precious opportunity has been thrown away. In answer to a question in the House of Lords as to the attitude of His Majesty's Government in the face of Herr Hitler's declaration, Lord Halifax of all men stated that the British Government would follow Herr Hitler's example and show no discrimination between civilian and military population in its operations against Germany since the German Chancellor has declared that he would show none in Poland. In other words, Britain will carry on a war of extermination in Germany, because Herr Hitler does so in Poland.

The present war, it has been authoritatively declared, is waged for the vindication of humanitarian principles against the arrogance of brute force. It has been described as a war to end Hitlerism. Whether eventually it will succeed in doing this or not, immediately Hitlerism has achieved a notable triumph. It has imposed upon Britain the same methods which it has felt no scruples to adopt. It would have been a resounding moral victory for Great Britain if her Government had resolutely declared: "Whatever Herr Hitler may do, we mean unswervingly to stand by the principles dictated by humanity and religion even though for the moment it may seem to put us at a disadvantage. This is a war for principles and will be fought with due regard to them." We cannot speak for o... nations. But India would have applauded s... a declaration and nerved herself to the strug... however long it may last. We cherish the h... that British public opinion will assert itself a... prevent the Government from putting in fo... Lord Halifax's declaration.

POLAND AND THE WAR.

We have the greatest sympathy for the Po... people. They are a highly gifted race. Throu... a long period of subjection and separation th... have preserved intact their sentiment of ra... and cultural unity. Copernicus, the great as... nomer, was a Pole. So in our own time w... Madame Curie, the co-discoverer with h... husband of radium. In the fascinating biograp... by her daughter of this illustrious woman, w... get glimpses of the life of the Polish peop... their simplicity, cultured outlook, intens... family affection, unselfishness, pertinacity, for... tude under great trial and total absence ... race arrogance though they had plenty ... legitimate pride in their national heritag... In the most etherial of arts, Mus... Paderewski and Chopin, both Poles, ha... achieved supreme distinction. A monograp... on "Polish Countrysides" by Louis A. Bu... published by the American Geographical Socie... two years ago, gives vivid pictures of th... peasantry, simple, frugal, pious, hardworkin... and, alas, grossly illiterate, which bear striki... resemblance to our own rural population. Th... most valuable benefit of foreign travel is tha... you make friends in many countries. It ... impossible to be indifferent to the fortun... of a country in which you have even a sing... friend whom you respect and for whos... character and attainments you cherish a hig... regard. Our sympathy for the Poles is, therefor... not sentimental but arises from a deep ... appreciation of their magnificant qualities. ... Nevertheless, we find it difficult to follo... Sir Jagdish Prasad's epigram that the freedo... of Poland means the freedom of the wor... General Smuts who is a philosopher has ... such illusion. He is not concerned with freedo... of Poland or the freedom of the world. He ha... declared war against Germany because, ... Germany succeeds in Poland, she is sure to ta... South-West Africa which he is keen on keeping ... for his own country. The Canadian Prime Minist... has ranged himself on the side of the Empir... because he fears that, if the war is lost on th... Vistula, Canada will have to defend her indepe... dence on the St. Lawrence. India has neither ... mandated territory to defend nor, in our opinion, ... is her independence likely to be endangered ... Danzig is administered as a part of Germa... rather than as a Free City by Germans wh... constitute practically the whole population. Or... interest arises solely out of the risk to Gre... Britain which German victory in this war, it ... feared, will entail. We are, of course, bound ... help Britain whenever she is in danger. T...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

dispute over Danzig and the Corridor, Mr. Chamberlain has repeatedly affirmed, can be settled by conference and negotiation. The leaflet that was scattered from airplanes over Germany cited the precedents of the Saar, the Anschluss, and Czecho-slovakia as analogies. Hitler, as observed by the shrewd Japanese Premier, has grossly miscalculated his own strength. He must have already realised his mistake, which has cost both Poland and his own country enormous losses in life and property. If all the nations which, whether from motives of timidity or prudence, have now preferred to remain neutral, come together in conference with Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia and the United States, and tell the Fuerher to stop his murderous campaign or face the united strength of the whole world, the War must end at once. And that is what would be best in the interests of all nations, including Germany.

MR. KUMARAPPA'S APOLOGIA.

The one fact that emerges out of the mathematical formulae in which Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, the talented Secretary of the All India Village Industries Association, explains his resignation from the National Planning Committee appointed by the Congress, is that there was no common ground between this earnest advocate of Gandhian economics and the other eminent Congress and non-Congress Indians who formed the Committee. Mr. Kumarappa, in plain words, wanted to subordinate large-scale industries to cottage and village industries. Few Congressmen share this ambition. Most members of the party, probably the overwhelming majority, regard the village industries programme as a concession to retain Gandhiji's leadership. A minority regard *charka* spinning as a useful way of supplementing the agriculturist's meagre income. All look upon the programme of the Spinners' Association as economically unsound; khadi is growing increasingly unsaleable despite party drives to clear off accumulated stocks under the forced stimulus of Gandhiji Jayanti Weeks. After an amiable digression into the military burden, the high salaries and the high pensions and "other internal causes," Gandhiji in his *Harijan* (dated August 26) concedes that "the painful fact has been brought home by khadi workers that, in spite of all the will in the world, the middle class khadi buyer simply has not the money to buy khadi at the increased price necessitated by the rise in wages beyond the point of three annas." In another article in the same issue Gandhiji carries the argument still further. He writes, "We may not be satisfied until khadi becomes an article of universal wear. It may be that in the prosecution of our search we may find, as some suggest we shall, that khadi can never become an economic proposition. We should then have no hesitation in making the admission however much it may hurt our pride and demolish the proposition we have hitherto advanced with so much confidence." It is the great faith of Gandhiji and of followers like Mr. Kumarappa alone that prevents them from frankly recognising the uneconomic nature of the khadi experiment. Gandhiji's latest suggestion for making it economically sound is through Government subsidy. "The subsidy," he writes in *Harijan*, September 2, "can be raised by taxing the sales of mill manufactures; the fines collected from uncertified dealers (in khadi) may also..... be paid to the A. I. S. A." The Spinners' Association is to be something like the Zanzibar Clove-Growers' Association over which political controversy raged recently. There is no reason to think that this monopoly would be more public-spirited than other monopolies have been in the past. The tax on sales of mill cloth—this we presume is what is meant by "manufactures" —must by its nature depend on public purchases on a large scale; the amount of the fines similarly must vary with the number of uncertified dealers. Even the prestige which association with the party in power has given it for the past two years has failed to push khadi sales any further.

It must have been his unbounded enthusiasm for the cause which made Mr. Kumarappa recommend the methods of the Spinners' Association to his Planning Committee colleagues. Mr. Kumarappa's statement is a piece of special pleading for one system over another which he covers up by putting forward the villager as the centre of his scheme. There is nothing in what he says to show that propped up village industries are better than large scale production. The introduction of "centralised and decentralised methods of production" is a red-herring drawn across the path of his readers. Electricity which requires centralised methods, is a great factor in "decentralising" production. Mr. Kumarappa apparently accepts the need for electrification when he says, "the method of large scale production can only be employed as a handmaiden of the cottage and village industries." But who is to say where the method should stop? The railway is the thin end of the industrial wedge. Congressmen, though they may travel third class, by no means object to the railroad—even on principle. Generally the slowing down of industrial activities in one direction leads to speeding up elsewhere. On the textile side we see the Congress exalting the *charka* as the salvation of the country; on the transport side, the railway, the automobile and the aeroplane are freely used by Congress leaders. We regret Mr. Kumarappa's resignation from the Planning Committee, which even without him is a grouping of incompatibles. We had hoped when his appointment was announced that he would be a moderating influence on the industrialization group on the Committee and that they in turn would temper his zeal for village economics. Mr. Kumarappa, on the contrary, has after seven months of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

disputation finally broken from the Committee, confirmed in his previous opinions and rather contemptuous of his dissenting colleagues. "My experience of over seven months on the Planning Committee," he writes, "convinced me that hardly anyone appreciated this all important factor." He has moreover closed the door against any other village industries man taking his place, as "there can be no compromise between the two methods."

It is quite clear to us where the difference arises. Mr. Kumarappa's thesis on the formula that Wealth is to be measured by the employment of human talent plus the means of production available, is, as he himself concedes, not accepted by the National Planners. That thesis is that Wealth is constant and means of production scarce. If this is to be so in perpetuity, we can have no quarrel with a government which adopts the Kumarappa way out of the difficulty. It may even go a step further and distribute *charkas* all round. But the National Planner differs in this very thing. He wants to increase national wealth and, as this cannot be done by just increasing the human talent already employed, he seeks to do so by forced marches towards industrialisation. That is the other extreme. Unless national wealth increases under an Indian Government, there would be one reason less for substituting a Brown bureaucracy for a White bureaucracy. The task of people like Mr. Kumarappa, one would have thought, was to prevent industrialism from deteriorating into industrialisation; to see that the increase in means of production did not occur in circumstances that threw the life of the people out of gear. In this limited but very useful sphere he could have rendered valuable service not only to the peasant whose cause he has so greatly at heart, but to the country as a whole. After all, the one thing that is certain is that means of production will increase and improve, and that national wealth will grow. We shall best help adjust the people to the coming change not by driving them in the totalitarian manner along the grooves of progress as the Planners would have it; nor by holding down National Wealth and retarding progress in the means of production as Mr. Kumarappa seems to seek; but by securing that progress, economic and industrial, does not press heavily on the human element. That Mr. Kumarappa has failed to do by his uncompromising attitude on the Committee.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM.

(By Miss M. Gommes.)

The Jews—the word, to-day, is in every mind, in every mouth. The topic may be Hitler, Palestine or Unemployment, it may be art, science, psychology or finance, there comes a moment when the Jews are always brought in. It never solves any problem but they are the usual emotional explanation, the outlet for strong passions such as hatred or blind worship. They are being labelled as a peculiar species of humanity. Some, it is true, are rather pleased and proud of this publicity, whatever that may give them, but a good many who would like to live normally as ordinary human beings, suffer from being looked upon as animals in a human zoo.

In the name of humanity, people want to help the Jews; for the sake of the same humanity, they also want them exterminated. The Jews themselves are divided; they have had to struggle for so many centuries that they will not give up the fight now, while at the same time they can not see that their problem will never be solved. Let us examine what it is that creates the problem and whether there is anything that prevents it from ever finding a solution.

For most people to-day, the word 'Jew' has become synonymous with 'refugee,' and 'refugee' again has become synonymous with 'forced kindness;' now, whenever a thing is forced upon one there is resentment, which very quickly turns to hatred: that is partly why Hitler's campaign may finally induce the world to assent to anti-semitism. But why did he start it at all, and again, why throughout the history of the world do we find that every century or so, such a campaign is being carried on? Is there in the Jew something not to be found in other races, which makes him an object of hatred to his fellow-men, or, is anti-semitism merely the necessary buffer for a humanity which has to have an outlet for its too great supressed emotions?

The development of society throughout the world shows from the very beginning of every civilization a brutal force which, as man grows, is gradually canalised and made more refined, more 'civilised'; in time, this animal instinct gets so dressed up and hidden as to make it almost impossible for anyone to detect it. It apparently disappears altogether. This marks the apex of a civilization. It is the time when we find fewest wars, the best artists and writers, the most outstanding scientists. But in itself, civilization because it has its origin in man's mind, is not a real thing: it is born of his fears and desires. However much he is able to cover and hide his real constitution, man can never hope to see that any part of his make-up will completely disappear; all he can do is to hide, to a greater or less degree, those parts of himself which do not fit into the mould. But Nature is still there: sooner or later she gets her revenge, and that which man had taken such infinite pains and aeons of time to hide comes bursting forth under one form or another. When Nature thus gets the upper hand such catastrophes as wars, revolutions, brutalities of all kinds take place, and these, being against the pattern that man has woven of society, have to be checked. How can they be, and how can Nature use her rights without upsetting this very fragile card-house which is called civilization?

The problem up till now has been solved in different ways according to the times and to the extent of man's fears, but, on the whole, we find that the best way he could devise for wriggling out of the difficulty was to let loose and encourage some strong emotion such as hatred: not only was it an excellent substitute for other forbidden emotions, but it also allowed his fears to be pacified and forgotten for a while.

This may well be the basic reason which lies at the bottom of the hatred of the Jews.

A Jew settling in a place, usually brings out this comment: 'Beware!', implying, "He will try and get our money. He will want to get into our family. By every possible means, he will suck us, and since he is clever, we will be left naked." All this is meant, and many more things which all boil

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

down to a terrific unavowed fear. Whether this fear is based upon anything real is what we will try to find out now.

The word which always come to one's lips, when a Jew is mentioned, is 'money.' The Jew is ever wanting money: if he has none, he wants some; if he has some, he wants more. He definitely has a money complex. But so has the rest of mankind, for every human being longs for security, and money is the usual way of obtaining it; the difference is that when a non-Jew gets money, he generally buys property, surrounds himself with more security, while the Jew, on the whole, invests his money, makes more; he may buy jewels or other riches besides money, but they will always be movable things which he can carry with him or on him. This, I should say, comes from the fact that unconsciously he knows that he will never be allowed to stay in a country for more than a limited time. He may live in one place happily all his life, but usually his sons or grandsons will go through an anti-semitic period which will oblige them to flee from that country they have learned to consider their own. Had they possessed land, they would have had to leave it behind and start again with nothing.

So in this respect, all the difference between the Jew and the non-Jew is that, although both have a money-complex born of a fear, one can see the Jew's money in its crude shape, while the non-Jew's fortune has taken the shape of lands, estates, etc..... The Jew, it is true, often makes himself extremely repulsive to the non-Jew by the way he boasts of this money, carries his diamonds in a conspicuous manner, and dresses loudly.

It is a psychological fact that a long repressed child inevitably develops an inferiority complex which according to his temperament, manifests itself in what may seem to be a feeling of superiority. What is true of a child, is also true of a race, and since the Jews have never had a real chance of adaptation, never have been truly considered as the equals of the people in whose country they are living, they have developed this exhibitionism which is really an inferiority. The only reason why they have taken this particular type of inferiority complex, so objectionable to the non-Jew, is probably that fundamentally they are an Eastern race and love colour and 'splash.'

But this money complex and this showing off are not sufficient reasons in themselves to explain people's hatred of the Jews. There must be some other more deeply rooted reason to account for such an attitude.

One other grievance of the "Aryan" against the Jew is the latter's quickness of mind and his intelligence. I wonder whether the Jews really are more intelligent than the non-Jews, what gives that feeling to the "Aryan," and what proofs he has of such a superiority. It is undeniable that in almost every field of human activity there is a Jew; it is also certain that most often this Jew is the head of the activity. And when there is one Jew, sooner or later, there are twenty Jews! This, of course, is very aggravating to the "Aryan"! "Why," says he, "should there always be a Jew before me?" and he adds: "I have allowed him to come and live in my country, and now, he has taken my job and is preventing my getting the best one; indeed, he is ousting me from my own country."

There is genuine disgust, envy and jealousy in this cry of the "Aryan," but there is certainly good ground for these feelings, for whether we take Science, Art, Psychology, or any other branch of activity, a Jew is there to direct and lead the way. I do not believe, however, that this is sufficient proof of his intelligence over the non-Jew, for when we examine the history of the so-called "Chosen People," we cannot help noticing the incredible number of blunders they have made throughout their adventurous life, and we are filled with admiration at the leniency of their God, who, despite the short-sightedness and apparent stupidity of the Israelites, still goes on calling them "His People."

The reason for the position that the Jew manages to win in every country is not so much his intelligence, therefore, as rather his extraordinary intuition and sensitiveness. These two qualities are inherent in every living species that wants to survive despite difficult, not to say impossible, outward conditions.

These conditions, for the Jews, came into existence with the creation of Ghettos, *i. e.*, with segregation; from the very beginning of their emigration, the Jews were ostracised and obliged to live apart: on that condition only were they allowed to stay in a country. In order to live, they had to develop qualities which were latent in them, but which, if we are to believe the Scriptures, did not develop until they came to live under those circumstances.

One cannot help wondering whether the Jew would have developed such characteristics as seem to be the basis of his temperament now, had he been allowed to mix and assimilate with the people of the countries to which he came. To say that the grievance of the non-Jew is the 'raison d'etre' of his loathing the Jew, is really putting the cart before the horse, for it obviously was the "Aryan" attitude which developed in the Jew those characteristics which he now objects to. *Hatred was the cause for the growth of such a temperament; it was not, as is usually thought, the result of it.*

The "Aryan" assuming that Jews are incapable of real adaptation would, therefore, be glad to do away with them. But can they disappear under the present conditions? The majority of them definitely do want to assimilate; they call themselves British, French, German, before remembering that they are Jews.

If they were allowed to live as real citizens of the country in which they have settled, if Aryans and non-Aryans were allowed to forget their different races, would they not mix very rapidly for the good of their countries, and would it not be soon impossible to know a Jew from a non-Jew? The whole problem would then be solved. But this will not happen.

There is something tragically grotesque about the whole question. It is impossible to-day, for any human being to proclaim the purity of his origin, for there is now no such thing as a pure race. Why then, when people have mixed ever since the world has been, do they so strictly draw the line at the Jews? What is the fundamental reason for this, and has it anything at all to do with the Jews? I think not. Jews are a necessity. No one, not even Hitler, wants them to disappear. Society, as it is now, is so repressed in all ways that a violent emotional outlet is an absolute necessity to keep it from collapsing. If there were no Jews, Jews would have to be invented. The problem, therefore, is not a 'Jewish Problem'; it is something far greater and far more tragic for there seems to be no solution to it; so long as man does not see what a fallacy his dream of civilization has proved, it will be a Problem of Society.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY.

(By A. Padmanabha Iyer.)

Though one of the chief aims of the Travancore University, as defined in the Preamble of the Travancore University Regulation, is to provide for the conservation and promotion of Kerala Art and Culture, it was decided as a matter of policy to extend the sphere of its usefulness to a wider extent and attach to the University an Oriental Manuscripts Library. This branch of study received the special attention of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. After careful consideration it was resolved to organise this institution under the Department of Oriental Studies.

About a year ago the Government requisitioned the services of that expert in the line of manuscript collection, Mr. R. A. Sastri, who has been engaged in this task for the past fifty years and is well posted in information as regards manuscript works in India literally and truly from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Sind to Assam. It has been his favourate pastime to travel all over India and abroad, for he has travelled in Europe and Great Britain and has gone even to the Arctic region in search of knowledge. The forethought of Government deserves to be applauded in having entrusted this task to Mr. Sastri whose vast experience, great learning and broad culture, not to speak of his passionate love of the subject, have been harnessed to the best advantage of the latest University in India. His intimate and unmatched knowledge of the sources of Oriental Manuscripts whether in Peshawar, Benares, Assam, Tibet, Sind, Poona, etc., has enabled him to secure for the Travancore University several and valuable Manuscripts from all parts of India. Though it is not a year since the Oriental Manuscripts Library was organised under his control, he has been able to get nearly 4,000 manuscripts, a creditable and valuable collection for the new University. The collections include rare works on the different branches of knowledge and the fact that the older Universities in India have begun to apply for copies of manuscripts which they have not been able to secure elsewhere, is an eloquent testimony to these being not only rare but valuable. I had the pleasure of visiting this Library a few months ago when I found the collections outgrowing the building.

As one interested in the subject, I visited this institution a few days ago and was pleased to find the enormous growth of this excellent collection. As I stated already, the mere number of manuscripts had reached very near 4,000. It was only a few months ago that the institution boasted of the possession of some rare manuscripts like *Al Majesty*, a work on Astronomy, *Arvamuni Sri Mula Kalpam*, a work on Buddhist Tantra, *Pasupata Sutra*, a valuable treatise on Saivite cult, *Agni Vesya Sutra*, etc. This time when I went to this institution, I was told that Mr. Sastri was able to get some more rare and valuable works. The first and foremost of these was *Sownaka Grihya Sutram* (Aphorism). This is a work dealing with the Samaskaras or purifactory ceremonies from birth to death. This is complete in 31 Patalams. This was obtained from a member of Appaya Dikshidar in Coimbatore who lived in the fifteenth century and was a well known Sanskrit scholar, referred to in the Catalogue of Oriental Scholars published in Germany (Berlin) in 1892. This Appaya Dikshidar is described as son of Ramanuja Dikshidar, Guru of Dharmayya Dikshidar. Sixty-six works are attributed to him. Another manuscript obtained from the same family is *Samaveda Bhashya* also complete. Another rare work in manuscripts which has come to this institution is *Grahyayana Sroutra Sutra* with Bhashya. This was obtained by Mr. Sastri with great effort from the rare collections of Raju Sastriar of Mannarkudi. The rarity and value of this collection could be easily understood when it is mentioned that Mr. Burnell, the well known Sanskrit scholar, who was District and Sessions Judge, Tanjore, tried his best to have a look into it but failed first. It is said that he was able to visit the house where these collections were preserved with an introduction from the then Governor of Madras. Even then he was not admitted into the house, as he was a Mlecha but he was not to be discomfited. He began to recite Vedas which surprised and moved the then owner of the collections so much that the European savant was readily shown the manuscripts and was even allowed to take whatever manuscripts he wanted. It is not known to what extent he availed himself of the offer made. With considerable tact and difficulty Mr. R. A. Sastri was able to secure the manuscripts mentioned above, which, it is said, was published in 1513 A. D.

Mr. Sastri added another interesting work in Manuscript to the Library and that is Rig Veda Bhashya, a complete work, highly valued by the Sanskrit scholars in Northern India. It would appear that those responsible for the publication of the Tilak Memorial Edition of Vedas wanted a West Coast Edition of this manuscript. When Mr. Sastri was examining a house in Cochin for manuscripts he came by this work in complete form. The publishers of the Tilak Memorial Edition being anxious to get a copy of this edition, they have been asked by Mr Sastri to apply to the authorities of the Travancore University.

The subject of Yegna (Sacrifice) is now attracting considerable attention from the West and the savants in England are issuing a publication on the subject with drawings of Diagrams on this subject. Mr. Sastri has been in search of Diagrams and Manuscripts on this highly interesting and instructive subject. When he was ransacking old manuscripts in the family of the old Ruling House of Tanjore, he came by a bundle of charts, diagrams and drawings to illustrate these sacrifices of different kinds. These appear to be complete and surprisingly fresh so far as the figures are concerned. The magnificent originality of these figures will strike anyone as singular. As, however, the paper on which these figures are drawn exactly to modern geometrical proportions, is torn, it is highly necessary to get them copied by competent hands and preserve them from further destruction. They are in Marathi characters and are perfectly legible and are reported to be 250 years old. These Diagrams ought to be very useful in making a study of the subject of *Yegna* which, it is believed, has degenerated from its old estate.

OUT OF ONE'S ELEMENT.

(By J. C. Kumarappa).

A seat was provided for me on the National Planning Committee, not in my personal capacity, but as a representative of the ideal underlying the Village Industries Association. I have now vacated that seat and so I owe it to those who hold to that ideal as an article of faith, to explain my action and the reason why I felt like a fish out of water in that committee and so had to get out for the sake of my very existence.

As the space at my disposal is limited, I cannot deal here with the legal, political and constitutional

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

differences but shall merely content myself with referring those who are interested in these to the Congress Bulletin No. 3 of 1939 in which the correspondence between the President and my self has been published. In this note we shall confine ourselves to the consideration of the economic aspect only.

According to the conception of the economic organisation on which our Association in based, the villager is taken as the centre around whom the universe revolves. What contributes to his welfare is primary and everything else is secondary. Whatever the merits of a plan may be, if it fails to give employment and thereby direct a due share of the wealth produced towards the villager, it will stand condemned. The result or end of economic activity is wealth production for consumption by the producers. Wealth is usually produced by the intelligent use of the means of production and the application or employment of human talent or power. Planning, in the first instance, consists in the rational co-ordination of these three factors. We may express this mathematically thus :

$$W = E + M$$

where W stands for wealth, E for employment of human talent, and M for means in the shape of tools, equipment or capital. In this equation, keeping W constant, if M is large, E will have to be small and *vice versa*, that is E and M vary inversely. Therefore, in planning, our first step will have to be the ascertaining of the availability of E and M.

In Great Britain, at the time of the Industrial Revolution, when capitalism was "planned" without a fanfare of trumpets there was a glut of M due to fortuitous circumstances such as the loot from India. Therefore the system evolved used more capital and less labour.

In the New World, on the other hand, there was a scarcity of E as the people were few, so they had to increase the only factor capable of increase, *i. e.* M by borrowing capital.

So we see that, in the cases of both Great Britain and the United States of America, the unconscious Planning resulted in Capitalism, in the former case due to capital being large, and in the latter case labour being scarce. We cannot adopt their methods without scrutinising the factors available to us.

When we look around our country we find E in abundance while M is very scarce, and therefore, if our planning is to be effective we have to lay our foundation stone on labour and not on capital.

My experience of over seven months on the Planning Committee convinced me that hardly any one appreciated this all important factor.

Again, the function of large scale industry was not clearly understood. Most people seemed to think that all would be well as long as we produced large quantities of standardised goods. They could not see that the method of large scale production can only be employed as a handmaiden of the Cottage and village industries, the former supplying the basic needs of the latter on a service basis. Again, if we may have mathematical symbols, we may compare the economic relationship between these two methods of production to that between the State and the Citizen in the political or social sphere as Centralised : Decentralised :: State : Citizen.

Properly conceived the State should serve the citizen. The citizen may work for his profit but not so the State. Similarly, the decentralised units may work for profit but not so the centralised units. Just as the State cannot be allowed to compete with the citizen, so also the centralised industries should not be allowed to enter the field of production of decentralised industries. If this line of demarcation is not kept clearly in view it will spell disaster.

The Planning Committee has proceeded to form Sub-Committees vertically *i. e.* emphasising the functions and thus making them into separate industries *e. g.* Banking, Insurance, etc., which is the way of capitalism. The other way would have been to take the industries horizontally and study their processes and apply the functional aid at suitable points. Taking for instance, the textile industry, they would have arranged for the buying of cotton instead of financing the cotton buyer, and they would sell the goods instead of arranging markets. The plan of work of the All India Spinners' Association is a good example of a horizontal system of planning, while a spinning mill is an example of vertical planning. There can be no compromise between these two methods.

I fear that if we proceed to plan without a keen appreciation of the two foregoing factors, we shall only be substituting brown capitalism for the white variety we are so familiar with. Who shall say whether our second state will not be worse than the first ?

SIR RADHAKRISHNAN AND BENARES UNIVERSITY.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has issued the following :—

"It is a matter of thankfulness that Dr. Sir Radhakrishnan has at my request agreed to take up the Vice-Chancellorship of the Benares Hindu University. Sir Sarvapalli occupies a unique position in the academic world. He is the Spalding Professor for life of Eastern Religion and Ethics at Oxford. He is also the George V Professor of Philosophy and President of Post-Graduate Council in Arts in the University of Calcutta. He is a distinguished member of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation at Geneva. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University for a period of 5 years. Recently he has been elected a member of the British Academy, being the first Indian to be honoured by that body.

"For the past ten years Sir S. Radhakrishnan has been unweary in the service of the motherland. He has interpreted the culture of India to the East and West as few scholars have done so far. As Haskel Lecturer on Comparative Religion at Chicago and Hibbert Lecturer in London, Sir Sarvapalli has been an unrival exponent of India's thought and culture. It is the good fortune of the Benares Hindu University that it has been able to secure the services of this savant.

"Sir Sarvapalli was invited to take the appointment on a handsome salary, but he is prepared to work in an honorary capacity. I am sure the appointment of Sir Sarvapalli will give satisfaction to all those who are interested in the progress of this all-India institution.

"This University, which was founded in 1916 as the first residential and teaching University in India, has had remarkably rapid development. Many a noble spirit has contributed to the building up of this edifice of learning. Our gratitude is due to them all and to the various governments, Ruling Princes, patrons and benefactors of the University who have helped it in its onward march.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"With His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, who has been its friend and guide from its very birth and who has been its Chancellor for the past nine years, with His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur and the Hon'ble Maharajdhiraj of Darbhanga as its Pro-Chancellors, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan and Raja Jwala Prasad as its Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Vice-Chancellor, I have no doubt that further progress of this national institution is assured. It is my fervent prayer that the grace of God by which this University was established, may continue to protect and develop it and make the Benares Hindu University a centre of the highest learning, spiritual as well as secular, for the glory of the motherland and for the glory of God."

MR. BATY ON THE JEWS.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

My letter warmly repudiating any idea that a feeling of hatred for the Jews was imbibed by practically all Christians in their early childhood was most kindly printed by you in your issue for 24th June, and I thank you for your well-known fairness.

But your sense of logic, forgive me for saying, is less apparent. My modest recital of first-hand Christian experience is met by a long ad captandum article by a Jew. And you observe, editorially, that "obviously the Jews are the best fitted to express an opinion."

My submission is that a child brought up as an average Christian knows best what Christian children are taught and how Christian children feel.

Tokio, 27th July, 1939. } Yours etc., T. BATY.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Harida's Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ah...)
Dhulia (District W... Khande...)
Dondaicha („ „)
Nandurbar („ „)
Shirpur („ „)
Shahada („ „)
Sakri („ „)
Sindkheda („ „)
Taloda („ „)
Malegaon (District Nas...)
Satara („ „)
Kalwan („ „)
Dohad (District Pan... Mahi...)
Kalol

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholap...
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broac...
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara ...
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhuli...
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer peri... are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertai... from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operat... Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balan... not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and inter... paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules ... be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to ... ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporat... Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Audit... Quarterly statements of financial position are published in ... "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Direct...

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travell... can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at a... rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahaba...

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

The Manager,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Kamakshi House,
Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches —
- BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
- BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
- CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
- ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
- MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
- KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
- AHMEDABAD.
- AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
- CALCUTTA.
- CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
- CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
- JAMSHEDPUR.
- NAGPUR CITY.
- NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
- POONA.
- POONA CITY.
- RAJKOT.
- SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mensana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd, Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports,
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports,
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 9, 1939. No. 2

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON *in the Liberator*

CONTENTS.

South African Developments.
The Chatfield Report.
Natural and Fancy Frontiers.
Gandhiji's Interview with the Viceroy.
Congress and the Crisis.
Sagotra Marriages.
Civil Service Reform.
An Announcement.
India and the War.
An Indian Centre in Chicago.
Santiniketan.
"Why Prohibition?"
Family Life in Russia.
Congress Educational Reform.
Sagotra Marriages.

NOTES.

South African Developments :—The South African Assembly accepted this week a resolution moved by General Smuts recommending severance of relations with Germany against one moved by the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, proposing that South Africa's attitude should in effect be one of neutrality. General Hertzog maintained that South Africa's relations with the various belligerents should continue as if no war was being waged, subject to a proviso that the existing relations and obligations between South Africa and Britain and other members of the Commonwealth continue unimpaired. General Hertzog evidently had taken his cue from Eire which has declared its neutrality subject to its obligations to allow Great Britain the use of her ports as naval bases. There is, however, no racial cleavage in Eire as there is in South Africa between Britons and Boers. General Smuts' resolution was adopted by a majority of 80 to 67. About 40 out of 111 supporters in the Assembly of the Government of which both General Hertzog and General Smuts were leading members, should have voted for the neutrality resolution with 27 Nationalists led by Dr. Malan. The Dominion or British party members numbering 8 would naturally vote for General Smut's resolution. The single Socialist member would have done likewise. The division shows that a decisive majority among the supporters of General Hertzog's Government did not agree with his neutrality policy. The Union Parliament has been prorogued till December. The inclusion of Mr. Hofmeyer in General Smut's new Government may be taken to mean that anti-Indian measures will, for the time being, remain in abeyance. Mr. Stuttaford, Minister for the Interior in the late Government who was in charge of the Segregation Bill passed in the last session, is also in the new Cabinet but he has been shifted to the department of Commerce. We trust that before Parliament meets in December the war would have come to an end and that the White leaders of South Africa would have come to realise the value of approaching the problem of the non-White races in the Union in a just and humane spirit.

The Chatfield Report:—An Associated Press message dated Simla the 3rd September assured the public that the Indian Army, both in matter of equipment and training, is an up-to-date force fully prepared to take the field. The next day, the Government of India issued for publication the substance of the main recommendations of the report of a Committee of which Lord Chatfield was Chairman, embodied in a despatch from the British Government. It was prominently stated in the introductory passages that His Majesty's Government had made a free gift of Rs. 33½ crores and a loan of Rs. 11¾ crores to India to bring the equipment and organisation of the defence forces in India into line with modern conditions in the next five years. How is the discrepancy between the first statement that the Indian army is up-to-date in equipment and training and this unprecedented gift of money to be expended in the next five years to modernise it, to be explained? The explanation is that the Indian Army as it is, is different from the Indian Army as the Chatfield Committee would wish it to be. The following paragraph in the despatch makes this plain :

> Hitherto the principle has been accepted that India should be responsible for the "minor danger" of the maintenance of internal security and for the defence of her land frontiers, while Great Britain should be responsible for the "major danger" of an attack by a Great Power upon India, or upon the Empire through India. Modern developments have, however, clearly shown how vulnerable India is to attack in other forms than those that were envisaged, when the principle was first laid down Such attacks, if they should ever mature, would so vitally affect India's own well-being that they would demand her immediate co-operation in effective measures for her defence. In such cases, India's defence would clearly be most effectively and economically assured by co-operation in the defence of points outside India, strategically essential to her security. Thus, the Committee have recommended as a general principle that the forces maintained by India should be adequate not merely for the narrower purposes of purely local defence, but also to assist in maintaining what they describe as "India's external security," and further that India should acknowledge that her responsibility cannot in her own interests be safely limited to the local defence of her land frontiers and coasts.

Natural and Fancy Frontiers :—His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Robert Cassels, dotted the i's and crossed the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

t's of this cryptic statement in an address broadcast from Simla on Tuesday evening. He said :—

> Look eastwards, and think what would happen to India, if Malaya and its great fortress of Singapore were to fall into the hands of an enemy. The British Fleet would thereby lose its great base in the east and the whole eastern coastline of India from Calcutta to Madras would become liable to raid and bombardment by sea and air. The loss of Malaya might well also mean a serious threat to Burma. Napoleon once said when he occupied the Low Countries that he had in Antwerp a pistol pointed at the heart of England. Burma, in hostile hands, would be a pistol pointed at the heart of Bengal.
>
> Look westwards, to the Red Sea and Egypt. So long as Egypt, our ally, is free and independent and able with our help to check the movements of a hostile power, the Indian Ocean and the shores of India are likely to remain immune from attack from that direction. In other words, it may be said that it is vital to the interests of India that Egypt and Aden should never fall into hostile hands. In the conditions of the world situation as it has developed in recent years, the places which I have named have become of the first importance to the defence of India and must be considered to be her outposts. Eastwards we have Signapore, Malaya and Burma. Westwards, Egypt, Aden and the lands of the Persian Gulf. If these were to be lost to India's friends, India would be directly threatened.

This argument was anticipated and answered in the *Reformer* of July 15 when we recalled Lord Salisbury's advice to Lord Lytton when he was Viceroy of India with reference to the North Western Frontier, warning him that military experts, if they had their way, will not be content until they have extended the frontiers to the moon. The idea of making Egypt on the West and Malaya on the East the frontiers of India in these directions would have found short shrift at the hands of that great statesman. "Modern conditions" which bulk so largely and vaguely in these documents have not rendered useless the great natural defences of India, the triple seas and the loftiest mountain ranges in the world. Indian strategy should be based upon these unique features of Indian geography. In passing we can not help the observation that Indian publicists are gravely handicapped in their examination of the Chatfield scheme by its publication on the morrow of the declaration of war in Europe. India has no quarrel with any nation. She desires, as does, indeed, the British Empire, to live at peace with all the world. It takes two to make a quarrel. India does not want to be one of the two. India is asked to acknowledge that her defence requires her to protect Egypt and Malaya. But before the Indian public knew anything of the scheme, it has been put into force. The monetary gift which goes with the scheme should not blind us to the full implications of it; during the last War India gave thrice as much to Britain. We leave the matter here for the present but obviously it must be reconsidered at the first suitable opportunity.

Gandhiji's Interview with the Viceroy :—The statement issued by Gandhiji on his interview with Lord Linlithgow was a much more qualified one than the summary broadcast from Delhi on Tuesday evening had led one to suppo... The radio message had stated in effect t... Gandhiji had appealed to his countrymen... enter on the war to end Hitlersim. T... would have meant nothing less t... his abandonment of ahimsa. The nea... Gandhiji reached to this was in the sente... "Yet it almost seems as if Herr H... knows no God but force, and, as Mr. Cham... lain says, he will listen to noth... else." So far as the attitude of India, a... more especially the Congress, was concern... Gandhiji disclaimed responsibility to speak ... behalf of anyone but himself. There is someth... in his last sentence which seems to suggest ... all parties conference on the crisis; and t... introductory remarks might be interpreted ... mean that the Government should negotiate w... the Congress Party. On the international situa... Gandhiji was more moved by the fear of an atta... on London than by the actual sufferings ... Warsaw, already bombed frequently. Pola... never seems to have figured in Gandhiji's cal... lations. On the other hand, he was v... solicitous of Germany as well as of France a... Britain. "What will India's deliverance," ... asks, "be worth if England and France fall, or ... they come out victorious over Germany, ruin... and humbled?" Possibly Gandhiji felt th... peace between these three countries was essen... before there could be peace in Poland as w... As a matter of fact, the position is the revers... An understanding between Poland a... Germany would automatically put an end to t... war, and must naturally precede a general pea... treaty. In the absence of this the war must ... one of exhaustion. The value of Gandhij... statement lies solely in its assurance to t... British in India and outside that far from the... being any desire to exploit the present situatio... there is every sympathy with Britain in he... present difficulties.

Congress and the Crisis :—Few Congressme... seem to have a just appreciation of the val... attached to their attitude in the present crisis b... political opponents. While the fears of so... Congress leaders that Gandhiji in his intervie... with the Viceroy might hastily commit the pa... to supporting Britain, have been set ... rest by his recent statement, the fears ... non-Congressmen that the party will drive ... hard bargain with the Government a... very real. The *Pioneer* which has been urgi... on Indians their supreme duty to suppo... Britain without question and without condition... has in a recent article revealed its reason fo... this insistence. It writes :

> If the Congress is going to exploit its positio... as the largest political organisation in the countr... it has to be told—and the sooner the better—th... that position means nothing more than a certa... capacity to create for itself a nuisance value.... The price of Congress cooperation cannot and ca... not be the sacrifice of those who have a vital sta... in the country and who moreover have loyally a... spontaneously placed that stake at the disposal ... the British Government. The remotest suggestio... of such sacrifice would create a sense of frustrati...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and would seriously impair that unity which is the vital need of the hour.

We do not know how far the taluqdars and the Princes whom the *Pioneer* claims to represent in this article, shares the huckstering attitude of the *Pioneer*. We would remind the *Pioneer* that both the Maharaja of Bikanir and the Jamsaheb made it clear that their loyalty was subject to no condition. Likewise Britain may take the loyalty of the taluqdars for granted in the existing conditions. In the face of this, it is ridiculous to make cut, as the *Pioneer* does, that, if Lord Linlithgow attempts to win Congress cooperation by meeting its objections, he will be faced with the danger of non-cooperation from Indian Princes and taluqdars. This goes farther than the general Indian sentiment that there should be no bargaining. It is advice to the British to persist in their Indian policy. If this is not what the *Pioneer* means, then the entire article is meaningless. The *Pioneer's* comment is a timely warning to Indian statesmen of the danger of their being stampeded into accepting otherwise unacceptable political changes under the guise of preserving "national unity."

Sagotra Marriages :—Social legislation, that is legislation affecting family life, was bitterly opposed by the public, including some social reformers. Now social reform legislation has become the fashion. The older reformers while deprecating the opposition, confined their proposals to reforms of customs or practices involving cruelty or physical and moral hardship. Sati, the remarriage of widows, child marriage, were such customs. At present, we think that a law permitting divorce has become a necessity among caste Hindus. There may be no Sanskrit word for divorce as Mr. Aney said the other day in the Legislative Assembly speaking on Dr. Deshmukh's Bill. (The Doctor was prevented from attending to sponsor his Bill by the ban laid by the Working Committee of the Congress on the attendance of Congressmen as a protest against the sending of Indian troops to Egypt and Singapore without the knowledge and consent of the Legislature.) But there are many other things which even the most orthodox Hindu uses nowadays for which there are no words in classical Sanskrit—motor cars, soda water and cigarettes, for instance. That is by the way. Apart from the subjects mentioned above, there are at present no customs which urgently calls for legislative relief. Legislation which is not urgent in social matters may be left over until the need for it has arisen. We can not help thinking that the draft Bill of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to legalise marriages between persons of the same gotra falls into this category. There is already a law under which a couple belonging to the same gotra may contract a valid marriage in the shape of Gour's Act. According to Hindu ideas the marriage of persons of the same gotra is not far short of incestuous. People who have outgrown this prejudice, which we admit has no rational basis, need not jib at the incidents relating to succession and the joint family which are attached to marriages under the Gour Act. On the other hand, the monogamous principle of the Act is a distinct advantage. In practice, the prohibition of sagotra marriages is not a step comparable to the penalising of child marriage. Except that children of two brothers can not contract a marriage, a bar which is justifiable on eugenic grounds, the present prohibition involves no serious greivance to any one.

Civil Service Reform :—The greatest anomaly of the Indian reforms is that the Indian Civil Service is outside the control of Ministers. In Great Britain the present Government has made a startling departure from tradition by appointing an outsider, Sir Horace Wilson, as Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, and Sir George Gater, Clerk to the London Country Council, as Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. The *Economist* argues in justification of these appointments. It points out that the present system, founded in its modern form by Gladstone, was designed to limit the administration to the execution of principles laid down elsewhere and to watch over the observance of the law. The recruitment and training of the service, it adds, were adjusted to this aim. "Young men were and are recruited direct from the University by an examination in which excellence in any field of study is sufficient; a classical scholar may be posted to the Customs and Excise." The *Economist* calls this system "the glorification of the amateur," but admits that it has worked admirably and given the country a Civil Service that combines incorruptibility with efficiency, unequalled in any country except Imperial Germany. But the basic principle of administration has changed in Britain. The Civil Servant has now to do many things besides preserving law and order, which require special training. The journal suggests the recruitment of a special branch of the Civil Service with technical qualifications. The Indian Civil Servivice until after the War was recruited on the same lines and indeed through the same examination as the British Service. After the War, the old discarded principle of nomination was introduced to make up for the deficiency in the British personnel. It is too early to judge how far this has been a success. In India as in Britain the Civil Servant has now varied functions and some elasticity should be instituted in the recruitment. At the same time care should be taken to prevent the invasion of political and party influence from creeping into the selecting agency.

Announcement :—From this issue until further notice, *The Indian Social Reformer* will consist of 12 pages, instead of 16. The Index for Volume 48 is being sent out along with this issue to all our subscribers. The Index for Volume 49 will be ready shortly and can be had from this office free of charge on application.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, September 9, 1939.

INDIA AND THE WAR.

On Sunday the 3rd September about a quarter after 11 a. m. the British Prime Minister broadcast from the Cabinet Room in 10, Downing Street, that Great Britain was at war with Germany. On the 1st September German troops had invaded Polish territory. Signor Mussolini intervened and offered to mediate between Germany and Poland and her allies. He suggested that hostilities should cease and a Conference of five Powers, Germany, Poland, Italy, France and Great Britain should be called to devise a satisfactory settlement of the dispute regarding Danzig and the Polish Corridor. France was said to have accepted the offer and the British Government insisted that German troops should be withdrawn before there was any talk of a settlement. The British Ambassador in Berlin was instructed to inform the German Government that, if this was not done, Britain would consider that her guarantee to Poland to go to her assistance in case of invasion by Germany, must take effect. Time was given until 11 o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 3rd for the German reply. Herr Hitler did not send a reply but in his address that same evening to a special session of the Reichstag he declared that he would give no undertaking to the British Government. On the non-receipt of an answer by the stipulated hour, the British Prime Minister announced that a state of war existed between Great Britain and Germany. A few hours later the French Prime Minister made a similar announcement in the French Parliament. The British Prime Minister speaking at a special session of the House of Commons the same evening, concluded on a personal note. He said :

> It is a sad day for all of us, but for none is it sadder than for me. Everything I have done, worked for, hoped for and believed in during my public life has crashed in ruins. The only thing left to me is to devote what powers I have for victory. I can not tell what part I may be allowed to play, but I trust I will live to see the day when Hitlerism is destroyed (loud cheers) and a restored and liberated Europe has been re-established (loud cheers).

An hour or two after the Prime Minister addressed the House of Commons, the Viceroy broadcast an appeal to the people of India from Simla. His Excellency had to base his appeal on some ground which would strike a responsive chord in Indian hearts. Danzig and the Polish Corridor was not such a ground. Indian sympathy was keener in the cases of Abyssinia, China and Czecho-Slovakia and British intervention in their favour would have evoked much enthusiasm. The fact that over 90 per cent of the population of Danzig was German, sharply distinguished its case from the rest. Those who have studied the history of the Corridor, are inclined to think that both Germany and Poland have an equal interest in it. Even the British and French Governments did not reject the German claim out of hand. They only maintained that the question should be settled by peaceful negotiation and that it was capable of being settled by such means. The appeal on the ground of danger to democracy was not suitable as Poland was not a democracy nor has it evinced aspirations towards democracy. Nor is India, though it aspires to one. Mr. Neville Chamberlain could speak of a liberated Europe as the supreme end of his but India can not be called upon to liberate Europe. During all these months of feverish anxiety Indian people has not been kept informed of their point of view has been completely ignored. His Excellency, therefore, enlarged on the danger to world peace and progress, of system which seeks to solve international differences by force instead of by reason, and added :

> Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them.

Later the same night His Majesty the King broadcast to the Empire a short address uttered in a faltering voice which plainly showed the strain of a great emotional experience.

Japan has declared her intention not to get mixed up in the European trouble. She has formally conveyed to the British Government her resolve to remain neutral. Italy also has done the same. The Rome-Berlin Pact recently concluded was more than once declared by both Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to be designed to knit the two peoples together in peace and war for all time. Italy's announcement of neutrality was, therefore, a surprise. But, so far as India is concerned, the neutrality of Japan and Italy removes, at any rate for the time being, the chances of aggression from the two most likely quarters. For this relief the country should be grateful to Providence. India renounced force as a means of advancing national interests centuries ago, but poverty, her subjection to foreign rule, and her elimination from international councils, have made many of her intelligentsia wonder if it was wise to do so. The espousal of the doctrine of non-aggression by Western nations will help to rehabilitate the faith of the people in their national heritage. Therefore, the struggle that is now being waged in Europe to oust force and instal reason as the principal instrument for regulating human relations, will appeal to the people of India as one between the powers of Light and Darkness. It is to be hoped that not only Germany but all European nations in their relations not only with each other but also with peoples of other continents, will determine henceforth to be guided solely by reason and renounce forever the use of force to gain or retain ascendancy over each other. Otherwise the fruit of the present struggle would be as bitter as that of the last War.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and would seriously impair that unity which is the vital need of the hour.

We do not know how far the taluqdars and the Princes whom the *Pioneer* claims to represent in this article, shares the huckstering attitude of the *Pioneer*. We would remind the *Pioneer* that both the Maharaja of Bikanir and the Jamsaheb made it clear that their loyalty was subject to no condition. Likewise Britain may take the loyalty of the taluqdars for granted in the existing conditions. In the face of this, it is ridiculous to make cut, as the *Pioneer* does, that, if Lord Linlithgow attempts to win Congress cooperation by meeting its objections, he will be faced with the danger of non-cooperation from Indian Princes and taluqdars. This goes farther than the general Indian sentiment that there should be no bargaining. It is advice to the British to persist in their Indian policy. If this is not what the *Pioneer* means, then the entire article is meaningless. The *Pioneer's* comment is a timely warning to Indian statesmen of the danger of their being stampeded into accepting otherwise unacceptable political changes under the guise of preserving "national unity."

Sagotra Marriages :—Social legislation, that is legislation affecting family life, was bitterly opposed by the public, including some social reformers. Now social reform legislation has become the fashion. The older reformers while deprecating the opposition, confined their proposals to reforms of customs or practices involving cruelty or physical and moral hardship. Sati, the remarriage of widows, child marriage, were such customs. At present, we think that a law permitting divorce has become a necessity among caste Hindus. There may be no Sanskrit word for divorce as Mr. Aney said the other day in the Legislative Assembly speaking on Dr. Deshmukh's Bill. (The Doctor was prevented from attending to sponsor his Bill by the ban laid by the Working Committee of the Congress on the attendance of Congressmen as a protest against the sending of Indian troops to Egypt and Singapore without the knowledge and consent of the Legislature.) But there are many other things which even the most orthodox Hindu uses nowadays for which there are no words in classical Sanskrit—motor cars, soda water and cigarettes, for instance. That is by the way. Apart from the subjects mentioned above, there are at present no customs which urgently calls for legislative relief. Legislation which is not urgent in social matters may be left over until the need for it has arisen. We can not help thinking that the draft Bill of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to legalise marriages between persons of the same gotra falls into this category. There is already a law under which a couple belonging to the same gotra may contract a valid marriage in the shape of Gour's Act. According to Hindu ideas the marriage of persons of the same gotra is not far short of incestuous. People who have outgrown this prejudice, which we admit has no rational basis, need not jib at the incidents relating to succession and the joint family which are attached to marriages under the Gour Act. On the other hand, the monogamous principle of the Act is a distinct advantage. In practice, the prohibition of sagotra marriages is not a step comparable to the penalising of child marriage. Except that children of two brothers can not contract a marriage, a bar which is justifiable on eugenic grounds, the present prohibition involves no serious greivance to any one.

Civil Service Reform :—The greatest anomaly of the Indian reforms is that the Indian Civil Service is outside the control of Ministers. In Great Britain the present Government has made a startling departure from tradition by appointing an outsider, Sir Horace Wilson, as Secretary to the Treasury and Head of the Civil Service, and Sir George Gater, Clerk to the London Country Council, as Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. The *Economist* argues in justification of these appointments. It points out that the present system, founded in its modern form by Gladstone, was designed to limit the administration to the execution of principles laid down elsewhere and to watch over the observance of the law. The recruitment and training of the service, it adds, were adjusted to this aim. "Young men were and are recruited direct from the University by an examination in which excellence in any field of study is sufficient; a classical scholar may be posted to the Customs and Excise." The *Economist* calls this system "the glorification of the amateur," but admits that it has worked admirably and given the country a Civil Service that combines incorruptibility with efficiency, unequalled in any country except Imperial Germany. But the basic principle of administration has changed in Britain. The Civil Servant has now to do many things besides preserving law and order, which require special training. The journal suggests the recruitment of a special branch of the Civil Service with technical qualifications. The Indian Civil Servivice until after the War was recruited on the same lines and indeed through the same examination as the British Service. After the War, the old discarded principle of nomination was introduced to make up for the deficiency in the British personnel. It is too early to judge how far this has been a success. In India as in Britain the Civil Servant has now varied functions and some elasticity should be instituted in the recruitment. At the same time care should be taken to prevent the invasion of political and party influence from creeping into the selecting agency.

Announcement :—From this issue until further notice, *The Indian Social Reformer* will consist of 12 pages, instead of 16. The Index for Volume 48 is being sent out along with this issue to all our subscribers. The Index for Volume 49 will be ready shortly and can be had from this office free of charge on application.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, September 9, 1939.

INDIA AND THE WAR.

On Sunday the 3rd September about a quarter after 11 a. m. the British Prime Minister broadcast from the Cabinet Room in 10, Downing Street, that Great Britain was at war with Germany. On the 1st September German troops had invaded Polish territory. Signor Mussolini intervened and offered to mediate between Germany and Poland and her allies. He suggested that hostilities should cease and a Conference of five Powers, Germany, Poland, Italy, France and Great Britain should be called to devise a satisfactory settlement of the dispute regarding Danzig and the Polish Corridor. France was said to have accepted the offer and the British Government insisted that German troops should be withdrawn before there was any talk of a settlement. The British Ambassador in Berlin was instructed to inform the German Government that, if this was not done, Britain would consider that her guarantee to Poland to go to her assistance in case of invasion by Germany, must take effect. Time was given until 11 o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 3rd for the German reply. Herr Hitler did not send a reply but in his address that same evening to a special session of the Reichstag he declared that he would give no undertaking to the British Government. On the non-receipt of an answer by the stipulated hour, the British Prime Minister announced that a state of war existed between Great Britain and Germany. A few hours later the French Prime Minister made a similar announcement in the French Parliament. The British Prime Minister speaking at a special session of the House of Commons the same evening, concluded on a personal note. He said :

> It is a sad day for all of us, but for none is it sadder than for me. Everything I have done, worked for, hoped for and believed in during my public life has crashed in ruins. The only thing left to me is to devote what powers I have for victory. I can not tell what part I may be allowed to play, but I trust I will live to see the day when Hitlerism is destroyed (loud cheers) and a restored and liberated Europe has been re-established (loud cheers).

An hour or two after the Prime Minister addressed the House of Commons, the Viceroy broadcast an appeal to the people of India from Simla. His Excellency had to base his appeal on some ground which would strike a responsive chord in Indian hearts. Danzig and the Polish Corridor was not such a ground. Indian sympathy was keener in the cases of Abyssinia, China and Czecho-Slovakia and British intervention in their favour would have evoked much enthusiasm. The fact that over 90 per cent of the population of Danzig was German, sharply distinguished its case from the rest. Those who have studied the history of the Corridor, are inclined to think that both Germany and Poland have an equal interest in it. Even the British and French Governments did not reject the German claim out of hand. They only maintained that the question should be settled by peaceful negotiation and that it was capable of being settled by such means. The appeal on the ground of danger to democracy was not suitable as Poland was not a democracy nor has it evinced aspirations towards democracy. Nor is India, though it aspires to be one. Mr. Neville Chamberlain could speak of a liberated Europe as the supreme end of his war but India can not be called upon to liberate Europe. During all these months of feverish anxiety the Indian people has not been kept informed and their point of view has been completely ignored. His Excellency, therefore, enlarged on the danger to world peace and progress, of the system which seeks to solve international differences by force instead of by reason, and added :

> Nowhere do these great principles mean more than in India. There is no country that values them more highly than India and none that has at all times been more concerned to safeguard them.

Later the same night His Majesty the King broadcast to the Empire a short address uttered in a faltering voice which plainly showed the strain of a great emotional experience.

Japan has declared her intention not to get mixed up in the European trouble. She has formally conveyed to the British Government her resolve to remain neutral. Italy also has done the same. The Rome-Berlin Pact recently concluded was more than once declared by both Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini as designed to knit the two peoples together in peace and war for all time. Italy's announcement of neutrality was, therefore, a surprise. But, so far as India is concerned, the neutrality of Japan and Italy removes, at any rate for the time being, the chances of aggression from the two most likely quarters. For this relief the country should be grateful to Providence. India renounced force as a means of advancing national interests centuries ago. Her poverty, her subjection to foreign rule, and her elimination from international councils, have made many of her intelligentsia wonder if she was wise to do so. The espousal of the doctrine of non-aggression by Western nations will help to rehabilitate the faith of the people in their national heritage. Therefore, the struggle that is now being waged in Europe to oust force and instal reason as the principal instrument for regulating human relations, will appeal to the people of India as one between the powers of Light and Darkness. It is to be hoped that not only Germany but all European nations in their relations not only with each other but also with peoples of other continents, will determine henceforth to be guided solely by reason and renounce forever the use of force to gain and retain ascendancy over each other. Otherwise the fruit of the present struggle would be as bitter as that of the last War. Nations

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which four are spent in technical instruction and two in manual labour, until after a year they go on full time. While a trade is being learnt the State grants a living subsidy of 120 rubles a month. The vast majority of young people remain at home during their training, and in these circumstances the allowance is sufficient not only for their upkeep, but for clothes and pocket money. Boys and girls deciding to adopt a profession or artistic career enter a university or special training-school, and while qualifying receive the subsidy for eight or ten years, according to the period of training. All education is free and in every primary school a foreign language is compulsory. At the moment English is the most popular. You find it spoken in most unexpected places.

The actual home conditions lag behind the educational standard. Moscow is being rebuilt at a prodigious rate and some of the worst slums have been torn down. Those remaining are on a par with the fetid quarters of Southwark and Soho—low ceilings, bad sanitation, insufficient water. The newest flats have every modern convenience—gas-stove gayser, even a refrigerator. These, however, are at a premium and generally fall to the star workers of the big plants. Rent average 4·3 per cent. of the united income of the family, with an additional 25 per cent for the latest amenities. It will be, I should say, ten years before the housing demand in Moscow alone is in any sense satisfied. The leeway to be made up is prodigious.

The standard of comfort domestically speaking is not high. The food problem, it is true, no longer exists. There are lavish supplies of every kind of provisions; I have never seen a people eat so much or so often. But there is a scarcity of utensils and material. Linen and cotton goods fall very short of the demand, and every second building screams for paint inside and out.

The reason for this lack of commodies is an actual shortage of labour. There is a gigantic demand for man and woman power which leaves unsatisfied all but the major requisities of transport, food, hospitals schools, juvenile camps and Government building. The housing problem for the present has had to go owing to the rearmament programme and the increase in military demands.

CONGRESS EDUCATIONAL REFORM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

On reading the following caricature of the Congress educational policy, I was reminded of a former occasion when you said the violence of the tongue cuts far more than that of the sword. In the last number of *The Reformer* you almost go out of your way and remark, "Even if all the reforms of the educational system projected under Congress auspices are immediately introduced, it will take at least a generation to reduce the general intelligence level to that of the average kisan who has no use for (?) freedom of speech or writing and who is only too glad (?) to let others think for him."

This is really caricaturing the true position: I may be allowed to say, even a wilful perversion, unless passion overtook reason. A still more perverse remark was when, in an earlier number, you hinted whether a Wardha School near Bandra should take to the slaughter-house as its basic craft.

Now, Sir, you cannot surely miss the point of the reforms contemplated. And you so strongly express your opposition to that, that none can mistake that too. My only submission to you is, whether the above remarks are a proper way of ventilating your opposition. Politicians in opposite camps are found revelling in such perversions. You are not of that band. Rather, the other day you criticized Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel by remarking that "He has rather got into the habit of provoking needless antagonism even amongst friends by being aggressively and obtrusively outspoken." *Reformer* August 26th. Are you not in the same error, granting that what you so bluntly and offensively call a "spade" is a spade regarding the educational reforms contemplated by the Congress? I may only end by saying, "A thing is easily said than done; physician, heal thyself."

Ahmedabad, } Yours etc.
September 9, 1939. } M. P.

[We gladly publish this letter and we appreciate the friendly spirit in which it is written. Our correspondent rightly points out that we have often deprecated the use of violent language. We have occasionally used strong language but never violent language which is a very different thing. Our criticisms as a rule are directed to measures not to men. Often it might have been noticed *The Reformer* does not even mention the names of the authors of the measures which it criticises. As regards the sentence in our article which, we are sorry, has hurt our correspondent, the article dealt with a rule of the Madras Government which impinged seriously on citizen rights of teacher; and it was relevant to point out that the educational policy of the Congress, whatever other advantages it might confer, tended to the regimentation of teachers, curricula and even text-books, and can only have the effect of making teachers and students alike as indifferent to liberty of speech and opinion as peasants; who have no opinions, and need for freedom to express them, on affairs which do not concern their crops and cattle—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

SAGOTRA MARRIAGES.

[The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has drafted the following Bill to validate Sagolia and Sapravara marriages among Hindus.]

Whereas it is expedient to remove interdictions relating to marriages between parties belonging to the same *Gotra* or *Pravara* and to validate such marriages; It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (*a*) This Act may be called the Bombay Hindu Marriage Validating Act, 193.

(*b*) It extends to the whole of the Province of of Bombay.

(*c*) It shall come into force on such date as it receives the assent of the Governor.

2. Notwithstanding any text of Hindu law or custom or usage to the contrary, a marriage between Hindus shall not be invalid by reason only of the fact that parties thereto have the same *Gotra* or *Pravara*.

3. Section 2 shall have retrospective effect.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

It is no doubt true that under the Hindu Law, marriages between members of the same *Gotra* or *Pravara* have been regarded as null and void. It might be that in the most ancient times the membership of the *Gotra* was confined to a small group living close together and connected by actual ties of blood. The times have changed considerably since then and at present it is impossible to trace the reason on which this prohibition came to be based. Research during recent years has shown that neither the *Gotra*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nor the *Pravara* is indicative of the ancestry of a person. It is further to be noted that orig inlly only the Brahmins had the *Gotra* and the Kshatriyas used to adopt as their own the Gotra of their priest or *purohit*. In this respect Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer observes: "The interdiction of marriage between *Sagotras* can only be regarded as a surviving taboo, based upon no reason or reason which has long since disappeared. This interdiction is a needless and vexatious interference with personal liberty, and circumscribes the choice of a bride or bridegroom."

In recent years attempts have been made to circumvent this prohibition by giving the bride in adoption into another *Gotra*. It will have to be conceded that an adoption of a girl is opposed to the very principle of the institution of adoption and it would be a debatable question whether the giving of the girl in adoption before marriage would ensure the validity of a marriage, if tested in a Court of law.

In the Baroda State, the Government, after considering the opinions of medical men and other experts, has removed this restriction. This action has not caused any social resentment in Baroda. Even in the Province ef Bombay opinion is gaining ground that this restriction ought to go. The removal of this restriction would cause no grievance or inconveniene. This legislation should have retrospective effect so that the validity of marriages resorted to in violation of this restriction with the help of adoption, etc., should be placed beyond doubt or question.

This Bill is not intended to affect in any way the rule of prohibition based on the Sapinda relationship between the parties to a marriage.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).		
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Taloda	(„ „).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Malegaon	(District Nasik).
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Satara	(„ „).
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Palghar	(„ „).	Dohad	(District Panch Mahals).
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).	Kalol	

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules can be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

The Manager,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Kamakshi House,
Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which four are spent in technical instruction and two in manual labour, until after a year they go on full time. While a trade is being learnt the State grants a living subsidy of 120 rubles a month. The vast majority of young people remain at home during their training, and in these circumstances the allowance is sufficient not only for their upkeep, but for clothes and pocket money. Boys and girls deciding to adopt a profession or artistic career enter a university or special training-school, and while qualifying receive the subsidy for eight or ten years, according to the period of training. All education is free and in every primary school a foreign language is compulsory. At the moment English is the most popular. You find it spoken in most unexpected places.

The actual home conditions lag behind the educational standard. Moscow is being rebuilt at a prodigious rate and some of the worst slums have been torn down. Those remaining are on a par with the fetid quarters of Southwark and Soho—low ceilings, bad sanitation, insufficient water. The newest flats have every modern convenience—gas-stove gayser, even a refrigerator. These, however, are at a premium and generally fall to the star workers of the big plants. Rent average 4·3 per cent. of the united income of the family, with an additional 25 per cent for the latest amenities. It will be, I should say, ten years before the housing demand in Moscow alone is in any sense satisfied. The leeway to be made up is prodigious.

The standard of comfort domestically speaking is not high. The food problem, it is true, no longer exists. There are lavish supplies of every kind of provisions; I have never seen a people eat so much or so often. But there is a scarcity of utensils and material. Linen and cotton goods fall very short of the demand, and every second building screams for paint inside and out.

The reason for this lack of commodies is an actual shortage of labour. There is a gigantic demand for man and woman power which leaves unsatisfied all but the major requisities of transport, food, hospitals schools, juvenile camps and Government building. The housing problem for the present has had to go owing to the rearmament programme and the increase in military demands.

CONGRESS EDUCATIONAL REFORM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

On reading the following caricature of the Congress educational policy, I was reminded of a former occasion when you said the violence of the tongue cuts far more than that of the sword. In the last number of *The Reformer* you almost go out of your way and remark, "Even if all the reforms of the educational system projected under Congress auspices are immediately introduced, it will take at least a generation to reduce the general intelligence level to that of the average kisan who has no use for (?) freedom of speech or writing and who is only too glad (?) to let others think for him."

This is really caricaturing the true position: I may be allowed to say, even a wilful perversion, unless passion overtook reason. A still more perverse remark was when, in an earlier number, you hinted whether a Wardha School near Bandra should take to the slaughter-house as its basic craft.

Now, Sir, you cannot surely miss the point of the reforms contemplated. And you so strongly express your opposition to that, that none can mistake that too. My only submission to you is, whether the above remarks are a proper way of ventilating your opposition. Politicians in opposite camps are found revelling in such perversions. You are not of that band. Rather, the other day you criticized Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel by remarking that "He has rather got into the habit of provoking needless antagonism even amongst friends by being aggressively and obtrusively outspoken." *Reformer* August 26th. Are you not in the same error, granting that what you so bluntly and offensively call a "spade" is a spade regarding the educational reforms contemplated by the Congress? I may only end by saying, "A thing is easily said than done; physician, heal thyself."

Ahmedabad, September 9, 1939. } Yours etc. M. P.

[We gladly publish this letter and we appreciate the friendly spirit in which it is written. Our correspondent rightly points out that we have often deprecated the use of violent language. We have occasionally used strong language but never violent language which is a very different thing. Our criticisms as a rule are directed to measures not to men. Often it might have been noticed *The Reformer* does not even mention the names of the authors of the measures which it criticises. As regards the sentence in our article which, we are sorry, has hurt our correspondent, the article dealt with a rule of the Madras Government which impinged seriously on citizen rights of teacher ; and it was relevant to point out that the educational policy of the Congress, whatever other advantages it might confer, tended to the regimentation of teachers, curricula and even text-books, and can only have the effect of making teachers and students alike as indifferent to liberty of speech and opinion as peasants; who have no opinions, and need for freedom to express them, on affairs which do not concern their crops and cattle—*Ed., I. S. R.*]

SAGOTRA MARRIAGES.

[The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association has drafted the following Bill to validate Sagolia and Sapravara marriages among Hindus.]

Whereas it is expedient to remove interdictions relating to marriages between parties belonging to the same *Gotra* or *Pravara* and to validate such marriages ; It is hereby enacted as follows :—

1. (*a*) This Act may be called the Bombay Hindu Marriage Validating Act, 193.

(*b*) It extends to the whole of the Province of of Bombay.

(*c*) It shall come into force on such date as it receives the assent of the Governor.

2. Notwithstanding any text of Hindu law or custom or usage to the contrary, a marriage between Hindus shall not be invalid by reason only of the fact that parties thereto have the same *Gotra* or *Pravara*.

3. Section 2 shall have retrospective effect.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

It is no doubt true that under the Hindu Law, marriages between members of the same *Gotra* or *Pravara* have been regarded as null and void. It might be that in the most ancient times the membership of the *Gotra* was confined to a small group living close together and connected by actual ties of blood. The times have changed considerably since then and at present it is impossible to trace the reason on which this prohibition came to be based. Research during recent years has shown that neither the *Gotra*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nor the *Pravara* is indicative of the ancestry of a person. It is further to be noted that originlly only the Brahmins had the *Gotra* and the Kshatriyas used to adopt as their own the Gotra of their priest or *purohit*. In this respect Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer observes: "The interdiction of marriage between *Sagotras* can only be regarded as a surviving taboo, based upon no reason or reason which has long since disappeared. This interdiction is a needless and vexatious interference with personal liberty, and circumscribes the choice of a bride or bridegroom."

In recent years attempts have been made to circumvent this prohibition by giving the bride in adoption into another *Gotra*. It will have to be conceded that an adoption of a girl is opposed to the very principle of the institution of adoption and it would be a debatable question whether the giving of the girl in adoption before marriage would ensure the validity of a marriage, if tested in a Court of law.

In the Baroda State, the Government, after considering the opinions of medical men and other experts, has removed this restriction. This action has not caused any social resentment in Baroda. Even in the Province ef Bombay opinion is gaining ground that this restriction ought to go. The removal of this restriction would cause no grievance or inconveniene. This legislation should have retrospective effect so that the validity of marriages resorted to in violation of this restriction with the help of adoption, etc., should be placed beyond doubt or question.

This Bill is not intended to affect in any way the rule of prohibition based on the Sapinda relationship between the parties to a marriage.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
108 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(„ „).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(District Nasik).
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(„ „).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	(District Panch Mahals).
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balance not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

S. NATARAJAN'S

WEST OF SUEZ.

"It is a delightful book. Few travellers can help telling tales. Mr. Natarajan at any rate knows how to tell one extremely well."

Twentieth Century, Allahabad.

Price Rs. 3 Postage extra.

The Manager,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Kamakshi House,
Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of tock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Killachand, (Killachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co. Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE

SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATIO COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports,
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports,
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

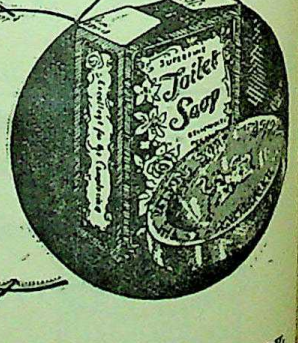
The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. L. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 2, 1939. No. 1

"*I will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

The Late L. R. Tairsee.
Political Cross-Currents.
The High Court on the Press Ban.
Congresse Prime Ministers' Conference.
Princes' Protest.
Sir S. Radhakrishnan.
Between War and Peace.
India and the War Threat.
Teachers and Party Politics.
Russia and Poland.
The 'Covetous' Indian.
Eradicating Communalism in Elections.
Englishwomen in India.
The Benefits of Prohibition.
The Rajahmundry Hithakarini Samaj.

NOTES.

The Late L. R. Tairsee :—We deeply regret the death of Lakhmidas Rowji Tairsee at the comparatively early age of 63. He had a robust-seeming constitution which, it is obvious, reflected more the indomitable spirit of the man than his physical make-up. The quality in him which was most conspicuous was that he was absolutely incapable of intrigue. It was impossible to associate Tairsee with anything underhand. A man of strong convictions he stood by them through fair weather and foul. A social reformer to the core of his being, and extremely outspoken on the sins of his people, he was also foremost in organising relief whenever they were overtaken by calamity, famine, plague or the influenza epidemic of 1918, which took a fearful toll of lives in this city. He was the moving spirit of the Hindu Gymkhana and fought for its rights with grim determination which earned the respect even of his opponents. Another subject which enlisted his sympathy and strenuous support was the hardships of third class railway passengers. In the Bombay Municipal Corporation he was a sturdy fighter in the cause of the neglected and the helpless. He had a warm heart but there was nothing sentimental about him. He was one of the most active members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation for many years. But he was never elected its President because the art of electioneering was not in his line. Tairsee was no respecter of persons ; prince or pauper was the same to him. The extreme position which he took up against the Prohibition measures of the Bombay Government, was characteristic of the man. He never did anything by halves. It was always neck or nothing with him. About a month ago a postcard in his own hand was received here saying that he was in a nursing home. It was not suspected that there was anything serious the matter with him. We did not see much of Tairsee of late years. But occasionally there would come from him a word of cheer when something in the *Reformer* struck him as particularly sound. His was a unique personality. Our deepest sympathies are with his family.

Political Cross-Currents :—The mass meeting held this week in Calcutta to denounce the Communal Award, was presided over by Mr. M. S. Aney of the Democratic Swaraj Party of the Congress, and among the speakers were Sir Manmathnath Mukherjee, late Judge of the Calcutta High Court and Sir Nripendranath Sircar who retired from the Law Membership of the Government of India a few months back. Sir Nripendra was a member of the Round Table Conference and spoke from inside knowledge. He had revealed on another occasion recently that while the present Secretary of State, Lord Zetland, and eight other members of Parliament, supported in the Joint Parliamentary Committee, a modification of the Communal Award so as to bear less inequitably on the Hindus of Bengal, they got no support from Congress Hindus and were opposed by Muslims. The impression is gaining ground that Congress leaders are intent on consolidating their party position with scant regard for principles generally associated with democracy. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who presided over the Prime Ministers Conference spoke at a reception given to the members in Poona. Incidentally he touched on the question of a successor to Gandhiji. Just as Gandhiji was available to step into the shoes of Lokamanya Tilak when the latter expired at the crucial moment when the question of non-co-operation hung in the balance, so, said the Sardar, some one will be ready to ascend the Gandhian gadi at the proper time. If it was meant that Gandhiji on Mr. Tilak's demise, took up the threads of policy where the latter left them, it is a mistake. Tilak was dead against non-co-operation which he characterized as political lunacy. Likewise Gandhiji's successor will no doubt discard some of his predecessor's cherished items, such as khadi, as having fulfilled their purpose. Truth and non-violence are primary duties of civilised men and have no special application to politicians as such. The old Congress leaders were not liars and roughs. Thus a new era will open with perhaps Mr. Subhas Bose or Dr. Savarkar as leaders. The leadership of the next generation of Indian politics will go either to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bengal or to the South. An ex-President of the Congress, Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, has just resigned his four anna membership of the Congress and his ex-officio membership of the controlling Committees, on the ground that he can serve the Congress and the country better from outside than from within. The statement he has issued is a vigorous indictment of the policy of the present Congress leaders, which can not be ignored. After all, you cannot run the government of a sub-continent without carrying the intelligentsia with you. Even if all the reforms of the Educational system projected under Congress auspices are immediately introduced, it will take at least a generation to reduce the general intelligence level to that of the average kisan who has no use for freedom of speech or writing and who is only too glad to let others think for him.

The High Court on the Press Ban:—The Bombay High Court (Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Sen) have declared that the order served on five newspapers on the 1st August by the Chief Presidency Magistrate was illegal and void. Two of the five papers had applied to the Court for the cancellation of the order. One of them was the *Jame-Jamshed*, a daily paper of high standing, which during its career extending over one hundred years, has never transgressed the limits of legitimate journalism. The other was a weekly journal. The three other victims of the order did not appeal. Perhaps they shared the general feeling that newspapers were helpless against executive action. Perhaps they did not care to lose money in trying for the repeal of an order which was withdrawn a week after it was promulgated. However that may be, the *Jame-Jamshed* has rendered a signal service to the cause of Indian journalism by taking the matter to the High Court for adjudication. There is evidently something radically wrong in a state of things which put it in the power of a small man with a brief authority to besmirch a reputation built up by three generations of honourable journalism by a stroke of the pen. The Chief Justice held that the Court had power to pass judgment on the order even though it was no longer in force. Convictions of persons who had served the full term of their sentences have, his lordship pointed out, been set aside on appeal. The order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate, in his lordship's judgment, was bad as it failed to comply with the essential requirements of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code under which it purported to be issued. The Magistrate had no right to delegate a power vested in him to the Public Relations Officer. His lordship made some caustic remarks about this officer's conception of his duty, which impelled him to send "orders" to the Chief Justice and other Judges of the High Court to attend and take part in the pro-Prohibition demonstrations of August 1st. His lordship described the duties of this official as laid down in the Government resolution creating the appointment, as being "to advertise the benevolent activities of Government." Although the Chief Presidency Magistrate and the Public Relations Officer figured in the judgment the main responsibility for the error of law and judgment exposed by the Chief Justice, lies with the Government and the Home Minister.

Congress Prime Ministers' Conference:—The proceedings of the Conference held in Poona last week, of the Prime Ministers of the Provinces under Congress-controlled Governments, were, as usual nowadays, wrapped in mystery. But the holding of the Conference itself shows that one of the first things which the Congress Party will do whenever it takes office at the centre, is to centralize the administration of the whole country and, as a measure necessary for that purpose, restore the unitary administration of the British Provinces. Linguistic provinces will be allowed much autonomy but by devolution. The strong tendency of the Congress in its internal working is towards centralization and that tendency will find full expression when Congress gets control of the centre. That it will do so at no distant date, is more than a probability. The only question is whether it will be able to form an exclusively party Government or whether it will do so in coalition with the Princes and the Muslim League. How long it will be able to retain power, is another question. The Prime Minister of Madras, Mr. Rajagopalacharya, who attended the Conference at Poona, speaking at a meeting of South Indians resident in that city, said that though he was the most hated man in the province and although his opponents represented several interests, there was no other party in sight which could compete for power with the Congress. This is true not only of Madras but also of the country generally. During recent years the Congress has monopolised political life in the country. Except for the Muslim League which, as a communal party, counts for little outside the predominantly Muslim provinces, the Congress has been having its own way. The prevailing discontent, wide and deep as it is, with some of its measures, has so far not taken definite shape in a single party. But signs are not wanting that things are tending that way. The formation of branches of the Hindu Mahasabha in Madras and Bengal, which have hitherto held aloof from the movement, is significant. Of special significance is the election in Madras of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu as President, and Mr. M. C. Raja and Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastry as Vice-presidents. The closing of the Brahmin-non-Brahmin schism and the recognition of the antyajas as integral elements of Hindu society, in the executive control of the Madras branch, are hopeful features.

Princes' Protest:—The Maharajahs of Bikaner and Nawanagar have come forward to protest that the rulers of Indian States are utterly disinterested in their devotion to the British Raj. They have seized upon the suggestion of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Simla correspondent of *Times of India* that the Princes might take advantage of the difficulties of the Government on account of the international situation to raise the terms on which they would join the Federation. The journalist who conveyed the suggestion, must be singularly out of touch with the course of events. The Princes have been haggling with Government for the last two years. Their demands reached the climax about the time when Mr. Chamberlain returned from Munich in the belief that he had secured peace for our time. Ever since they passed the Bombay resolution some months ago declaring the draft Instrument of Accession to be unacceptable, some of them have been repenting of it and taking every opportunity to disclaim that the resolution meant rejection of Federation and all that was intended was that they should be given more time to make up their minds. This the Viceroy has graciously conceded. His Excellency has also announced the creation of a Crown Police under his direct control for discharging the obligations of the Paramount Power to the States. So far as the Government of India are concerned, the Berlin-Moscow Pact has certainly not aggravated their difficulties in British India. It has rather relieved them to some extent. The immediate effect of the Pact was to break the Berlin-Rome-Tokio Axis at the Asiatic end. There is little danger now from Japan. Great Britain and France with such assistance as Egypt can furnish, should be able to check any aggressive designs that the two European Axis Powers may have on British and French possessions in Asia and Africa. For the Princes to try to put pressure on Government now, would inevitably precipitate a Federation of British India alone and its constitution as the representative of the Crown in relation to the States. The Crown has a perfect right to delegate its authority to the Government of British India as at present. The Princes as loyal allies will, of course, accept the Suzerain's decision. This is indeed one of the demands of British Indian politicians who fear that the dual position of the Governor-General as constitutional head of a responsible Government and Crown Representative responsible only to the Sovereign, may lead to frequent deadlocks. The consolidation of British India and the delegation to it of the rights reserved for the Crown in the Government of India Act, will, at once transform the relations between India and Britain into one of cordial understanding instead of mutual distrust.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan:—The news published this week that Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan has been selected by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to succeed him as Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, would have given universal satisfaction. Panditjee has had the rare privilege of guiding the University which is his own creation all these years. He has struggled on bravely with his onerous task in the face of several other preoccupations and never very robust health. During the last few years, the burden must have strained his failing strength to breaking point. He has all along kept an eye on the intellectual horizon with a view to fix upon a worthy successor to himself. In Sir Radhakrishnan he has found the ideal man for the position. Sir Sarvapalli has had a large hand in moulding modern Hindu thought. His presentation of it has not only helped foreign countries to understand Indian civilisation and culture but has also helped his own people to do so. His great achievement and his international reputation will be valuable acquisitions to the University. The one omission in Pandit Malaviya's distinguished regime was that not enough scope was allowed for the world influence which Hindu thought has been acquiring in recent years. This will be amply supplied under Sir Sarvapalli's guidance. We wish the new Vice-Chancellor a long and successful term in his new office.

Between War and Peace:—In the House of Commons on Tuesday Mr. Chamberlain gave a meagre account of the negotiations between himself and Herr Hitler. It seems to show that the British Premier has control of the situation. His unwonted confidence might possibly be due to an appreciation of Britain's preparedness. But it is to a great extent due to the obvious fact that Herr Hitler appears less formidable. The signing of the pact with Russia has, it would seem, taken away several inches from the stature of the Nazi leader—at any rate so far as Mr. Chamberlain is concerned. Herr Hitler having abandoned the role of leading champion against Bolshevism, the scales seem to have dropped from Mr. Chamberlain's eyes. Not only has the hero dwindled but he is seen in association with the villain of the piece. This psychological change is likely to be the deciding factor in the crisis. Mr. Chamberlain is now pursuing with commendable vigour a policy urged on him for the past one year. His appeals to Herr Hitler are coupled with firm emphasis on his intention to stand by Poland. If Mr. Chamberlain has lost a valuable year there is this consolation: But for the German policy adopted after Munich of smashing the Czechoslovak State ruthlessly the Polish contention that the demands for Danzig are only the first step against the independence of Poland would not be believed. As we go to press news comes through that Germany has offered peace terms directly to Poland. The immediate return of Danzig, the settlement of the Corridor question by a plebiscite of all those born or resident there since 1918, the right to construct a motor road and a rail road across the Corridor, are the broad outlines of the German plan. A five power commission of Russia, Britain, France, Germany and Italy is suggested to settle details. Earlier reports announced that the offer of the Queen of Holland and the King of Belgium to mediate between Poland and Germany was favourably received by all the nations, and that His Holiness the Pope had sent forth another peace appeal.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, September 2, 1939.

INDIA AND THE WAR THREAT.

In the discussions that are taking place in India about the threatened war in Europe, one thing is significant. Nobody, except Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, argues that India should support Britain because of the advantages she will receive from a grateful government. After the last War and the post-war years, no one can nurse the illusion that any country can escape the brutalising influences of a war. And one may be sure that it will take even longer for the nations to recover from the effects of the next war. Every Indian accepts, we believe, that the very fact of a war will be a setback to national progress in India as in every other country, directly or indirectly involved. "The growth of autocratic rule has been associated with an increased interest in material welfare, a desire for a larger share of the world's goods both between the different elements in the population, and as against other people," writes Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell in an article on democracy; and "something of the kind has been observed after every great war." (*Foreign Affairs.*)

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its last meeting passed a resolution defining its attitude towards the next war. The resolution contained two parts, one expressing "ideological" sympathy with all victims of aggression and the other declaring its opposition to India's being thrown into a war without her consent. This is an extremely difficult attitude to maintain. Until an actual war is started, Congress leaders will be giving full effect to the first part of the resolution. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who, as Gandhiji has since revealed, is responsible for the Congress resolution on War, provides an interesting illustration of its defects. Pandit Nehru denied that he was going to China as an "ambassador" of the Congress; but in the same statement he claimed to be visiting China on a mission of good will from India, which is a much bigger thing—*today.* Gandhiji himself has sent a message of sympathy to Poland. How can India, after all these "goodwill" missions and messages, refuse to assist Britain in a war waged to relieve the victims of aggression of their suffering? How can other Indians be restrained from carrying the "mission" a step further in the event of general war? Those Congress leaders who are now stirring up the country into an excitement against Fascism, Nazism and aggression against China, will have, if war breaks out, to pull in the opposite direction. Now they are playing the part of Churchill; then they must become all Chamberlains. We should have much preferred that Congressmen stood by the main part of their resolution, the refusal to press India into a war, about which she is not consulted, in which she has no quarrel and for the prosecution of which she is totally unprepared even for a defensive role. If they did so, they would naturally refuse all invitations from countries engaged in conflicts abroad; they would refrain from giving others the impression that they had any voice in deciding India's attitude in any war. After all, that is the real position. If Britain decides to fight tomorrow on any issue, India will not be safe from either warring parties. Our troops will be sent out to maintain, as the *Spectator* desires, the White man's prestige in the East or Britain's place in the West; and our country will be open to the bombing planes of the enemy. We can at the most make Britain's position uncomfortable. To pretend that things are different might be flattering but it would be wide off the mark, and there is the grave danger of misleading third parties.

The national newspapers are loud in urging Mr. Chamberlain to fight Germany whilst supporting the Congress decision to abstain from helping Britain. The British press and British journalists who in the face of impending danger have surrendered their individual judgments to Mr. Chamberlain, support the general Indian demand for greater consultation on the part of the Government of India but at the same time rebuke Congressmen for their indifference. The attitude of the Government is paternal. They do not wish to tell the people what is going on and they assume full responsibility for the defence of the country and its people. Without a definite lead from the Government, nothing but apathy can be expected. This is true of all countries. The duty of Indian publicists, so far as the Government can conceive it, seems to be to tell the public to fight when war is ahead and to pipe down when a pact of concession is signed. Such an attitude creates neither a feeling of security among the people nor a sense of responsibility among the leaders. In several of the Indian princes, the Government of India, it is true, finds the desired response. Some of the Princes have made it plain that they are more concerned about whom they are fighting with, than about what they are fighting for. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan urges support to Britain on the Muslims of the Punjab and the martial races, not so much because he approves of British policy, nor because he favours unthinking support to Britain, but because he dreads the advent of the Nazi concentration camp which strikes him as the alternative. Even on this ground the Muslim League resents his attitude and a resolution dissociating Indian Muslims from his pronouncement and awaiting the lead of Islamic countries was adopted at Delhi this week. The one inference to be drawn from all this, seems to us to be, that but for the Paramountcy of the British Power—after the introduction of provincial autonomy it is possible to apply the word to both the States and to British India—India would be unaffected by a war in Europe. There would be few publicists urging Indian intervention in an ideological struggle in Europe. The logical

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

attitude for those of the "independence" school of thought should, therefore, be to press for Indian neutrality. One can in the circumstances regard the rather inconsistent thesis that a free India would be with Britain in a war against dictatorship, as a piece of special pleading. We must remember Western Europe's sublime indifference to what happened in Abyssinia or in China or even in Czechoslovakia, Spain, Albania. Even in the United States President Roosevelt is faced with great opposition in his interventionist policy. The Indian politician is no more an altruist than his counterpart elsewhere. If India's sympathies are with Britain today, it is because she is a part of the British Empire, not, as it is often said, in spite of it.

If on general terms that is the reality, the present war crisis is even more puzzling. It is a complete answer to those who urge a war on ideological grounds. Britain, herself a democracy, refused a war for the preservation of the only Central European democracy last September, only to be driven on the brink of one this year in defence of autocratic Poland. Britain after helping Germany to incorporate into the Reich territories with a Czech majority, on grounds of "self determination," now resists Danzig's union with Germany though Danzig has a 96 per cent German majority. This is ununderstandable to ordinary minds, the more so if one remembers that the Sudetenlands were claimed to be, and have been after Munich proved to be, as essential for the existence of the Czechoslovak State as Danzig is for the existence of Poland. We must accept the explanation that self-preservation inspired both the Munich submission and the Danzig resistance. Britain, we are told repeatedly, was not in a position to resist German demands last September. Today the forces ranged against Herr Hitler are stronger. Even after the alienation of Soviet Russia? Even so, that is a poor reason for War. No man in his senses fights merely because he is strong enough or ready enough for a scrap. When the Anglo-Indian Press, presumably referring to Indian national demand for supporting Czechoslovakia against Germany, mildly rebukes Indians for advocating "impracticable" policies, one can only infer that it has very practical reasons for assuming that the Polish dictatorship is more worthy of British support than the Czech democracy was; that German-occupied Danzig is better defendable than the Czech fortifications; and that Britain which was not called upon to play the part of "world policeman" last September, must now fulfil just that responsibility. Those reasons can only be that Danzig and Poland are believed to be the last opportunities for Britain to resist German aggression and to maintain her position as a Great Power. If that is so, they are very good reasons for Britons to support any war that Mr. Chamberlain may be forced into. What Indians complain is that the Government of India has taken no steps to convince them that the argument holds valid for Indians as well. The sole argument so far advanced by the highest British politician as well as by the humblest apologist for Britain, that the Nazi concentration camp is a very unpleasant institution and that Hitler in "Mein Kamp" referred to non-Europeans as half-apes, is the feeblest of all rallying cries. We do not suggest for a moment that by calling Gandhiji and a few leaders tomorrow the Viceroy will remove the basic grievances of Indians. There would be no consultation about such a step now. Such an association of Indians with the Government would be a farce and those who are making it a condition of co-operation, might save time if they co-operated straight off. They would also be acting with greater dignity. Had Indian politicians made a determined protest after the Munich crisis against Britain's ignoring Indian opinion, there might have been no repetition of it this year.

TEACHERS AND PARTY POLITICS.

The Hon. Mr. C. J. Varkey, Education Minister of Madras, speaking at a meeting of school members at Ambasamudram last week, dealt with the objections raised to the extension to teachers in aided schools of the rule against teachers in Government and Municipal schools taking active part in politics. Teachers in Government and Municipal institutions come under the general rule debarring salaried servants of the Crown from standing as candidates for election by popular constituencies. Teachers in aided schools are not salaried servants of the State any more than workers in the All-India Spinners' Association, the Harijan Sevak Sangh, and the All-India Village Industries Association, all of which are in receipt of subventions from provincial governments. Governments in India and, we daresay elsewhere also, have not hesitated to use grants to educational institutions as a means of control over them. In one case some years ago a young and enthusiastic American Professor who did not discreetly veil his sympathy with Indian national aspirations, had to be dismissed as the College, in which he served, was threatened with the deprivation of the Government grant if he was not sent away. The rule of abstinence from politics in practice has a tendency to operate as a rule compelling activity in pro-Government politics. A teacher may indulge in fulsome encomiums of the most silly actions of the powers-that-be, but the rule does not come in his way. Mr. Sastry in his long experience as a teacher must have come across many instances of the actual working of the rule which looks quite proper on paper. His apprehension that it will operate in the same one-sided way under popular Governments, has obliged him to plead for the class of which he was once himself a very distinguished member and which, to his infinite

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

regret and mortification is inwilling or unable to plead its own cause.

Mr. Varkey's argument may be briefly summarised. Politics nowadays is a party game. Unlike other games in which there are strict rules and umpires to enforce them on the spot, there are neither rules nor umpires to regulate the political game. "Everything is fair in love, war—and politics," has passed into a proverb. In love there may be another fellow round the corner to dispute the lady's hand with a stout stick. In war, the enemy will enforce his point of view with the same instruments, human and material, as yourself. In politics alone there are no risks to face. On the other hand, by joining a political party you can minimise even the risk of losing your deposit. The temptation to attach yourself to a political party is great. Mr. Varkey candidly illustrated his arguments by citing his own instance. "When I wanted to join the Congress Party," said Mr. Varkey, "and stand for election to the Assembly, I took leave from the College for one year and fought the election on the understanding that, if I succeeded, I would resign my teaching post and plunge myself into politics. I succeeded in the election and resigned my post." He exhorted other teachers to do likewise. He said:

> I want more teachers to enter the political field and show to the country that teachers too are a valuable acquisition to the politics of the country. As most of them are not blessed with much of riches, they must have the backing of a party. Join that party you think best for elections. I want able and enthusiastic teachers to enter politics at an early date, and fight out the cause of the country in general and the cause of the teaching profession in particular.

There is much worldly wisdom in the advice but we are obliged to say that Mr. Varkey's conception of the teaching profession as well as of a political career, falls far short of the ideal. The teacher's profession itself, if one has a vocation for it, offers ample scope for the highest service to one's fellowmen. The influence of a great teacher is infinitely deeper and more enduring than that of the most successful politician. Mr. Varkey seems to think that a political career is a better way of "serving the cause." But what is "the cause of the country in general and the cause of the teaching profession in particular"? If serving the country is the only object, a man can fulfil it as well, if not better, as a teacher, than as a party politician who in most cases can look forward to be nothing better than a party hack. Politics too is a great vocation if you feel a call for it independently of whether a political party is willing to put you up as a candidate. Gokhale felt such a call. He did not resign his Professorship in the Fergusson College for many years after he was elected to the Legislative Council. He left the College in 1902 and in two or three years he had started the Servants of India Society to engage in the field of political education which to him meant spiritualising politics. During a fairly close intercourse lasting several years, we have never heard Gokhale plead that he did or said something because of party considerations. His whole conception of politics was that principle should always come before party. That is what he called spiritualising politics. Gokhale's example was worthily followed by Dr. R. P. Paranjpye. The present Principal of the Fergusson College, Dr. G. S. Mahajani, is an elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He is a Liberal and sits on the Opposition side.

Unless there has been a radical change in Bombay opinion, of which there is no sign, Mr. Varkey's arguments for treating a teacher in an aided institution on the same footing as a Government employee, will be laughed out of court in this part of the country. These arguments become positively grotesque in the case of Municipalities and Local Boards. In the first place, in theory at least, party politics is not expected to be carried into civic life. In the next place in the districts, high school teachers and college professors constitute the bulk of the educated talent available for civic affairs. To shut them out of local bodies is to deprive the community of the services of some of the best qualified men in the countryside. Mr. Varkey's arguments for keeping teachers out of politics are analogous to those which used to be urged against the enfranchisement of women. Politics is not only a party but a dirty game. Women must be paragons of purity, however much their husbands and sons and brothers fall short of perfection. Teachers are not so sharply distinguishable from the rest of the community as women from men. Mr. Varkey's argument simply comes to this: that they should maintain the perfect ideal of the teacher until they are seduced by a political party which undertakes to make up to them for their voluntary relinquishment of their jobs. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry "plunged" into politics when politics meant to him a lifelong commitment on a small allowance in a highly experimental organization, giving up a safe and comfortable position as a successful educationist. He like Gokhale brought the educationist's spirit to bear on politics. A fairly competent teacher who seeks a political career under the aegis of a party, will not take long to discover that teaching children is a much more interesting and far more spiritually elevating occupation than spending one's time in answering the crack of the party whip. Politics can not be spiritualised so long as the party system is considered indispensable to it.

We turn now to the larger question: Should politics be a game? Should it be a party game? Should it be a dirty game? We have no hesitation in answering all three questions in the negative. In fact the three questions are answered when the first is answered. If politics is a game, it must be a party game and a dirty game. But should it be a game? Mr.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Srinivasa Aiyengar in his recent address to the Madras University on Democracy gave cogent reasons against the party system in politics. The only country where it has worked well is Great Britain. Even there it worked only so long as the ship of State was sailing on smooth waters and the members of Government and leaders of the Opposition came from the same groups, were educated in the same schools and universities and were often closely related by ties of blood and marriage. When politics assumed a serious form, that is to say, when men were divided by convictions and not merely by conventions, the system broke down. Irish Home Rule, Tariff Reform, the Boer War, the powers of the House of Lords—the system was strained to breaking point when these questions confronted it. The Great War saw its complete collapse. For a few years after the war it tried to resume its sway but eight years ago a National Government took its place and Lord Baldwin in inaugurating it thanked God that politics in Britain would no longer be a "party dog-fight." The British party system is essentially a fair-weather system. It is closely modelled on the British national game of cricket. Like the game the British took their politics as a pastime. They could afford to do so because till now they had no competitors in trade, industry and the mastery of the sea. They have now to take their politics seriously. The Dictators, whatever their defects may be, are strenuous men. They live dangerously to themselves and their neighbours. No one ever heard of Signor Mussolini or Herr Hitler or M. Stalin going fishing or skating as a distraction from political preoccupations. The old leisurely conception of politics has become out of date. The new conception should be more in the line of the old Hindu conception of it as dharma. Statesmen can not be party men; they must be for the State as their name requires. With such a conception of politics, it will be as pure and as elevating as divine service. Women, teachers and even students can participate in it with great moral and spiritual benefit.

Russia And Poland:—Quick as lightning on the announcement of the Russo-German Pact came a message from Paris that instructions were sent to the British and French Ambassadors in Moscow to inform the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Molotov, that Poland was then ready to accept Russian aid. The *Daily Mail* correspondent who sent the message, added that refusal by Poland to admit Russian troops apart from Russian armaments was one obstacle holding up the negotiations for a Pact with Russia. A day later Marshal Voroshilov, Russian Commissar of Defence, stated in an interview in the semi-official, *Isvestia*, that this was the main cause of disagreement. Britain and France supported Poland. Russia, in fact, was treated as an international Pariah the produce of whose labour was welcome but whose company could not be tolerated within miles of the high caste Poles and their allies, the British and the French. One remembered that some months ago it was announced that Mr. Chamberlain had dined at the Russian Embassy and that it was the first time since the Soviet revolution that a British Prime Minister had broken bread with a Soviet dignitary! Have the British or the French ever agreed to help another Power which objected to their entry into their territory? Would Great Britain have undertaken the defence of France in the last war if the French had refused to admit them into the country? As a matter of fact, the French people were not overjoyed to see their country overrun by foreigners, but since they had to get their help they had to put up with their company. How Britain and France could have encouraged Poland in this silly attitude towards Russia whose help they were courting, we cannot imagine. It almost looks as if Poland was willing to comply with the German demands rather than tolerate the Russians in their country and that she was held back only by the importunity of her West European Allies. It is significant that not an inkling of the obstacle to the Pact with Russia was allowed to the public. What are we to infer from the fact that Great Britain and France instead of telling Poland that hers was an unreasonable objection and that, if she persisted in it, they would wash their hands of the whole affair, let events take their course? Did they think Russia would be so anxious to have the Pact that she would agree to help Poland under the humiliating restriction sought to be imposed on her? Had they been frank with Poland, the Pact with Moscow would have been concluded months ago and Herr Hitler would have had to give up his design on Danzig at least for some years.

The 'Covetous' Indian:—Sir Geoffrey Winterbotham who presided when Mr. Oliver Stebbing read a paper last April on "The European in the New India" at a meeting of the East India Association, London, let fall a revealing remark in his introductory speech. He said that opposition to British interests did not come so much from politicians as from Indian commercial men. "It would not, I think," he said, "be safe to ignore the covetous eye cast by certain Indian commercial interests on British interests, nor the special garb of nationalism with which this covetousness is cloaked." It is philanthropy for the British commercial man to exploit India; it is covetous for the Indian to desire to get the profits of industry and trade of his own country! The British commercial class is responsible for the transformation of the character of British rule in this country from a benevolent paternalism in to an economic imperialism. From the time of the Ilbert Bill it has always opposed the liberalisation of the political system, and supported every measure of repression. But circumstances are proving too strong for it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ERADICATING COMMUNALISM IN ELECTIONS.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

On account of the treaties, and also because of the deep cleavages between communities, it is impossible to draw the complete picture of democracy on the Party model of England in an Indian State. But surely statesmanship requires not a non-posumus attitude of mind, but the discovery of methods for giving the maximum of democracy which is feasible in consonance with the treaties.

It is gratifying to find that Mr. Sreenivas Iyengar, one of the most eminent of the political leaders in India, has come to the conclusion that Party Government is unsuited for India and has recommended a national or all party form of government. This is the same as the Panchayat form which I have been advocating for over ten years. A different nomenclature was adopted by me in order to emphasise the idea of government by consent and persuasion and not through opposition and the rule of the majority. The arguments in its favour will not be marshalled again; but it is necessary to point out that the word "Party" has a different meaning in democratic and in totalitarian States. The Communist Party in Russia and the Fascist and Nazi Parties in Germany and Italy, do not contemplate the emergence into power of an opposing party as is the case in England. The Congress ideology is much the same, except that violence is not advocated.

When one contemplates the vast achievements of the Soviet in Russia,—witness, for instance, their conquest of the North Pole and the establishment of a permanent station at the Pole with aeroplane and wireless sets manufactured in every detail in Russia and through the courage and the devotion to the Party and its Leader of Russia's young men—doubt arises in the mind whether a party of progress without a blind adherence to Marx is not the best for India. But on account of the impossibility of separating violence from the Soviet System and also because all parties in India are now likely to become communal, the Panchayat or all party system is recommended, although it will not possess the dynamic energy of the Soviet and of Fascism.

Concerning methods two differing systems have been recommended by me; *viz*, that of direct election with joint electorates and reservation of seats, and that of indirect election with reservation for communal and other interests. In both cases the cabinet would be all party, national or Panchayet. If the life of the legislature is only three years there is no need to provide for a vote of no-nonfidence. Even otherwise, what I recommended is to make the vote as difficult as possible *viz.*, by a three-fourth majority of all existing members of both Houses. I am, however, of Mr. Sreenivas Ayengar's opinion that in such form of government there is no justification and no need for an Upper House. Concerning indirect election, it has to be stated that Gandhiji had recommended adult suffrage and indirect election, at the second Round Table Conference, but he did not insist on it, or give details. If he had done so, probably, the present Hindu-Moslem conflict would not have arisen. Everyone knows the great advantages of direct election over indirect. The chief of them is that members who are elected indirectly would have no interest in educating their master, which is one of the most important needs of democracy; and it might well be a standing instruction to electors to give preference to those who do this kind of work and to those engaged in useful public activities, etc. Gandhiji doubtless knew of the great drawbacks of indirect election; but apparently recommended it on account of the vastness of the areas, the difficulties, expense, intrigues and corruption associated with direct election, and chiefly, I hope, as a solvent for dissolving the communal animosities that are bound to be engendered under *any* system of direct election which recognized communal interests.

Various methods might be suggested for indirect election. As communal representation is functional more than territorial, it is possible to argue that each member, including those who represent special interests such as labour, should be elected on an All State basis and not territorially. The members thus elected would be less communally minded and more national, than territorial communal representatives but some areas might get no representation, and what is called the touch or contact between voters and members to which both attach great importance is liable to be lost. There are other advantages and drawbacks for both systems, and either could be adopted as may be desired.

It is, however, very clear to me that the original election should be non-communal. The areas might be as small as is necessary, but not too small. It is surely possible, and it is necessary if communalism is to die out ultimately, for the Hindus and Moslems in a small area to select some *one* person in that area to be their elector without regard to his community. By a system of elimination, some one citizen could easily get 75 per cent of the votes of the adults present. If the communal spirit is so rampant that no one gets it, the remedy is to disqualify that area from the privilege of appointing an elector for the election only. The only qualification of the elector should be that he is himself not a candidate.

The names of the electors should be duly notified and they should meet at convenient centres for selecting the members. Those who wish to stand as candidates for election will submit their names to Government, and lists of all those who are not disqualified under existing rules, will be published and printed lists sent to the electors or to the polling officers of the various election centres. When there are special interests such as labour, planting, etc. that should be indicated in the lists. The candidates should not canvass for votes, but might circulate manifestoes, and might also, if they wish, appear at the election centres and explain their policies. If the election is of members for the whole State, the electors will simply mark the list, one mark for each place and return them to the polling office. There is no need for secrecy, and obvious mistakes—*e. g.* marking too many names could be corrected on the spot. At the central polling office, these lists would be scrutinised with the help of assessors. The system adopted in Mysore for the civil service when competition was open to all India, with reservation of a certain number for Europeans is recommended. In this manner it is easy to obtain the number required to represent each community. Whatever communities might have reservation, it is necessary that the depressed classes and minor communities like artisans who never get elected, should have reservation.

When territorial representation is preferred, all that is required is to fix up the number representing each communal interest for each area, and the same Mysore system could be adopted for picking up the required number of names. Interests of the whole State, such as labour, must necessarily be picked up at the central office after counting all the votes. When communal interests are divided territorially the method is, after such interests are sufficiently represented, to omit the names of members of that community with more votes in favour of members

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with less votes of not fully represented communities until the full number required is secured.

In either case, it is hoped that the whole electorate will not be divided communally or at any rate that the number of such could be varied for different areas and also minimised at each subsequent election. These devices, as also the device of making the electors themselves non-communal, will tend to minimise communal rancour.

I had recommended other methods also for giving a sense of security to minority communities. The most important was that it should be open to any citizen to appeal to the High Court or to the Head of the State that a proposed piece of legislation was likely to affect adversely the interest concerned, (exploiting interests like planting, commerce, landlords being included) and, if he agrees, that the legislation should be held up until the Cabinet or the private member is able to convince a majority of members representing the interest that the legislation is desirable. I had suggested that, if the interest is unrepresented, *e.g.* Jews or Jains, a member should be co-opted for the purpose of that piece of legislation.

With this tremendous safeguard, minorities will cease to fear communal majorities or exploiting interests; and the need for communal representation will tend to disappear.

Another safeguard would be that every State should have a Public Service Commission presided over by an Englishman or a member of a minority and charged with the duty of carrying out Government's policy towards backward communities. I was the first official in South India in recent times to advocate the need for communal justice in the matter of appointments and could say a great deal about it, if the principle is not now generally accepted. The chief faults of the pure merit system are that there is no absolute standard for judging merit, and that the meritorious are inclined to be clannish in filling up appointments.

The method of election suggested above is purely tentative and experimental. It has no special merit, except that corruption and intrigue would be very greatly minimised and the selection will be made by the best electors in the State. There is fortunately plenty of scope for experiment and mistakes would be rectified after experience is gained.

After the members are elected, whether through direct election or indirect election based on adult suffrage, they should meet at the capital and elect a leader, by a process of elimination so that whoever is finally elected, might have a larger measure of support and gain greater confidence than is possible under the simple majority system. He should proceed to select his colleagues in accordance with his instrument of instructions which should be provided for, important communities and interests being represented in the Cabinet. The Head of the State might perhaps have the power of veto but within strictly defined limits and not so as to make the electorate a mere farce. The Cabinet should have a fixed sum or percentage of revenues and also some power of separate taxation.

The dynamic for this form of government in those Departments which are delegated, would depend on the leader and the leader in this process would be the best man available in the State, and not the best party man or the best demagogue. There is some reason to expect that he might devote continuous attention to the really urgent problems, such as poverty and illiteracy and educating the young to such a form of citizenship as may be called useful, adaptive and sacramental. In spite of all theories and temporary successes that blur vision, to love your neighbour as yourself, and to love the children better than yourself, are the only sure foundations and dynamic for a stable and a worthwhile society.

Finally, I entirely agree with Mr. Sreenivas Iyengar that old men are not suited for such leadership in these strenuous times.

ENGLISHWOMEN IN INDIA.

(By J. M. Ganguli.)

[This article has been written with the best of intentions, with a view to draw the attention, of far-seeing Englishwomen to their cultural responsibility in the Empire, the thoughtful discharge of which is bound to create a very good feeling in the Empire people.

In the height of glory, during moments of ease and luxury, one is often unmindful of the effects of one's acts and doings, though such effects may leave far-reaching consequences.

The publication of the article is expected to provoke thinking in respect of such acts and their consequences.—*J. M. G.*]

How indeed Englishwomen in India pass their time is a question that often arises in one's mind at the sight of the light-hearted and irresponsible manner in which they apparently spend their lives. In the morning you find them out for their constitutional, of course, leaving their children in the care of mere ayahs who lack the education to bring them up properly; some walking on the maidan; some riding in the racecourse; some driving merrily along the riverside. After breakfast they go out shopping at will, to meet the bills of which the poor husbands have to rush to offices to work there for hours. During the day they have music, radio, romantic and adventurous literature, and, of course, the work of the inevitable tailor sitting in the verandah to supervise. A nap on the sofa is also not unusual.

Hours roll by; the engagement of the afternoon come; the telephone rings; friends call; the lady changes into her sports outfit, and drives out for tennis or golf. A few of them, not keen on sports, may care to remember their husbands. A few minutes before five o'clock they get into their cars, red-lipped, red-nailed and elegantly dressed, to go and pick up their husbands from office. Evenings are generally spent in restaurants, or within cinema halls; while nights till late hours, are unavoidably booked, because of dances, gala-nights, Saturday-club engagements and similar other very important functions. Such ever-recuring engagements they seldom let fall through. How else will life be worth living?

In the matter of conventionalism they are punctilious; polite, affable and mannerly, talking and laughing in regulated voice and showing interest in whatever society they may be placed by intelligent nods and occasional uncritical remarks. In their home relationship also they observe manners, meeting their children at appointed hours, giving them a pat or a kiss in conventional style. The husbands also do not go without proper words of endearment; they have these companions at dinner-table; are picked up from office, and are given advice and encouragement without asking. The domestic servants are given orders with precision and seriousness, though the lady of the house may not have the time or inclination to look into the inner working of those orders. The order for dinner, for instance, is given, the menu is detailed, but how and under what conditions the preparations are made, do not worry the pre-occupied lady of the house. After the retirement of a chief justice of Bengal, while his bungalow was being sanitarily cleaned and got ready for his successor, the sanitary officer of the Public Health Department found on entering the kitchen that spades were needed to clean it. Writing to a local paper describing the filthy

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

condition of the kitchen, the doctor expressed his great surprise that the lady of the house had never cared to go the kitchen to see how and under what conditions food on which one's health vitally depended, was cooked.

This doctor had obviously experience of a few government buildings only; for, if he had occasion to look into the kitchen of other English society ladies, he would have found nothing to wonder at in the house of the chief justice, whose wife observed rather than broke the usual rule of her countrywomen in India of not transgressing into the borders of the kitchen area.

There the cook and the servants rule as they please, free from fear of supervision, while the lady of the house is in the drawing room or is out on some of her daily missions, unmindful of the kitchen people's dirty clothes, their dirty habits and their unhygienic methods. When she wants a drink or dish, she rings the bell and the cook or the bearer hurriedly gets into a white-looking costume and attends with the thing wanted served on glazed cutlery. Once, it is said, a bearer while going out to serve noticed a mark on a dish to remove which he spat on it and rubbed it off with his cleaner. When the dishes arrive and tasty effervescence comes out, eaters do not care to know how they were prepared and what impurities they might contain.

Thus an English lady conducts her household. It will be interesting to calculate how much of her time she spends on herself and how much, if at all, on doing duties in respect of others, or on doing useful things. Take off the time spent on her toilet, in the dressing-room, in now and then having a look at the mirror, in novel reading, in outing and shopping, in sports, and on other personal things, and what little time will be found to be left over for duties to husband and children, to home and society! Even when she is out, her mind is evidently pre-occupied with her own self, her face, hair, eye-brow, lips, etc; for, now and then she can be seen taking a small looking-glass out and holding it before her face, which she assiduously paints and powders against weather and wind. Along with the glass comes out a comb to keep every hair in check.

If the time and concentration so diligently devoted to facial appearance and bodily attractiveness were diverted, even in part to the side of constructive usefulness, what could not indeed these intelligent women have done to their family and children, to their society and environment, to their race and to humanity in general!

After all, it is not on how one's face look with paint and powder, and how the hair curls on forehead and round the ears, that human greatness depends. Such greatness is not generated and developed when mind always hovers round the skin and the external features of the body and does not rise higher and reach beyond. A man or a woman is born in duties and charged with responsibilities, the proper sense of which provides the real test of his or her culture and enlightenment. And the higher one's status in life and society the greater are such duties and responsibilities. As women of a country that is now ruling over the best part of the globe, Englishwomen ought to realise that their duties and responsibilities are much greater than in the case of others in similar stations of life. They have to be mothers of children, who can be expected to safeguard and further the interests and welfare of a vast empire; they have to be helpful and inspiring wives to those already engaged in Empire work; they have to be pure and high models of womanhood to the womenfolk of the Empire, who almost instinctively imitate and adopt the ways of their rulers; they must also bear in mind that the whole world consciously or unconsciously, and to a greater or less degree, looks admiringly to the country that out of its original smallness has expanded into world-wide vastness. Such realisation will at once open their eyes to the silliness of the thoughtless, frivolous and irresponsible life that they lead out in India and in the Empire. By leading such life they make people wonder if the race which they represent is really deserving of the world-possessions, which some intrepid, adventurous heroes of yore have secured and left for it. This feeling is spreading and adversely affecting the Empire sense of most of the people constituting the bulk of the British Empire. The inevitable result, whether slow or quick, and whether apparent or unapparent, must be the undermining of the great imperial structure centring on England. There is a growing number of thoughtful men in India, for instance, who are otherwise not averse to continued Indo-British relationship, but who feel that the sort of civilisation identifiable with the life of a great many English women in India is doing great harm to girls here, who are modeling their lives on the English pattern. These girls are neglecting their home duties, ignoring the natural claims on them of their children who are not wanted, becoming vain, ostentatious and averse to work, and inclined to be expensive beyond means. They are adopting scanty-dress fashion, becoming frivolous and thoughtless, and what is worse are displacing in their mind their inherited high moral sense and principles by those which they see openly practised by so many white women and which they find embodied in a majority of film scenario.

Now, the question I ask in all seriousness of Englishwomen, particularly those, who come out to India or to other parts of the Empire, is whether they would consider themselves free from the heaviest responsibility if, as a result of their setting unedifying examples of life, they caused in Empire peoples a feeling of disrespect for the English race or English culture, that is bound to have disruptive reaction on ties, which hold together different races and different countries in the Empire? There are qualities in the English race, which have impressed the Indian mind, but let Englishwomen in India think if, through the life they live, they are helping to strengthen or weaken such impression. If Indian parents have begun to warn their girls against imitating the ways of the women of the ruling race, surely public confidence in the goodness of Indo-British imperial partnership cannot be said to be sound and dependable. Only, if English women would realise what a vital factor such confidence is in the continuity of such partnership, they will, I believe, live differently, cherish other ideals of womanhood than their present, and become conscious of their added responsbility to live the high life, which women of an empire-making country are expected to live.

THE BENEFITS OF PROHIBITION.

(By Prof. Shiv Narayan, Poona.)

Whenever a reform is introduced in earnest, there is invariably great opposition to it. So it was when Thuggee was put down with a stern hand. Again, bitter agitation was stirred up against those good men like the venerable Ram Mohan Roy who raised their voices in favour of the abolition of Sutteeism. Similar has been the experience of those who have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

striven to stop child marriages, unequal matrimonial alliances, untouchability, etc. To the credit of the British, it should be said that they did not stand in the way of the above-mentioned reforms. It is, therefore, disappointing to see that, in the matter of Prohibition of the sale to all and sundry of intoxicants, Europeans and Parsees, the two most westernised and, therefore, presumably civilised sections of this community in Bombay, should have written and said so much against the efforts of the present provincial government of that province to remove the evil of intemperance from spoiling further the bodies, if not the souls, of a large number of the citizens of what is, or is going to be, the largest city in India. Day after day, letters are published and speeches delivered minimising the havoc wrought by the Demon of Drink. The aid of literature—past and present—is invoked in support of the virtues of wine.

Thirty-five years ago, the Lahore Temperance Union issued a pamphlet entitled *From the Pages of the Sages of all Ages*, giving quotations in condemnation of the habit of consuming alcoholic liquors and intoxicating drugs, from prophets, poets, philosophers, and prose-writers of various countries of different eras. For every statement in support of Wine, one could quote two in condemnation of it from the literature of almost every language—more so, no doubt, from the sacred books of the Hindus and Mohammedans, who form the majority of the inhabitants of Bombay. Being however a cosmopolitan city, the Gateway of India contains a large number of other communities, some of whom live by the liquor trade even if several of them do not indulge in drinking intoxicating liquors themselves inordinately and possess the power of controlling themselves more than the poorer people of the congested areas of the city who fall a prey to temptation if it happens to come their way. For such people, it is desirable for an outside agency to remove the source of the temptation out of the way, for by doing so, not only is the individual concerned saved, but his family is also assured of receiving a good share of his earnings which would have been squandered on drink. Europeans and Parsees who do not wish to profit by the weakness of their fellow-Bombayites, should welcome any effort which has for its aim the betterment of the people at large. Temperance is no doubt a laudable movement and few will be found to find fault with it, as it preserves the sacred heritage of liberty of the individual. But every rule has an exception to it. For some individuals, it is an easier task to eschew altogether rather than curtail slightly a harmful ingredient of their diet or drink. The Hindus and Mohammedans, therefore, wisely proscribe the consumption of beef and pork respectively. Total abstinence is not seldom more efficacious than mere moderation in the matter of habits of drinking, smoking, eating, etc., which seem to have an insidious tendency to make addicts of those who started with the firm intention of merely taking a little of the new things now and then. Mark the experience of Mark Twain in his book, 'More Tramps Abroad' :—

> The root is not the drinking, but the desire to drink... When the desire intrudes, it should be at once banished out of the mind. A desire constantly repulsed should die then. That should cure the drinking habit.....I can quit any of my 19 injurious habits at any time and without discomfort or inconvenience.....Once I tried my scheme in a large medical way. I had been confined to my bed several days with lumbago. My case refused to improve. Finally the doctor said :—
>
> "My remedies have no fair chance. Consider what they have to fight besides the lumbago. You smoke extravagantly. Don't you ?'
>
> 'Yes.'
>
> 'You take coffee immoderately ?'
>
> 'Yes.'
>
> 'And some tea?'
>
> 'Yes.'
>
> 'You eat all kinds of things that are dissatisfied with each other's company?'
>
> 'Yes.'
>
> 'You drink two hot Scotches every night?'
>
> 'Yes.'
>
> 'Very well, there you see what I have to contend against. We can't make progress the way the matter stands. You must make a reduction in these things; you must cut down your consumption of them considerably for some days.'
>
> 'I can't, doctor.'
>
> 'Why can't you?'
>
> 'I lack the will-power. I can cut them off entirely, but I can't merely moderate them.'
>
> He said that that would answer, and said that he would come around in twenty-four hours and begin work again. He was taken ill himself and could not come; but I did not need him. I cut off all those things for two days and nights; in fact, I cut off all kinds of food, too, and all drinks except water, and at the end of the forty-eight hours the lumbago was discouraged and left me.

In the same chapter from which the above interesting account of a remarkable, but by no means unique or solitary, experience has been reproduced, the author relates the impressions produced by two fellow-passengers, known as remittance men, by reason of their being ne'er-do-weels belonging to important families sent abroad with a sum of money in their pockets with a remittance to follow at intervals. One was a young Canadian who was not able to let the whisky bottle alone. He was of a rich and powerful family and could have had a distinguished career and abundance of effective help towards it if he could have conquered his appetite for drink; but he could not do it, so his great equipment of talent was of no use to him. The other was a lad of 19 or 20, and he was a good deal of a ruin as to clothes and morals and general aspect; he said that he was a scion of a ducal house in England and had been shipped for the house's relief; that he had fallen into trouble in Canada and was now being shipped to Australia. The first thing he did in Australia was to get into the lock-up and the next thing he did was to proclaim himself an earl in the police court in the morning and fail to prove it.

The Bombay wine-traders are not the only body that have profitted by catering to the craving for inebriating drinks that converts decent educated men into imbeciles as the above instances prove. Mark Twain recounts the story of the 'New South Wales Corps' whose officers went to importing rum, and also to manufacturing it in private stills in defiance of the Government's commands and protests. They established a close monopoly and kept it strictly in their own hands. They bought rum at an average of two dollars a gallon and sold at an average of ten.....they maintained their devastating hold for 18 or 20 years before they were finally conquered and routed by the Government. Meanwhile they had spread intemperance everywhere. And they had squeezed farm after farm out of the settlers' hands for rum and thus had bountifully enriched themselves.....In one instance they sold a man a gallon of rum worth two dollars for a piece of property which was sold some years later for 100,000 dollars.

Who has not heard of the fate of the Red Indians? One of the causes of their decay tantamount to extinction in some places was their inability to say

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'No' to the white man when he offered them wine which they nicknamed, quite appropriately, *fire-water*. Aborigines of several other countries have paid dearly in somewhat the same way for their yielding to temptation in the shape of the liquor bottle.

In 1887, the Royal Niger Company issued a circular in which was stated that "doubts have been expressed by eminent persons whether the evils of the alcoholic trade with the native races of India, Africa, Polynesia, etc., have not exceeded the benefits conferred by the spreading of British civilisation." This company took credit for having taken the initiative at Berlin to induce the Conference to prohibit the transit of spirituous liquors over the waters of the Lower Niger, a policy supported by Great Britain, Italy and the United States, but opposed by the other Powers. In 1886, the Council prohibited by Regulation the importation of spirituous liquors into the Benue regions. The Council stated that they had not been guided by administrative or humanitarian motives but had acted in the true commercial interests of the shareholders. They had been guided by enlightened self-interest which accepts as an axiom that the permanent success of the Company's extensive operations in Central Africa demands general and progressive trade and this can not be built up on the liquor traffic.

In July 1886, the wrongs and claims of native races formed a prominent topic of discussion at the British and Colonial Temperance Congress which adopted memorials to the Indian Governmental authorities calling attention to the increase of intemperance in India and asking the Government "to take such steps as might effectually diminish or remove the special temptations to alcoholic indulgence in that country."

In May 1887, the following resolutions were adopted at the Westminster Town Hall:—

1. That this meeting of members and friends of the National Temperance League, having learnt with profound regret that habits of intemperance are rapidly increasing in many parts of India, alleged to be largely due to the extension of spirit licenses for revenue purposes, resolves to ask the principal Secretary of State for India to cause immediate inquiry to be made into the facts of the case with a view to the application as speedily as possible of an efficient remedy for this great and growing evil.

2. That as the use of intoxicating liquors by professing Christians in social life and at religious services has led many Mohammedan and Hindu converts to suppose that what they had previously regarded as an unclean thing is an essential element of Christianity, this meeting resolves to request the Committees of the leading Missionary Societies to caution their missionaries against sanctioning any practice that might lead to such an erroneous and mischievous conclusion.

About the same time as the above-narrated events took place, it was declared by responsible officers in India, now and then, that the people of the country did not want facilities for drinking alcoholic beverages and the introduction or importation of wines for the sake of the native inhabitants was an unjustifiable plea. Surgeon Major Pringle declared that if local self-government were granted to the ten million people of the (then) North-west Provinces, not a grog shop would remain in 12 months.

That alcoholic drinks are not a prophylactic against disease has been amply corrobated by the experiences of doctors of almost every land where serious investigation has been undertaken. Even if some of them considered it essential in some cases to prescribe mixtures in which there was a small percentage of alcohols, it was only done when absolutely necessary and if the patient did not object thereto.

Similarly it is sometimes glibly asserted that ... is useful to fighting men on the battlefield and ... even when no war is in progress, it should ... regular item of their ration in order to maintain ... vitality and courage. This is also a mis... notion. Here is the testimony of no less a ... than the great general, Lord Roberts, V.C. ... experimented with six regiments in India. To ... regiments he gave a ration of whisky, two a ... of beer, to two cold water in place of the intoxi... He then sent the six regiments on a long mar... the hills. To the surprise of several people, it ... be recorded that the cold water soldiers reached ... destination earlier than the others and in a stro... condition. Instances of this kind could be multi...

Wise words may fall from the mouths of ... So may one hear sensible sentiments expressed ... those who are addicted to drink when not under ... overpowering influence. Whoever has had occa... to attend even a few times any Salvation ... meeting, must have heard from the mouths of ... bibulous themselves heart-rending tales bemoa... their weakness and the depths to which ... sink on account of it. Total abstinence pre... to such men will not serve the purpose because ... lack the will power as they freely confess in ... unclouded moments. Prohibition, though obj... to as being thrust from outside, would, how... be for the good of them and their families. Know... this fact, the State that takes courage in both ha... enacts laws banning the sale of intoxicating liq... deserves the whole-hearted support of all well-wish... of their fellow human beings. Let us pray to G... that the great venture undertaken in the Gate... of India will be a glorious success and that Prohi... tion will be a blessing even to those who oppo... its introduction. It may have failed in America ... it ought to be a triumph in India, as the conditio... moral and physical, are so different here. Some ... the strongest supporters of Prohibition are to be fo... among the Parsees and Europeans. To such ... sincere thanks of the people of the country are ...

THE RAJAHMUNDRY HITHAKARINI SAM...

The "Rajahmundry Hithakarini Samaj" is ... association founded by Late Rao Bahadur ... Veeresalingam Pantulugaru of Rajahmundry hav... for its object carrying on of Educational, Philanthro... and other useful work. Veeresalingam Pantulug... conveyed, in trust to the Hithakarini Samaj all ... properties to be administered by the manag... committee of the said Samaj, as trustees. ... Hithakarini Samaj has been mannging and condu... ing the Victoria Widows' Home, the Veeresaling... Theistic High School and the Veeresalingam Thea... Library, etc.

Rao Sahib Dr. V. Ramakrishna Rao, M.A., L... Ph. D. conferred as a trust on the aforesaid Sa... and endowment of Rupees One Thousand to be in... ted in approved securities stipulating that the int... accruing every half year be distributed by w... of a free pecuniary aid among the poor cou... of widow remarried allliances as will have b... solemised under the auspices of the Hithaka... Samaj. The object of Dr. Ramakrishna Rao ... making this endowment is that it may serve a... nucleus of a fund to which other philanthro... gentlemen might make additional contributions, ... it is the income from Dr. Ramakrishna Rao's End... ment may hardly be sufficient to give adequate re... to the class of people intended to benefit by ... earnestly appeal to the public of the Andhra ... and elsewhere to augment this fund by ma... liberal contributions to the same.

P. SUNDARASIVA RAO,
Secretary, Hithakarini Sam...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District ...
Dhulia (District ... Khan...
Dondaicha („ „)
Nandurbar („ „)
Shirpur („ „)
Shahada („ „)
Sakri („ „)
Sindkheda („ „)
Taloda („ „)
Malegaon (District ...
Satara („ „)
Kalwan („ „)
Dohad (District ...
Kalol

DIRECTORS'

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.,
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,890

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar & Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad,)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE
SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION
COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.
NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.
The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports,
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports,
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:—{K. NATARAJAN / S. NATARAJAN

Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 26, 1939. No. 52

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Famine Relief.
Prime Ministers' Conference.
Advice to Orthodox Hindus.
Chinese Labour for Indian.
"Criminal Tribes."
Khaksar Discipline.
India and the Threatened War.
Europe on the Eve.
Russia's Pact with Germany.
Sir Sivaswami on Indian Defence.
The Much-Abused Mr. Chamberlain.
Democratic Government in Indian States.
Prohibition and Poverty.
Widows' Estate.
The Khaksar Movement.
Labour Emigration to Malaya.
Prof. Joad on the Gospels.

NOTES.

Famine Relief:—The timely occurrence of some amount of rainfall in Gujarat has somewhat relieved the acuteness of the situation created by the total failure of the rains in the last two weeks; and it is opportune to comment on some of the measures adopted to meet the emergency. To begin with, we were surprised at the suddenness with which the situation developed. The delay of a fortnight in the regular rains has never before led to such serious results. As a matter of fact, famine conditions do not arise until some months after the failure of the rains. Trade speculation is responsible for raising prices in anticipation of famine. But this very process serves to stimulate imports into the rainless area. To arrest the normal processes of trade is to deprive the stricken areas of the most natural method of minimising their hardships. We were surprised, therefore, at the Ordinance of the Government of Bombay issued a fortnight back forbidding exports of grain and grass. There would be little of either to export from these areas. If as a consequence prices rose, the people must be provided with the cash to buy the articles. Baroda followed the example of Bombay. Hyderabad, it was reported, would likewise follow the same course. In a time of stress, safety lies in neighbouring States pooling their resources to fight the danger. The necessity of a strong unitary central Government is never more evident than on occasions of wide-spread famine or epidemics. The Bombay Government issued an order this week relaxing the restrictions imposed by the Ordinance. The great thing in times of stress is to keep the people in good heart. In many places the people instinctively turned to prayer to bring down the rains and we, for one, can not say that their prayers had nothing to do with the welcome showers that have fallen in several places. Food grains and to a less extent fodder can be made available by organised relief measures by the State and private agencies. The greatest difficulty is water. There was much activity in exploring the sub-soil sources at one time but the absence of any serious deficiency in the rainfall in recent years, has lulled the public and the Government into a false security.

Prime Ministers' Conference:—When Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was elected for the first term to the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress, one of the first things he projected was a Conference of all Congress Prime Ministers in Calcutta at which he would, of course, have taken the chair. Somehow this did not come off. But the idea has been kept in view. A Premiers' Conference is being held in Poona this week. All Congress Prime Ministers, except Dr. Khan Sahib of the North-Western Frontier Province, are expected to attend it. It is to be presided over not by the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad; nor by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya who loyally acquiesced in being passed over for the Presidentship in favour of Mr. Prasad when Mr. Subhas Bose abdicated; but by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in his capacity of Chairman of the Parliamentary Board of control. It is impossible to resist the surmise that this means that the Sardar is likely to be the first Federal Prime Minister if the Congress decides upon accepting office in the Federation, on getting such terms as it may be able to secure from the British Government and the Indian States. The Sardar, as we have observed before, is a capable and resolute administrator. But the Federal Government's functions will be administrative only to a small extent. They will chiefly concern questions of high policy. In order to discharge such functions the Sardar will have to develop some qualities which he has hitherto rather neglected. One is the capacity to return the soft answer which turneth away wrath. Not only has the Sardar not cultivated this valuable quality in one who has to deal with great issues and all sorts and conditions of people. He has rather got into the habit of provoking needless antagonism even amongst friends by being aggressively and obtrusively outspoken. To call a spade a spade, does not need any measure of forethought. Every child does it. But to detect the idea behind the spade which makes it useful as a garden implement and to stress the value of that in preference to the rude embodiment of it which one can touch and handle, demands a high degree

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of mental discipline. A man who has a great work on hand can not afford to encumber himself with antagonisms arising from neglect to weigh his words.

Advice to Orthodox Hindus :—*The Reformer* has no claim to tender advice to orthodox Hindus except that arising from its obligation to comment, according to the best of its lights, on matters of social import. If the Prime Minister of Madras had adhered to the views which he had expressed last year about bringing about the reform of admitting Harijans to temples with the consent and cheerful co-operation of orthodox Hindus, it might have been delayed three or at the most five years; but there would have been no occasion for resentment such as that caused by the extraordinary measure which he has just piloted through the Madras Legislature. It is not necessary to recapitulate the circumstances which had led him to adopt the present line. We see from the newspapers that orthodox Hindus are organising a deputation to the Governor-General to request him to withhold his assent to the Bill. We think that it will injure more than help the cause of orthodoxy for its champions to adopt this course. Lord Linlithgow is most unlikely to overrule Mr. Rajagopalacharya in a question of this kind. And in our opinion, His Excellency will be ill-advised to do so. The credit and responsibility for the measure must be allowed to rest where they belong on the devout President of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Prime Minister of Madras. Orthodox people should reconcile themselves to the company of Harijans in temples as they have already reconciled themselves to it in railways, Legislative and Municipal Councils, and in prisons. Those of them who can not do so, may be content with doing puja in their own homes. As a matter of fact, many Harijans, particularly in rural areas, are more religious-minded than those who make a parade of their piety. The protection of religion in future will have to be undertaken by these hitherto despised classes more than by the professional priestly class which has ceased to have any beliefs worth the name. The Prime Minister of Madras, we feel sure, would have preferred the reform to come with less dramatic suddenness. It is the apprehension that the situation might get out of hand if something was not immediately done to appease the crusaders, which evidently led to his resorting to a Governor's Ordinance followed by this legislation. Orthodox Hindus might reflect that when the whole world is ablaze with revolution, the admission of Harijans to temples is a trival affair.

Chinese Labour for Indian :—We referred in an editorial Note last week the emigration of unskilled labour from India, to the remark of a Ceylonese student in Bombay that Chinese labour will be called in to replace Indian labour whose emigration to Ceylon was recently banned by the Government of India. That this was not altogether an imaginative observation, is shown by the communication which we repr... today from the *Hindu* of Madras by a corre... pondent in Kuala Lumpur. He calls attention ... the fact that the ban on Indian emigration ... Malaya imposed some eighteen months ago in ... expectation that it would bring about improv... ment of wages and other conditions ... employment of Indian workers in the Mala... plantations, has not been fulfilled. One of ... reasons is that the planters are able to fill ... place of Indian labourers with Chinese. Wh... is happening in Malaya may happen in Ceyl... What is the course India should adopt? W... suggested the stopping of emigration ... unskilled Indian labour both because of ... helplessness against adverse conditions a... because of the prejudice created by it agai... Indian people in foreign countries. The *Hin...* commenting on the letter from Kuala Lump... suggests that some method other than banni... emigration should be tried for securing fa... treatment for Indian labour it in other countri... We can not force planters in Malaya or Ceyl... to pay more wages to Indian labourers otherw... than by controlling the supply. Even if w... can, the planters, if they can get Chinese labo... without any conditions, will naturally prefer ... All things considered, we adhere to the view th... India will be well advised to ban the emigrati... of unskilled labour which should be absorbed ... the country itself. The *Hindu's* argument th... India must go on sending out emigrants in ord... to strengthen the resident Indians' rights as ... minority community, is not convincing.

"Criminal Tribes":—Certain tribes label... "criminal" have been for many years pl... placed in special settlements where the... movements were controlled and where they we... taught some simple trades such as basket-maki... rope-making and so on. This has always stru... us as a typical illustration of the saying abo... giving a dog a bad name. We have not know... of a single case of a tribe under this system ... having been discharged as having acquire... settled habits. Two years ago the Bomb... Government appointed a Committee to enqu... into the working of the system. The Committ... among other things, recommended that five of th... settlements which were managed by Christi... Missions, should be brought under Gove... ment management, as Mission societies ha... obviously an interest in propagating their fai... As the Missions receive grants from Governm... for this as for their educational institutions, t... work is not altogether one of philanthropy. ... any case so long as Indian agencies were a... forthcoming to take up this kind of work, the... was some reason for entrusting it to proselytisi... Missions. Local agencies are now available a... there is no further need to depend on forei... missions for this national work. The matter is ... plain that we can not but regard the critici... of the Catholic *Examiner* of it as perverse, ... *Examiner* seldom writes about non-Catho... especially Hindu, affairs without betraying ... gross ignorance of the elements of the subje...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and its crass prejudice. Christian Missions exist avowedly to make converts and it is no vilification of them to note that they have an interest in propagating their faith. The *Examiner's* opinion of Hinduism has no relevance to the proposal that the five settlements should be brought under Government management. "Why bring in the religious question at all?" asks the *Examiner*. The answer is that Christian Missions are, as religious organizations, bent on gathering as many non-Christians as possible into its fold. The so-called "criminal tribes" are not backward because they have not been taught the Gospel. Europe has been taught the Gospel for a thousand years and today that continent knows no law but that of armed might. It requires a great deal of assurance on the part of the *Examiner* to point its finger of scorn at Hinduism, seeing what its own Church has made of Europe—a veritable hell on earth. If it is argued that the Catholic Church is not responsible for the state of Europe, it can be argued equally that Hinduism is not responsible for the backwardness of sections of the population. We would suggest to Government that the first thing to do to redeem these classes, is to remove the stigma of 'criminal' attached to their names. They are just simple, unsophisticated folk who have lagged behind in the race of life. Education in the broadest sense is their main desideratum. It is worthy of note that they are not "untouchables" in the Hindu social system.

Khaksar Discipline :—We reprint from *Asia* an account of the Khaksar movement by Mr. Amiya Chakravarti. The most recent instance of Khaksar discipline is reported in the *Pioneer*. A high dignitary of the movement, Gulam Mustafa, Amir Khas of Janbaz, was visiting Lucknow and Mr. Wahiduddin Hyder, Khaksar "General Officer Commanding" for the U.P., the C.P. and Bengal, had orders from headquarters to honour the visitor by firing a salute of one hundred and one crackers. The Lucknow Police forbade the firing as a public nuisance, we suppose. Mr. Hyder thereupon postponed the salute. For this act of disobedience he was ordered to recive four stripes. At a gathering of 3,000 people, the condemned man handed over the whip to Mr. Newazish Ali Khan, a Khaksar official commissioned to carry out the sentence, and received the four stripes from him. The *Pioneer* in a later report says that the crowd was disappointed at the mildness of the strokes which were presumably intended to be symbolical.

India and the Threatened War :—"Egypt and Singapore," writes the *Times of India*, "are respectively India's first lines of defence, both West and East." We are sure that Indians will feel proud of themselves after this subtle compliment to them by contrast to the more nearly affected Egyptians and Australians, both of whom are better armed to resist aggression. The *Times of India's* great tribute is all the more satisfying in view of our inability to do very much to persuade, cajole or threaten even our partners in the Empire to treat our countrymen better—in Burma and in Ceylon, in East Africa and in South Africa. The reason for this sudden use of bellicose language and the feverish pitching of India's frontiers all over the world, is directly inspired by the Congress resolution which refuses assistance from India in the event of war. Similarly it was reported some months back—perhaps with the ill-advised intention of rousing American feeling notoriously non-interventionist—that President Roosevelt had told a Senate Committee that America's frontier was in Central Europe—an extension of the Monroe Doctrine gratifying to Anglo-French ears. President Roosevelt, however, with a better knowledge of his people, promptly repudiated the report. Apart from the Congress resolution which, it is reported, the Muslim League also will shortly adopt, there is no interest in India in the next war, of which the only certain thing is that nobody will know exactly what it is about. Lord Baldwin apparently referring to the present crisis over Danzig, said recently that "the world was not safe for democracy" and that "the ultimate freedom of mankind would depend on the issue of the war." These words could with much greater force have been applied to the crisis of last September. A war over Danzig would not be a war for democracy. If the standards applied to the Sudeten areas are applied to Danzig, Danzig is German and should be handed over to Herr Hitler. The *Times of India* recognises the weakness of Danzig as a rallying point for democracies when it observes that Danzig is a mere symbol. When conveniently forgetting its own fervent support of Mr. Chamberlain and Munich, it complacently deplores "the confusion of last September," it implies that the one great reason for a war is Britain's preparedness today.

Europe on the Eve :—While the nations of Europe are assembled in armed camps, two last-minute appeals for peace have gone forth. President Roosevelt has addressed the King of Italy in a message similar to his message to the Dictators last April, seeking his intervention in the cause of peace. His Holiness the Pope has issued a call to the nations urging the peaceful solution of international differences. If these fail, then war breaks loose on Europe and on the world. In his speech on Thursday to the House of Commons, Mr. Neville Chamberlain said that he had tried his best to avert the calamity, that the Russian Pact was a complete surprise to his Government, but that Britain and France would stand by their pledges to Poland. He was still eager for a settlement by discussion. It was not the time for recriminations. The speeches of the Opposition leaders and the emergency measures adopted by Parliament gave Mr. Chamberlain's Government the authority to face the crisis with the entire strength of the nation behind them. The next few days will decide. Whatever the decision, the past two years of "war in peace" seem to have ended.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, August 26, 1939.

RUSSIA'S PACT WITH GERMANY.

We have just passed through what is without doubt the most eventful week of the post-war period. News from the European capitals the whole of the preceding week spoke of impending war. The Anglo-French Governments, it was reported, were ready for any eventuality. The military mission to Russia had resumed their talks with Soviet representatives after a short suspension, said a Moscow message, which went on to announce the conclusion of a trade agreement between Russia and Germany. The great question on Monday evening was whether, in view of the determination of the Peace Front powers, Herr Hitler would persist in his demands on Poland. Twenty-four hours saw a startling change in the relative strengths of the Peace Front and the Axis. The Soviet Government, it was announced from Berlin and confirmed later by Moscow, had negotiated a non-aggression pact with Germany, and Herr von Ribbentrop was proceeding to Moscow to conclude the agreement. By Thursday news came through that the Soviet-Nazi pact had been completed. The terms of the pact, generally speaking, bind the two countries not to go to war against each other, either alone or jointly with a group of other nations. Provision is further made for consultation and close collaboration between the two countries. Then, again, if a third power undertakes "warlike" action against one of the parties, the other will in way help the third power. In view of these terms, we cannot but accept as correct the semi-official interpretation of the new policy put out from Berlin. It runs :

> The change in Russo-German relations is not a one-day political affair but an event of momentous importance. It will be decisive in the future formation of Russo-German relations and will remain revolutionary for a long time to come. The text will confront Europe with a fact which in days to come, will be regarded as one of the most decisive events in world history. All must recognise what it means for Germany and Russia to be returning to a foreign policy which for centuries has proved be successful for both peoples.

In the first flush of excitement many thoughtless accusations are hurled against Russia and Germany for the present pact. Forgetting that Mr. Chamberlain had his mind on appeasing Germany, some writers have accused the Soviet of double-dealing. Ignoring, on the other hand, that Britain was negotiating for the past six months with Soviet Russia, critics charge Germany with linking up with the Communists.

Those who had suggested the possibility of an alliance between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, have been ridiculed in the democracies as fantastic prophets of gloom. Now almost the nightmare has become a reality. It is strange that several German writers should have seen an understanding between Russia and Germany as inevitable. There have been two notable warnings in the recent past: Dr. Peter F. Drucker in "The End of Economic Man" his readers that the great fallacy of Euro Left wing parties, belief in an irreconc conflict between Germany and Russia, has rise to the illusion of the Rightists that Fas is pro-capitalist. He sees an inevitable between Germany and Russia because of and ideological similarities. "Fascism," argues in brief, "is the stage reached Communism has been proved an illusion. it has been proved as much of an ill in Stalinist Russia as it was pro an illusion in pre-Hitler Germany," recommend all those who feel bewildered the sudden turn of events, to peruse carefully concluding chapter of Dr. Drucker's stri analysis. Approaching the subject from ano angle, Herr Rauschning, himself once a lea member of the Nazi Party, gives his reade "Germany's Revolution of Destruction," factors within the party making for such alliance. "In the spring of 1937, before huge crop of executions in the Russian arm he writes, "a number of provincial Ger newspapers were surprisingly busy with Russ events, which were being interpreted as rev ing a new development of Nationalism in Bolshevik State, and its purging of Jewish ments and of doctrinaire revolutionists." then he concludes with the signific words, "Germany and Russia, if they co together, will radically transform the wor That alliance is Hitler's great coming stroke It is difficult to believe that what seems have been considered inevitable or highly proba by so many German writers, could have be altogether a surprise in Britain, in France in the United States of America. It is ev more incredible that a responsible statesm like Lord Baldwin should refer to Communis as a peril to Democracy equally with Fascis as he did a week earlier in a speech to a Ne York audience, unless he was aware of t futility of the British negotiations.

As for the countries which are affected by decision, Italy, it is probable, was a party to negotiations and, in the immediate future at a rate, has reason to welcome this accession strength to the European side of the Axi Japan, at present involved in a series of incide with Russia in the East, sees nothing less th desertion by her friends, a danger that w obvious to most observers. There is a strik similarity between the position of Japan in re tion to her Axis colleagues and that of Franc and England in relation to Russia. While th supporters of Russia blame the dilatory tactics the Anglo-French Governments for Russia surprise pact with Germany, the apologists of Axis hold Japan's delay in declaring hers wholly on the said of the Axis Powers, to one reason for her present position. It will in no way suprising if the agreement betwe Germany and Russia leads to better relation between Japan and Britain. An Anglo-Japanese agreement becomes essential in view of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

threatening atmosphere in Europe. Mr. Chamberlain may reverse his tactics of supporting peace in Europe in the interests of British policy in the East, and work for an Asiatic peace to increase his strength in Europe where he is pledged, rather indiscreetly, to fight Poland's battle over Danzig. It is very likely that such a possibility has been in Mr. Chamberlain's mind throughout the Tokio negotiations. Britain at home has adopted emergency laws and an urgent meeting of Parliament was summoned for Thursday. Poland, the country most directly affected, has not been deterred from her determination to resist aggression. The first fruits of the Soviet-Nazi pact will without doubt be a German drive against Poland. There are reports that Herr Hitler expects to take Danzig, the Corridor and even Silesia, before the week is out. It would be a disaster of the first magnitude if the undoubted courage of the Poles and the reiterated decision of the French and the British to go to their assistance were put to the test. For Herr Hitler has won the first victory.

SIR SIVASWAMI ON INDIAN DEFENCE.

Though Sir Sivaswami Aiyar can not, like Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, claim to speak as a soldier, he has, perhaps more than any other Indian, made a study of the problems of Indian Defence from the statesman's broader point of view. His speech at St. Joseph's College, Bangalore, was a severe denunciation of the policy pursued by the Government of deliberately neglecting to prepare the people of India to defend themselves. Sir Sivaswami said :

> England has been pursuing, in my opinion, a foolish and insane policy in not trusting the people of India sufficiently and training them for their defence, for England thinks that if India learns to defend herself, she may turn her arms against England herself. Indians are not of her own blood; they are not her own race. She is willing to trust Australians, New Zealanders and other Dominions.

Sir Sivaswami's reason for England not training India for self-defence is true. It is, however, the reason of all foreign Governments which do not identify themselves with their subjects. Race and blood do not count. The United States, though of the same race, blood, religion and language, broke away from Great Britain; and it is the fear that the other Dominions may do the same, which inspires the attitude of the mother country to the Dominions as the result of the American secession. India was won for Britain by Indian troops and with Indian money. For many years the East India Company followed the policy of self-sufficiency in the matter of defence. It was when the collapse of the Indian Mutiny assured Britain of her position of domination that she began to make fundamental changes in her Indian policy. The opening of the Suez Canal had shortened the route to India. Britain had the mastery of the sea which made her confident of being able to transport troops from Great Britain to India at any time. Any other country in the same position would have followed the same "foolish and insane policy." The only difference is that Britain made high professions which other Imperialisms did not make. The course which British rule took in India, so markedly different from that taken by it or other foreign rule elsewhere, is due to the same causes as those which made the history of Islamic rule in this country different from what it was in Persia and Egypt.

The situation at present is entirely changed. The mastery of the sea is disputed by Italy on the Mediterranean and by Japan on the Pacific seas. That is what makes it quite probable that, in the event of war, Great Britain will not be able to send men and material to defend India. The same thing happened during the last War. India made contributions in men, money and material. British statesmen have no vision. It is only within the last five years, since the conquest of Ethiopia by Italy, and the invasion of China by Japan that British statesmen have realised the actualities of the present day. And even now they would have failed to do so but for the determination of Germany to regain her lost lands and status as a Great Power. It will take us far beyond the scope of this article to go more fully into this question. But what we have said so far is relevant because for want of a sufficient appreciation of it, even Sir Sivaswami makes the mistake of defending the despatch of Indian troops to Egypt and Singapore as the easiest and least costly means of protecting India. Pushed to its logical conclusion, this line of reasoning would lead to the conclusion that the Indian Army should invade Italy, Germany and Japan in order to protect herself. Even Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan regards the long coast-line of India as the sole line of Indian Defence. If the British Government had not acquiesced in the annexation of Ethiopia by Italy, the latter would not have come within twelve hours' bombing distance of Bombay. Now that she is actually there, India should engage herself in defensive measures instead of going out more than half-way to meet the probable aggressor. Her going out will lighten the task of Italy which will be nearer her home-base by some three thousand miles and will have a shorter line of communication to maintain. The same argument applies to Singapore. Japanese bombing planes, if they want to reach Calcutta, will not first go to Singapore. They will follow the route which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has taken to China. There is a controversy going on among experts on the question whether under modern conditions greater advantage rests with the defensive or offensive positions. A strong body of expert opinion seems to favour the former. Even a layman can see that in fighting near one's home one is at a greater advantage than in fighting in a far-away foreign land.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE MUCH-ABUSED MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(By. J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

People are often misjudged in spite of their good intentions and in spite of their being instrumental, sometimes unwittingly, in rendering good service or furthering a good cause. That is because, those who judge are often unable to dispel the prejudice of their own outlook in order to see things clearly and appraise their true values. Propaganda by self-interested people and by over-zealous reactionaries makes matters all the more smoky and less clear for penetrating vision and correct judgment. Many people, however, lose courage and forsake their convictions under the stress of such misjudgment which brings adverse criticism and causes loss of popularity.

That the British Premier, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, has not been deflected from his way of thinking and acting, in spite of abuse and criticism from all possible quarters, speaks well for the strength of his personality and for the courage of his convictions. Not to speak of those in other lands who, inspired sentimentally by propaganda in favour of so-called democracy, have been hard in criticising him, the people of his own country who have been benefited by his cautious and far-seeing policy, have also denounced him in good taste and bad. He has been caricatured, abused and misrepresented in all possible manners; but, indifferent to everything, he has pursued the cautious path of long-range diplomacy, which is traditional of the British people and which has built up the world-wide British Empire. And, thereby, he has probably saved the British Empire.

At the time of the Munich Agreement, England was hardly strong enough to meet the Axis-Powers in an armed conflict, particularly with the Japanese menace in the Far East and the success of Fascism in Spain. Mr. Chamberlain's Munich policy was, therefore, a very deep one, calculated to save England from the grave uncertainty of a life-and-death battle. It is easy enough for those not burdened with the heavy responsibility, of preserving and looking after the interests of a country to indulge in criticisms inspired by shallow and very often unreal ideological propaganda. But for one having Prime Ministerial responsibilities, it is necessary to deliberate and exercise the greatest caution and not to be swayed by passing comments and irresponsible criticisms. Such a sense of responsibility Mr. Chamberlain has abundantly shown by gaining time through the Munich Agreement for England to augment her military strength and to negotiate important alliances with other powers against the Axis-combination. At the time of Munich, England had only the formal alliance of France against the Germano-Austria-Italy, Spain and Japan, combination. England's historical traditions has always been against taking the field against a numerically superior combination. The English race is not impulsive like the Germans or emotional like the French; but, it is cautious and calculating. It perfectly understands business and believes in the virtue of perseverance. Its diplomatic moves are, therefore, deep and well thought out. No wonder that those moves have succeeded not only in preserving English interests, but in spreading and developing them throughout the two hemispheres. How it manouevred against Napoleon perseveringly in Spain, how it formed an overwhelming European alliance against him, how in the last war it worked up world opinion against Germany and brought about a crushing alliance against that country, how it succeeded even in winning over to its side Italy, which was in treaty relationship with Germany, etc.—all that is recent history, shows the great diplomatic skill and abilities of the E... race. Mr. Chamberlain would have disproved ... possession of such racial skill and abilities in ... and in his Government if he had acted on the spur ... an impulse, the impulse of saving a small country ... far-off Central Europe. From the point of view of ... idealised ethics but of realities of his country's ... preservation, a hasty plunge into a very risky ... without marshalling its allied strength, would ... been most short-sighted. As to the ethics of ... international morality it may be remarked here ... the way that it has seldom been actually practi... but has only been preached by self-interes... propagandists. Had it been practised th... would have been no wars, no man-slaughter, ... suspicion and bitterness between man and ... England alone, therefore, can not be blamed for giv... the go-by to high ethics. Rather she could be blam... for having hypocritically made use of the same ... propagandising for sympathy and support against ... opponents now, as in the last war over the questio... Belgium. If England had gone to war over ... Czechoslovakia issue, it would not certainly ... been for upholding the cause of international morali... just as it was not for such purpose that she went ... war in 1914 over what was called the Belgium iss... but as then, this time also, it would only have b... for preventing Germany from becoming stronger ... more menacing to the safety of England.

If Mr. Chamberlain's critics would see that ... they would find less ground for condemning him ... his deep time-gaining policy than they do. Our ... critics must also not be led away by English critic... supported by Mr. Churchill and others, of ... Chamberlain's policy. Such criticisms may as well ... calculated to let the world know the nobility ... English sentiment and the opponents to understa... that the English public want and would suppo... strong resistance to their intentions. It is ... than certain that had even Mr. Lloyd George ... Mr. Churchill been at the helm of the Br... Government today, the British policy of caut... propaganda and alliance-making prior to war wo... have been followed as it has been followed un... Mr. Chamberlain's leadership. All British Pri... Ministers have followed this policy. If the pres... British Government had swung out from thi... traditional and successful policy it would ... likely have gone out of office. The fact that ... present, in spite of apparent condemnation all arou... it is not only commanding a very convincing majo... in the Parliament, but its members are also enjoy... popularity in their constituencies and elsewh... ought to be taken note of by those, who wan... judge the British people's feelings and sentim... from the anti-Chamberlain comments here ... there. The British people in their heart must ... appreciative of the Chamberlain Governme... success in making Germany and Italy ... hesitant in their moves (as is very evident in ... Danzig affair), by increasing England's ... preparedness, and by the old policy of encirclement ... the enemy through alliance with Turkey, Greec... Rumania, Poland and Russia.

It will be seen, therefore, that at Munich it w... Chamberlain who outwitted Hitler in the game ... strategy, and not *vice versa*. If it be really Hitler's ... ultimate intention to strike the former enemies ... Germany, particularly their arch-leader England, ... order to force them to square up accounts ... Germany, that was the time for him to hit. ... Chamberlain fooled him with Munich concession, ... one fools a child with a toy when it is crying ... something else, and thus gained very valuable ... for England better to prepare herself for war and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

make very useful alliances with other countries against Italy and Germany. That the Chamberlain policy has borne fruit is evident from the fact that the temper of the Axis-powers has appreciably cooled down. Another great success of Mr. Chamberlain has been that his policy by provoking popular criticism of his own self, which hardly hurt him, has alienated world sympathy all the more from the Axis-Powers, who have to be represented in black colours and blood-thirsty inhuman character by the critics of Mr. Chamberlain in order to give more colour and significance to their criticisms of his so-called weak-kneed policy. Such alienation of sympathy can only be very useful to Mr. Chamberlain's mother country. Mr. Chamberlain's policy has so much succeeded in this respect that in India public feeling in some quarters has been excited even against Japan, and England's yielding to Japan has been criticised as further unapprovable weakness of the British Premier. Such Indian feeling against Japan cannot be beneficial to present and future Indian interests. India may not approve of Japanese action in China, and may sympathise with the latter, but it is to her vital interest not to antagonise her relationship with her Asiatic sister, who has also been for many centuries, through Buddhism, in cultural relationship with India. India's part in Sino-Japanese quarrel ought to be, therefore, that of a peace-maker and sympathetic negotiator. For let India, China and Japan remember and realise that a perfect sisterly understanding and closest combination and responsive all round co-operation between them, are needed for forming a strong bulwark in Asia against the arrogant imperialism and deep hatred towards the non-white people of Asia and of other countries of all the European races, without which their safety and cultural identity must remain in gravest danger.

DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN INDIAN STATES.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

A great deal of needless confusion and difficulties have been caused through the mixing up of the medieval idea of the Divine Right of kings in the Indian idea of sovereignty. Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyenger, one of our leading political thinkers, has recently shown that the Hindu idea of sovereignty is different from the medieval European notion of it, and that sovereigns were sometimes elected.

The Divine Right of kings appears to be in direct descent from the Holy Roman Empire. The Emperor was the Vice-Regent or representative of God on earth in matters secular, as the Pope was in matters religious. Feudal kings, and afterwards national kings, assumed the same privilege. The authority of the Pope over the vice-regent was acknowledged and afterwards contested. In England Henry the Eighth repudiated it and assumed power for the whole domain, both secular and religious. This Divine Right was expressed very clearly on a tragic occasion. "A subject and a sovereign are clean different things. The liberty and freedom of the people did not consist in their having a share in the government; that is nothing pertaining to them."

History has travelled very far in Europe from that tragic notion. The general will is now the accepted source of sovereignty. Even Fascists and Communists pay it lip-service. Hitler is the leader, and Stalin is Comrade. Neither claims divine right to rule.

Political sagacity and absence of logical analytic thinking are both characteristic of the British race; and it is not surprising that this divine right which no longer exists in Europe and which is not germane to India, appears to have become associated with the idea of autocracy in States.

High expert authority and practical example have already been quoted to show that the Indian sovereign is not an autocrat by Divine Right, whose will is law and ultimate authority. He is the upholder and the embodiment of Dharma, the good life for himself and for all his people. Dharma must necessarily function for the economic and moral good of society. There could be no Dharma in a State without the Ruler and his people both practising it.

Sree Martanda Varma's dedication of the State to Sree Padmanabha Swamy may be referred to again in this connection. Besides being an act of high policy, it was also an act of consecration, *not* for establishing a Hindu political state in which non-Hindus are aliens but for establishing and upholding Hindu Dharma as the trustee of God; a Dharma which upholds the good life, whether of Hindu, Mahomedan or Christian.

This Dharma is now being upheld and administered in Indian States with the help of two or perhaps three constitutional advisors with more or less definitely defined spheres of advice—advice which is normally followed. These are the Resident and the Dewan in all States, and the Chief Justice in cases of capital sentence or its commutation in many or most States.

If the ancient Indian idea of Dharma and the modern notion of division of sovereignty are both clearly grasped, it will be found that there is nothing revolutionary, unconstitutional or un-Indian in the appointment of a fourth advisor for submitting to the Maharajah the wishes of his people and helping him in upholding Dharma in those departments which may be delegated. Indian Dharma and the Western General Will have the same foundation and the same purpose. It is only the notion of an autocrat by Divine Right which is incompatible with either. Gandhiji has bluntly and forcibly contrasted autocracy towards subjects and deference towards the Resident and Resident's entourage. The position is not fundamentally different from that held by chiefs in the Malaya States and in the African Colonies. It is not difficult to understand that the position of a leader of the people for upholding and administering Dharma or in the European phraseology, the general will, is far more legitimate, useful and dignified, and those are bad advisors who do not frankly acknowledge this patent fact.

I have not come across any savants' opinion reconciling the origin of autocratic Kingship in Moslem countries with the Prophet's democratic or equalitarian views; but there seems to be no doubt that in India the Mahomedan sovereign's will was autocratic. This, however, is comparatively recent history and should be distinguished from the more ancient idea. The Mikado of Japan is regarded as divine; so long as elder statesmen guarded that divinity and guided policy, Japan was on the right path. The present conquest of power by the military party is probably another object-lesson of the danger of divinity in government and of the need for laying emphasis on the importance of the general will.

Another cheap argument which is misleading the country is that it is the Prince who is in treaty relationship with the Paramount Power, and could not, therefore, delegate any of his autocratic powers to the people. It has to be conceded that when these treaties were originally entered into, neither the Prince nor the Company thought in terms of the people. Each was thinking of personal safety and interest. But treaties have to be interpreted in the light of subsequent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

history and of the pledges given and taken for good government, which also has been incorporated in several treaties. The Paramount Power has itself declared in unmistakable terms that it will not stand in the way of democratic advance in the States. A fetish is also being made of the old exploded notion of unitary sovereignty. The argument seems to be that, as sovereignty is indivisible and diarchy useless, the treaties block responsible government. Sovereignty as stated already is divisible. Even sovereign states, recognized as such in international Law, have only divided sovereignty. Some element of Diarchy sticks to almost all sovereignties. It is easy to argue that full responsible government is not feasible on account of treaties, that diarchy is unwholesome and, therefore, let us go on as in the past with some small largesses thrown out to appease popular agitation. Such an argument amounts in effect to what the Americans call showing a poker face—that is, not revealing the weakness of one's hands. There is the sovereignty which is absolutely indivisible. That passed with Genghis Khan. The League of Nations, the Peace Front, the Axis Bloc, etc., do divide up absolutism in sovereignty, apart from division within the sovereign states—*e.g.* the Senate and the President of the United States. And whereas responsible government is incompatible with the medieval divine right and Mahomedan absolutism, it is by no means incompatible with Indian sovereignty. In fact if the general will is understood in a religious or sacramental sense, as it should be understood, it becomes identifiable with the Dharma of a Hindu sovereign. Democracy thus understood, is only a method—the best available—for establishing Dharma in a State. It will then be discovered to be the crown of the Hindu (old Indian) idea of sovereignty, and in no radical manner opposed to it.

PROHIBITION AND POVERTY.

(By Paul Santamurti, the Lucknow Ashram)

Prohibition Laws, Debt Relief Laws, Tenancy Legislation ensuring equitable taxation, creation of Irrigation facilities, and means of communication, the starting of Agricultural Co-operative Societies to provide marketing facilities, seeds and loans of implements, provision for education and medical relief are some of the important and urgent needs of the Indian peasantry today. Ours is an agricultural country and eighty-five per cent of our population live in the villages. Out of them nearly nine-tenths depend directly or indirectly upon land for their livelihood. The real India lives in the seven-hundred thousand villages of India. For the past few months no other question has attracted so much the attention of the people of India as this problem of Prohibition. For the present I will avoid the religious, moral and the medical aspects of the question and deal with it purely from a economic point of view. I will deal first with a few of the questions raised by those who object to Prohibition. First of them is the loss of revenue. Provincial Governments of India get nearly twenty crores of rupees every year from their Excise Departments. Now, if Prohibition is enforced there will be a huge loss to the exchequer and the Governments will not be able to carry on their work. Until the year 1915 the Government of India were, year after year, sending ship-loads of opium to the ports of China and the poor Chinese had to pay for it, or face the grim alternative of war. The late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale urged the necessity of stopping this iniquitous practice of forcing a helpless sister nation to swallow poison in the name of the people of India. His opponents, like Lord Curzon and Lord Minto, said that, if the opium traffic [illegible] given up, the Government of India would lose the extent of rupees thirty crores a year and [illegible] consequently collapse. Gokhale said that he [illegible] rather see the whole of India being engulfed in [illegible] earthquake and going to the bottom of the sea [illegible] allow such a great crime be to committed in [illegible] name of the people of India, who were, after [illegible] helpless. Now the opium traffic is gone and [illegible] protagonists have gone, the revenues derived through the forcing of opium down the throats of [illegible] Chinese people is gone, but the Government of India has not collapsed. If you [illegible] maintain your standard of administration [illegible] in the matter of pay and allowances only [illegible] not in other ways, only through immorality [illegible] crime, then there is something fundamentally wrong in the standard of administration and [illegible] remedy is not to continue the wrong but to change [illegible] standard. A vigorous policy of retrenchment of [illegible] cost of administration, scaling down the rates of [illegible] and emoluments so that they may bear some reasonable proportion to the economic standards of [illegible] country, and, if necessary, even exploring the avenues for fresh taxation are some of the remedies, but to continue to force the helpless and voiceless millions of people of India to drink and ruin themselves in order to keep a few at the top in luxury, ease and comfort can never be the remedy. It is neither expedient nor moral. Some people say that educational institutions, like Colleges, and Universities have to be maintained so that the children of the upper classes may have liberal education. But tomorrow the people of the land in a body give up drink, what will happen to the students of India if they are always to depend for their own educational needs upon people's drinking. I know of my countrymen especially, the youths. If this question is placed before them in the form in which some opponents of Prohibition would put it, they would rather prefer to go without any education whatsoever than to insist upon their being educated at the cost of the souls and bodies of millions of their own fellow countrymen.

Happily the question is not so absurd as this. There is ample scope for preventing wastage in the educational field and save lots of money. The Vice-Chancellors, for example, do not need rupees five thousand and five hundred a month. Then the second objection of the anti-Prohibitionists is that it will lead to illicit manufacture, sale and consumption of drinks and drugs and that the people will resort to smuggling and other sorts of crime and that, therefore, it will be better to allow people to drink publicly than to encourage them to do so privately. All religions and nations have from times immemorial held that theft, adultery, murder, and cheating are deadly sins. Every nation has made penal laws forbidding these things. Yet in every country we have thieves, adulterers, murderers and deceivers. Every honest citizen helps the administration of the country to suppress crime and punish offenders, but nobody has ever proposed the repeal of penal laws because crimes continue to be committed clandestinely. A vigorous policy of detection, speedy trial and deterrent punishment will easily put an end to all crimes against Prohibition laws, especially in a country like India where people are by nature law-abiding and peaceful.

And then the third objection that is very often raised is that Prohibition has failed in America. This objection is raised more from ignorance of Indian conditions than from anything else. In America it is not considered socially dis-reputable to drink. On the occasions of marriages and other important social gatherings, it is considered

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mark of social esteem to offer to the guests costly drinks. In India it is not so. Religious sentiment, public opinion, the national interests, and humanitarian justice are on our side, and we can go ahead, and demonstrate to the world that, where the strong and mighty have failed, the poor and the weak will succeed.

Lastly, we have to consider the question from the point of view of those who are directly affected by the prohibition policy of the Government. As I have already said the real India lives in the villages. I have recently been touring in about three-hundred villages of the United Provinces making enquiries from house to house, person to person. The average income of a peasant's family, consisting on an average of one man, one woman and three children is less than rupees eighty-four per annum. His expenses, to put them as low as possible, come to rupees one-hundred and ten per annum. Here is the budget. Rs. 2/-/- per month per adult for food, Rs. 1/-/- per child per month for food, that is Rs. 7/-/- per month or Rs. 84/-/- per annum for food. Two pairs of dhoties at Rs. 1/8/- a pair Rs. 3/-/-. Two Kurtas at Rs. -/12/- each Rs. 1/8/- i. e. Rs. 4/8/- for clothes of a man. Two saris at Rs. 1/8/- i. e. Rs. 3/-/-. Two kurtas at Rs. -/12/- Rs. 1/8/- and two duppattas at Rs. 1/-/- each, Rs. 2/-/-, total Rs. 6/8/- for a woman. Three children will have Rs. 3/-/- for clothes. Rs. 14/-/- for all. Rs. 12/-/- for all emergency expenses such as births, deaths, marriages, sickness and other unexpected items. There we have Rs. 110/-/-. So in good and bad seasons alike, every Indian peasant has to borrow at least Rs. 26/-/- per year or go without barest necessities for nearly four months in the year. If, in addition to this, the head of the family begins to drink and spends even Rs. 3/-/- or more every month what will happen to the family. I am only speaking on behalf of the people who earn on an average Rs. -/1/6 per day. It is this class that needs Prohibibition and they are thankful that it has come to stay. In every society, there are people of this type and they are the majority. There is also a class which fattens itself by exploiting this class. The weaker, the more helpless, the exploited class has become, the more profitable and more easy it is for the exploiting classes to keep them in subjection and bondage. And I am not saying anything about the interests of exploiting classes. They know to safeguard their own interests. From the point of view of the down and out, of the poor and needy and starving and naked, Prohibition is a blessing. We sometimes hear a flippant argument that drunkenness helps one to drown all his cares and troubles for a time at least. The argument that drinks and drugs, when moderately used under medical advice, are good for the human system has been exploded long ago and had been given up. Only this argument of drowning of cares remains. This argument, if pushed to its logical conclusion, is the same as justification of suicide. Whereas drinks and drugs help a man to drown his cares and sorrows only for a time, drowning oneself liberates him from all cares and sorrows for ever. Yet nobody agitates for the repeal of laws against the attempt at suicide. If we give up all our selfish interests and care only for the welfare of the Indian masses, we cannot but come to the conclusion, that the Prohibition Policy of the Congress Governments is an un-mixed blessing and that it is the duty of every right-thinking man and woman to heartily support it.

WIDOWS' ESTATE.

(By K. B. Gajendragadkar, Pleader, Satara.)

The Hindu Women's Right to Property (Act XI of 1933) popularly known as the 'Deshmukh Act' has given to the widow the status of a coparcener in the family and has now radically altered the order of succession as it stood before it. The old rule that the widow succeeds to a man's estate in the absence of the male issue has been altered by making a widow heir to his property along with his son, grandson and great grandson where they are in existence. The widows of pre-deceased sons and of pre-deceased sons of the predeceased sons are also entitled to succeed along with the male issue. But the estate to which the widow is entitled under this Act is the *Widow's Estate*. The widow's estate, it must be remembered, gives rise to endless complications. There are difficulties concerning alienations by the widow and the rights of alienees, intricacies surrounding reversioners, problems of law of divesting when an adoption takes place and questions as to whether one reversioner represents the other for the purpose of litigation.

Large estates, moveable and immoveable, are locked up during the lives of widows, without affording stimulus for commercial enterprise. A Hindu Widow's estate is at present a result of an unnatural compromise between the rights of the widow herself, of the reversioneer, of the alienee from the widow and of the son adopted by her. The jurisprudence knows about an absolute estate and of an estate for life. But this unnatural combination which has given to the widow just for some purpose an absolute estate and for others merely a life estate, has been at the root of all the trouble and litigation relating to women's property. The legislature, therefore, must in fairness amend the present Deshmukh Act by providing that the estate which devolves upon the widow along with the son in the family should be her absolute estate like the *Stridhan*.

The proposal, if carried out, would greatly diminish the volume of litigation in the country that gathers round the widow's estate. It would also give her a fairer and more assured position consonant with the modern notions of justice and in line with the other forms of personal law. As a widow would get a definite share in the husband's property as her *absolute estate* a great number of suits now brought to set aside the alienations by her or restraining her from alienating the property are got rid of at a stroke. That branch of law which set out the purposes for which the widow may alienate and for which she may not, becomes unnecessary. At the present day no sane person would purchase an estate from the widow if he can help it. He knows for certain that there is bound to be a litigation. In order to secure a decent title he makes other male relatives join in the same, which leads to fresh complications as they set up claims on their own account to the property. By the amendment proposed as a widow has a definite share she has a free hand in dealing with it. The law relating to devesting and the assent of the sapindas goes overboard and another fruitful source of litigation is avoided. The widow can still adopt a son but the adopted son will inherit her property only when she dies and not, of course, deprive her of it when she is still in the flesh.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE KHAKSAR MOVEMENT.*

(By Amiya Chakravarty).

In Ichhra, a suburb of Lahore, in the Punjab, is the red-brick headquarters of India's seven-year-old Khaksar movement, which now claims four hundred thousand followers. Hot dust blows in the lane; clerks in uniform sit outside, sorting newspaper files on little benches spread near the entrance; in an outer office-room great business prevails. A few yards beyond, villagers gather in a grocer's shop, flies settle down in clouds; sluggish traffic, mainly of Muslim residents, flows through winding alleys dominated by the red flag with crescent emblem on top of the Leader's house. The Leader himself, Allama Innayatullah Khan, Al Mashriqi, a tall figure austerely clad in khaki, red insignia of brother-hood stitched on to coat's right arm, stands welcoming you at his doorstep.

Seen in this setting, his commanding figure signifies work for the people around him, making them use the *belcha*, the Spade, for digging living soil. This spade, you feel, will also be applied one day to clean up the suburb of Ichhra, orphaned by the city fathers, and incidentally to remove the open drain in front of the Khaksar Central Office. But protesting senses are soon forgotten as you enter the Leader's room and share his confident sympathies. With quiet eagerness he explains the plan and purpose of the Khaksar movement—*Khaksar* literally means "earth-like"—warning you that he is now collecting bricks, lime and mortar, so that to discuss the complete edifice would be irrelevant. His three young boys, immaculately dressed in uniform—the eldest is studying in England—come saluting while their little spades, made in Birmingham, glitter.

Emblem of earth-work, the Belcha stands for newly recruited zeal among the army of middle and lower-middle class converts to the Khaksar movement. This movement does not invite agrarian workers as such, evading the recruiting of poor peasants. Self-financing recruits are of more value to the movement, and less burdensome. Martial preparedness is insured by those who can parade with an easy economic conscience and run camps with private purses. Gradually the villages will be included in the organization: groups spreading from towns are already founding "cells" for rural work and for military ends.

"Militant, but not military," corrected Innayatullah. "We do not train for violence. Bayonets and machine guns are solely support for the weak. Strong men may not need them. Work, discipline, units of organized workers, team work of units; coherence in India under a spiritual banner!"

As for his relationship with the Indian National Congress or the Muslim League, Innayatullah refused to define it; he had satirical and patronizing words for both, according to circumstance. But communal violence he condemned bitterly. Racialism has never touched the Khaksars. None of those rumoured Fascist traits here—though parades multiply and mock fights produce casualities. How, I ventured to ask, would a strenuously organized service such as he envisaged, compare with Communist planning?

"Communism?" he queried, "But Communism is a part, not the whole. Sometimes I think that the Soviets have torn a leaf from the Koran and applied it. But they cannot see that you miss truth without the whole. Islam supplies religion as well as service; planning, but planning with a spiritual purpose, not merely planning for physical needs."

I keep to his exact meaning, even if my language varies slightly. The Allama Mashriqi—"Wise Man of the East"—speaks vigorous English, has humour and, in moments of will, a terse epigram at his command.

"India needs Dictators," he declared. "She must find them. How can you save people who will barter away their rights, fight in communal camps, be slaves of their own land? The Benevolent Dictator can use force on them for their own good. Educate, unite, organize; who but a Dictator can deliver the goods, in a thousand-jointed, lumbering country of divisions, indecisions, fanatic follies!"

But to answer this with another question: how to insure a supply of Benevolent Dictators? Democratic machinery is imperfect but improvable, more terms of reference, if seldom used, are there. Miraculous leaders, even if faith produced them, would make people wait on miracles. Modern miracles, when dropped from above, demand splinter-proof shelter; one must guard against them.

"Democracy indeed! Foreign democracies, you sitting on our chest and enforcing their own democratic blessings on India. Let them! So long as we are not awake, they will supply leaders—at plenty. But the leaders might as well live in our land, spend their money here, build permanent homes in India, not "suffer banishment" and return home after well—paid matyrdom. That would be sanc for them. For us, the same course—but what is the use of talk? Have you seen our parades?"

Constitutional government holds few charms for the modern East; India watches nations professing noble abstract principles and practising diplomacy. Fear and trembling, says eastern disillusion, betray the democratic conscience, but these symptoms are being produced less by spiritual imperatives than by "Gassolinis" and "Battlers." Hit back. How does the Spade work? The Belcha movement, apart from its religious and social aspects, is a hit-back parade.

"Talk and world-opinion," declared the Allama, in a second interview, "did not save Abyssinia. Anti-sanctionists, for their part, did much talking, and expressed their opinion also."

"I collect bricks and lime and mortar," he repeated, "for the building." Not only for building barracks, one hoped.

Now we come to the story of the Leader's career, which should throw some light upon the matter of the foundation of the structure he is building.

Mohammad Innayatullah Khan was born at Amritsar, on August 25, 888. His father, Ata Mohammad Khan, a devout religious scholar, was known for his intercommunal sympathies. An early welding of Islamic faith with scholastic discipline, an affluent but rigorous home and contact with many social groups gave Innayatullah the necessary background for future leadership. The classroom and school sports provided adequate outlet for his exceptional talents during adolescence.

His early career is marked by scholarships and academic distinctions. Graduating from Forman Christian College, Lahore, in 1906, he took his M.A. degree, topping the list in first class when he had barely passed nineteeen. Followed five years at Christ College, Cambridge, where he secured a B. O. L. degree for Arabic and Persian, and a B. Sc. (Honours) in Physics; he also took the Mechanical Science Tripos, B. E. (Honours). Literary and political interests were not abandoned; he contributed articles to British papers and was a correspondent of the *Empire Review*. On his return to India he became Vice-Principal of Islamia College, Peshawar, and in 1916 was made its Principal. From 1917 to 1919 he was Under-Secretary to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government of India Education Department, and he also entered the Indian Educational Service.

Details of his career provide background for the sudden break that was to follow and do something to answer the query: How does a successful, brilliant, steadily advancing educationalist jump from his official trapeze, landing safely and dramatically on a religio-political platform? Conversion, whether of saint or fervent leader, is always a mystery, and the clues offered as a rule vary with the disciple. The main actor, or rather the author of the particular drama, generaly has a simple answer which is never stated because it is so much a part of his own make. A house-painter starts repainting the maps of Europe according to a crude colour-scheme; the village black-smith hammers out a maniacal empire; kings leave their crowns to pursue shining ecstasy; disappointed love turns a brooding Florentine youth into a torchbearer of paradisiacal visions. Glandular theories, Marxist reconditioning, fate, rebirth, change of diet and magnetic influence have been requisitioned to explain mystico-political transmutation for better or for worse. Here, modestly, a well-placed scholarly official's change into deliverer of ultimatums and leader of Spade-brigades has its own mystery-door. Many keys have been rattled—one of them being simple disgust with the bondage of red tape and dreary dossiers. The last straw, some aver, was the British Government's breach of promise with regard to the Caliphate, which violently offended the entire Islamic world and in 1920 led to the *Hijrat* movement in India. Large numbers of Muslims migrated to Afghanistan, some never returning to India. This, says a Khaksar pamphlet, was authentic provocation, and adds that to win back Innayatullah's confidence the Government offered Knighthood and an argosy of silver and gold only to be answered with a "No" and preparation for "action." More important than literal veracity is the fact that rumoured tradition accepts this theory. In 1920, also, Innayatullah published the first part of his magnum opus, calling it, "*Tashkara*."

Tashkara "The Story" was to reveal Islam for man. History, culminating in that supreme religion, would show civilization as a series of variants on recorded finality. The Koran, he explained to me, is also Science; it shows truth as facts. Thus, one surmises, he came to the idea of the Belcha, the Spade; truth-diggers would remove the mound of centuries, uncovering Islamic reality. The encrustations that had gradually been built up through long years of priestcraft would be carted away. All religions must be respected, but Islam, *being* Religion, must guide all domains, spiritual, domestic, juridical. Recognized by authorities as an important interpretation of Koranic principles, this book is meant by the author to be a blue-print for the application of immutable laws. The complete structure of man's story is there; seeing it clearly, civilization cannot go wrong.

Another book, *Isharat*, "Signals" published some years later, maintains the high level of the author's learned musings, and formulates his reformist programme. His polemical writings, mainly directed against the *moulvis*, or priests, have created enemies and, naturally, won him many friends from the non-priestly groups. These pamphlets are often virulently worded but are proof of social concern, and based on fundamental Islam. The *fatwas*, or religious decrees, issued by the orthodox, calling Innayatullah *Kafir*, or infidel, are easily understood but unjustifiable.

The year 1926 found Innayatullah in Egypt; he attended the *Khilafat* Conference in Cairo, and then travelled in Europe. Germany he knows best of the continental countries, and an interview brackets him with the Fuehrer in 1929. The Spade, asserts Innayatullah, came to the Nazi Labour Corps after his own Khaksars had adopted it. Rumours again, and this time from a different quarter, find something Nazi Germanic in the Khaksar drills and stunts and its inscrutable leadership. Critics should, however, gratefully note race-freedom among Khaksars, and their acceptance of religion.

Before resigning his post in the Government of which he is now an avowed opponent, Innayatullah had travelled widely, made contacts and become well known. By the middle of 1932 he was his own master, and could therefore claim followers. The Khaksar movement had started.

Summarized, the fourteen points of the Khaksar movement, as incorporated in its vows, are as follows: (1) A world social system built on tolerance should be established. (2) Islam means early Islam of the Holy Prophet. Khaksars cannot follow any example but that of his life. (3) The religion of the moulvis, or priests, is false. Khaksars would uproot it and re-establish Islam. (4) Khaksars do not believe in moulvis. (5) Khaksars do not favour or oppose any Muslim religious sect. (6) Khaksars will act upon the Koran and the *Hadis* (savings of the Prophet). (7) Khaksars believe in toleration towards Hindus, Sikhs and Christians; are ready to give assurance that their cultures are safe. (8) Khaksars aim at winning civil liberties for every community and are prepared to make alliances with all. (9) Khaksars aim at world conquest and will, by good acts, win prestige and establish superiarity of this nation over others. (10) Khaksars will build up a *Baitulmal*, or Treasury. (11) Justice is supreme and must be observed. (12) Trade must be practised and improved. (13) Associate Khaksars will contribute six *pies* a month or one rupee a year to the Baitulmal, and will be ready to make any sacrifice at the order of the Idara Ilya Hindiya. (14) Khaksars are opposed to all those leaders, editors and others who exploit the nation or relations between Hindus and Muslims. They will avenge themselves; if necessary, at any cost.

LABOUR EMIGRATION TO MALAYA.

Mr. Jainullabdeen of Kuala Lampur writes to the *Hindu*.

The Indian merchants in Malaya view with concern if not with alarm the continuance of the ban on labour emigration to this country. When the Government of India used its reserve powers to stop emigration to this country under the Indian Emigration Act it was believed that by so doing the employers in this country would be forced to raise the scale of wages to a level which prevailed in 1937. Experience has shown that in spite of its application for well over a year, it has not produced the desired result. It was thought last year even in supposed well-informed Indian circles in this country that the planters in Malaya would not be able to work their estates up to the mark without Indian labour. This has not proved to be correct. Visitors to Java, Sumatra and Ceylon countries which produce rubber, copra, tea and palm-oil like Malaya, have testified to the fact that the wages here are higher than those paid to labourers employed in the same classes of industries in the respective countries.

How is it then that the stoppage of emigration from India which has been vigorously in force (as some of the employers in mercantile firms, clerks, interpreters in the Government service have

* *Asia.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to hamper if not to paralyse the estates on which Indians were exclusively employed? The reasons for such a result have to be sought in the fact that a great volume of emigration of women has taken place since the war with the result that there is now on all estates a large population of families with young children. A part of this class of people who went back to India during the great slump reported that their children could not live in India under changed conditions. As a result the Indian families now prefer to stay in Malaya even though wages have slightly fallen, because in their minds they are so much higher than what they could earn in India. They are afraid of absence in India of continuous employment suited to them. To the planters in this country the Indian labour is no longer indispensible which is easy to understand on a slight reflection. The fact is that the Chinese workers are no longer taboo on estates. In recent years there has been a large influx of Chinese women into Malaya partly owing to stoppage of Chinese male immigration and partly owing to chaotic conditions in China with the result that there is a large number of Chinese families. These Chinese are very different from those Chinese who work under Chinese contractors on estates and mines and are easily tractable ahd obedient. They are just as easy going as the South Indians and ask for easier work, cultivating vegetables and rearing pigs and poultry during their leisure hours.

The European planters are no longer averse to employing this class of Chinese labour. They loathed the Chinese labourers who worked for contractors on estates and in the tin mines on account of their indiscipline and general rudeness of behaviour. Nowadays it is a common spectacle that when an Indian leaves his job on the estate as a labourer his place is generally given to a Chinese family. This process of gradual substitution takes business out of our hands entirely, for no Chinaman would buy goods from an Indian estate-shop if he could help it.

Apart from this aspect of the question which affects Indian traders not only on estates and other places of employment and also even in Government service, the Indian labourer is at a great disadvantage as compared with his Chinese fellow-worker. While the latter can leave Malaya and return to it by virtue of the passport which they are allowed to take with their photographs attached, the Indian labourer is precluded from leaving by the Indian Government. As can be expected many labourers would like to see their near and dear relations and friends in their villages, but their Government would not permit them to do so as they are allowed to return to Malaya. In happens in a good many cases that labourers desire to leave their wives and children on estates here, but that the manager is not disposed to keep the wife and children as the husband will not be able to return. This places the Indian labourers in a very awkward and difficult plight.

As one sees things here it does not seem that Malaya would need new Indian labourers. A large ingress of such people would tend to lower the wages-level and the standard of living. We cannot help feeling that the labourers who are in Malaya and who have made it in their heart of hearts their home, and who desire to come back to Malaya after a short sojourn to their motherland should be allowed to do so, just as the Indian Government permit merchants, doctors, lawyers, clerks, shopkeepers etc., to return to Malaya. If they cannot do so, their places will be filled by the Chinese and other class of labour, which would ... ously handicap the trade which is now in the ha... of the Indians. This would have its repercussi... on the shops in the towns with the result that ... Indian trades will be ousted from the Mala... market which they have held for many long ye... and which affects our businessmen in India conne... with Malayan trade.

I strongly appeal to the Madras Government in ... name of the Indian merchants in this country ... the question of labour emigration to Malaya ... reviewed carefully and justice done to the return... labourers as well as the Indian tradesmen who ca... in the wake of the emigrant. The number ... labourers who have left properties and interes... here in Malaya but who could not come back ev... though paying their own passage, is swelling. T... sooner the anomalous position is put right the bet... it would be for all concerned. It would redound ... the credit of the Congress Government that the... would not be a party to impugning the perso... liberty of their own fellow subjects while claimi... and fighting for liberty for their motherland.

PROF. JOAD ON THE GOSPELS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

As Prof. Joad's allegations were being adequate... met, I did not mean to add anything myself, but ... seems a little more may be said before the subje... is closed. The fact is, Prof. Joad's criticisms a... old fashioned and out of date. All this ground ha... been gone over in years past; by his own shewing... also he has made no careful study of the question.

First, as Mr. K. Chandy, in his good letter, remark... sagaciously, "It is impossible for any person howeve... scholarly to understand the sayings or doings o... any great mystic or psychic, unless the scholar hi... self has some mystic or psychic gifts."

The simile of the "ear for music," will add force t... this remark. A person will have an ear for musi... or he will have none, it cannot be acquired. To ... the musically gifted, music can afford an inexpres... sible pleasure, even ecstasy; to the unmusical it ... is just a noise, and can never be anything more. ... There is nothing within him to respond to it. ... Prof. Joad belongs to a school of modern ... thought that some one has designated "sentim... mental materialism." Having not a spark of ... spiritual intuition, they make up for it by a ... superfluity of sentimentalism, (not to be confounded ... with sentiment), and in some cases, superficially ... observed, a kind of mysticism; but dig into it, and ... all that is found is a bewildered materialism. Such ... are Bertrand Russell, Aldous Huxley, Bernard Shaw, ... H. G. Wells, and others.

Another consideration must be taken into account. ... Modern theologians do not trouble to endeavour to ... reconcile discrepancies, elucidate obscurities, or ... explain passages in the Gospels which are completely ... un-characteristic of all that Our Lord stands for. ... They remember that his words had reached us ... through mediums broken and faulty, and channels ... devious. May not the obscurest of the passages be ... so because they have been wrongly reported, or the ... context which would have explained their meaning ... has been entirely omitted? But there is enough as ... clear as the light of the sun for us to found our ... Faith upon.

Cambridge,
August 15th 1939. } Yours etc.
I. J. PITT.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* **Bombay.**

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* **Madras.**

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District A...
Dhulia (District W... Khandesh)
Dondaicha („ „)
Nandurbar („ „)
Shirpur („ „)
Shahada („ „)
Sakri („ „)
Sindkheda („ „)
Taloda („ „)
Malegaon (District N...
Satara („ „)
Kalwan („ „)
Dohad (District P... Mah...
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.
NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.
The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports,
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—C. Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rang.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

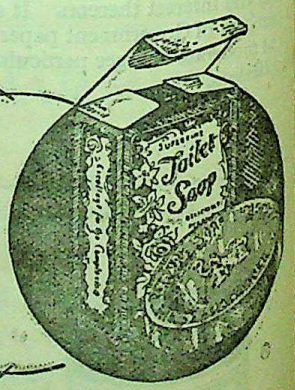


For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE *Sandal* **SOAP**

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.
For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Nataraja for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors:—K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 19, 1939. No. 51

"*I will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Emigration of Unskilled Labour.
End of Hyderabad Satyagraha.
Caste and Conversion.
Secret Voting and Civil Liberty.
Educational Deputation to Japan.
The Status of Actors.
The Tientsin Surrender.
Is England a Democracy?
Democracy and India.
Pandit Nehru's Visit to China.
Mr. Bose's Excommunication.
Teachers and Politics—II.
No "Representatives" of Congress Abroad.
Growing Tendencies.
Women in India.
India and the World: A Plea for Understanding.
Sir N. N. Sircar to Prepare Report on Indian Women's Disabilities.
Temple-Entry Reform.
The Communal Problem.
Brahmo Samaj Marriage.
Question of Reconversion.
The Legal Position of the Illegitimate Child.

NOTES.

Emigration of Unskilled Labour:—The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its meeting at Wardha endorsed the action of the Government of India in banning the emigration of unskilled labourers to Ceylon, while expressing gratification at the good understanding created as a consequence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to that country. The Ceylonese should appreciate the action of the Government of India and the attitude of the Congress Working Committee as it is in line with their professed desire to be self-sufficient in the matter of employment. We say "professed" because a young Ceylonese who is studying in one of the Bombay Colleges, when asked if the plantations would suffer from the ban, at once replied, "No, we shall import Chinese labour." It will be unfair to take the opinion of this young man as representing the general opinion among responsible leaders in Ceylon. They surely know that to substitute Chinese for Indian labour would be no benefit to their people. But it is significant as showing that in one at least of Ceylon's youth who will no doubt play a part in his country's affairs, the idea of his own people taking up the plantation work when Indians cease to be recruited, did not occur as an immediate or natural probability. Most of the problems relating to Indians overseas, certainly the most vexatious of them, are due to the emigration of unskilled labour from India. It is also responsible for the low opinion formed of Indian culture and civilization in foreign countries. The word "coolie" has passed into many languages as an opprobrious epithet. India should therefore stop sending out unskilled labour any longer. The only country of importance to which it will go, when the ban in respect of Ceylon becomes fully operative, is Malaya. Indians in Malaya are never sure of their employment and constitute a source of permanent anxiety to the mother country. They are likely to be packed back to India when conditions are depressed in Malaya when they are also likely to be depressed in this country. With the large industrial developments in contemplation in Madras and the South Indian States from which unskilled labour mostly emigrates, it will be necessary to retain all the labour supply in the country itself, so that by prohibiting its emigration we are not only helping Ceylon and Malaya to rely on their own labour force but are appreciably diminishing our responsibility for our people abroad.

End of Hyderabad Satyagraha:—It is now several months since three organisations started satyagraha, that is, enrolling volunteers to court imprisonment by breaking some Police order in the Hyderabad State. They were the Hyderabad State Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Arya Samaj. At an early stage, the State Congress withdrew from the field for fear that it might be confused with the two other agencies which were communal and religious while it was political, its object being the attainment of full responsible government. The Mahasabha and the Arya Samaj continued their campaigns in such close formation that the distinction between them (analogous to that between the Calvinist and the Catholic) was completely obscured. The advent of the Shankaracharya of Jyotirmath on the scene dispelled this happy illusion. His Holiness's presence served to remind the Sanatanists that they were doing no good to their religious interests by allowing the Aryas to pose as their leaders. The Shankaracharya drew up a scheme for the better protection of Sanatanists and he expressed full confidence in the desire of His Exalted Highness and his Government to redress the grievances of Hindu subjects. Incidentally, he called attention to the fact that Hyderabad was the only State in which cow-killing was prohibited during the Id. His Holiness' mission paved the way for the prompt acceptance of the Hyderabad Reform scheme, as soon as it was announced, by the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. V. G. Savarkar. The Arya Samaj leaders found themselves left in the lurch. They have now followed the Hindu Mahasabha and disbanded their satyagrahis, on the ground that the statement by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Nizam's Government, issued in response to their request to 'clarify' the position as regards their religious freedom, has completely satisfied them. There is nothing new in the statement which the Nizam's Government had not stated several times before. The State Congress satyagrahis have not yet disclosed their attitude to the reform scheme.

Caste and Conversion:—We publish on another page an important judgment of the Madras High Court bearing on the readmission of repentant converts to the Hindu fold. In this case a Hindu of the Balija, a section of the Vaisya, caste, was converted to Christianity when he was thirteen years of age. As he grew up to manhood he was drawn more and more to the ways of the old religion. His caste fellows accepted him and his family as equal members. But there was no formal reconversion to Hinduism. On this ground two lower courts had held that the man should be regarded as having been a Christian at the time of his death. The High Court (Mockett and Krishnaswami Aiyangar, J. J.) overruled the lower courts. Mr. Justice Aiyangar observed that, in matters affecting the well-being and composition of a caste, the caste itself was the supreme judge and, if the caste had thought fit to give up old notions and practices and adopted new ones not in any way repugnant to morality, such new usages would be respected. His lordship went on to observe:

> The Court could not shut their eyes to changes almost revolutionary in character and in extent, which had been for a considerable time past taking place in the structure of the Hindu social order and in the ideas and sentiments which governed it. The old sanctions seemed to have disappeared sweeping away before them the old faith in old institutions, which did constitute in the past an integral condition of the indigenous social fabric. In view of the new forces at work, it is no surprise, their Lordships observed that as early as 1903 the Privy Council refused to permit a departure from the orthodox standards in matters of diet or ceremonial observances, to affect the status and civil rights of the erring individuals.

The Madras High Court has long enjoyed the reputation of being most conservative, not to say narrow, in its interpretation of Hindu law. Mr. Justice Aiyangar's observations are on that account all the more important. His plea that the Court can not shut its eyes to the revolutionary changes which have taken and are taking place in the Hindu social structure and ideas, is very sound and opportune. In the matter of admission of persons who are not Hindus to Hindu castes, considerable latitude has come to be recognised and to prevail. The other day, an eminent Hindu lawyer and scholar was telling us how in his city—a stronghold of orthodoxy—several European girls married to Hindus, are recognised as natural members of their husbands' castes, and their children have found no difficulty in getting married within the Hindu fold. This sort of thing has become common all over the country and Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Aiyangar is perfectly right in holding that the Courts are bound to take cognisance of these changes or they would become a deadweight on the normal life of society. Mr. Justice Mockett delivered a concurring judgment. No farce of a conversion or reconversion is needed to establish that a person has resumed his position as a member of the caste or community which he had left, if the community accepts him and makes no discrimination in social relations with him on the customary basis. This applies also to newcomers, we should think. A new custom has thus been formed and the rule that custom overrides the written law, operates.

Secret Voting and Civil Liberty:—We publish in this issue the second and concluding part of Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's remonstrance against imposing political disabilities on teachers in aided schools in the Madras Presidency, as contemplated by certain draft proposals of the Madras Government. One of these is that teachers should maintain perfect secrecy as to how they vote at elections. Secret ballot is the legally established mode in Indian elections. The Government proposal implies that the law is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Otherwise there is no need to make a special rule for teachers. It is the fact that the secrecy of the ballot box is a myth. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri plainly says so. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar in his address at the Madras University on which we comment in the leading article, points out that the secrecy in elections is a farce and advocates open voting as being both more honest and democratic. He said:

> The secret ballot is only a concession to human weakness. But it facilitates corruption and the receipt of bribes from both the rival parties or either of them and by no means makes for a manly democracy. Nor is it at all certain that it always ensures secrecy or a choice uninfluenced by intimidation. In actual practice in this country the average voter informs the candidate or his agent beforehand how he is voting and after voting tells him and others how he voted. Reticence in this respect does not appear to be a common Indian characteristic. Separate ballot boxes of different colours and other polling arrangements in the booth to help illiterate voters, detract from the secrecy of the ballot. On the whole it is doubtful whether the secret ballot suits Indian conditions and in any case its advantages are exaggerated.

Mr. Sastri in his paper expressed surprise that teachers' associations had not come forward to protest against the proposed encroachments on their civil rights. More than teachers, journalists may be supposed to be jealous of infringements of freedom of speech and writing. In Bombay we have had the unique experience of members of the Executive Committee of a Journalists' Association which has repeatedly in the past protested against acts of the Executive Government against newspapers, throwing out a resolution condemning the recent ban on six newspapers by the Bombay Government. The fact is that there is no real appreciation of civil rights as such even among the more politically-minded of our people. It is significant that Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who has been the President of the Indian Civil Liberties Union since it was pompously

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

launched into existence by Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, has felt obliged to refuse re-election. No doubt she had several other reasons but the general absence of respect for Civil Liberty among Congressmen generally, and even among Congress Governments, had surely some influence in her decision to withdraw from appearing at the head of an organisation to protect and advance Civil Liberty.

Educational Deputation to Japan:—By a piquant coincidence, a deputation of Indians interested in educational problems, has left for Japan a week before Pandit Nehru's projected visit to China. This is an entirely non-political mission as its composition shows. It is led by Dr. Rallia Ram, General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association for India; and Mr. S. K. Rudra, Rector of Allahabad University, Mr. Suryanarayana Rao of the Servants of India Society and Mrs. Rukmani Lakshmipathi, Deputy President of the Madras Legislative Assembly, are other members. Mrs. Lakshmipathi is a prominent worker in the Indian Women's and in the Congress movements. The high efficiency of the Japanese educational system with its low cost to the State as compared with the Indian system, evoked the admiration of the then Principal, Mr. W. H. Sharp, of the Elphinstone College who wrote a monograph on Japanese Education for the Indian Bureau of Education after an official visit to that country. That was several years ago. Early this year, Mr. Harold Butler, late head of the International Labour Department of the League of Nations, in a paper read at the Institute of International Affairs, London, attributed the ability of Japanese products to compete successfully with those of her competitors, not as often alleged to State bounties, but to the efficiency of Japanese workers, which he traced to the excellent education which they received in the Japanese elementary and secondary schools. We are sure that the present Mission will bring back valuable impressions which will be of considerable assistance in shaping Indian reform. Particularly at this juncture when the whole of the Japanese population is under a severe strain on account of the War in China, it will be interesting to see how the educational system reacts to the national crisis. By the way, Dr. Rallia Ram had an unpleasant experience in Bombay where he stopped for a day on his way to Colombo to join his colleagues. He was arrested at Victoria Terminus for having in his possession half a pint of brandy. Himself a lifelong total abstainer and a member of the All-India Prohibition League, he was naturally much annoyed by this episode. The Bombay Prohibition rules allow a non-permit-holder to have a pint of brandy for medical use in emergencies. Surely what is allowed to a resident of Bombay is not an offence in one who is passing through the city. Happily the Magistrate took a commonsense view of the matter and acquitted Dr. Rallia Ram with some pungent remarks against overzeal in performing official duties. Dr. Rallia Ram's annoyance was aggravated, while his luggage was being searched by Excisemen for liquor, by a C. I. D. man rummaging it for Nazi literature, owing Dr. Rallia Ram suspected, to his luggage bearing a label with Japan marked as destination!

The Status of ACTORS:—In his article this week entitled "Growing Tendencies," Mr. J. M. Ganguli contrasts the present tendency to welcome actresses and theatre performers into society with the past practice of excluding them and relegating them to an outcast status, to the advantage of the old custom. In his condemnation of the glorification of stage and cinema stars, Mr. Ganguli loses sight of the evils of setting up or forcing on actors and actresses a separate caste. Nor does he attach adequate weight to the other side of the question, the advantage of respectable men and women taking to the stage and screen and ridding public entertainments of their grosser elements. Even the evils are greatly exaggerated. Whatever happened to Mary Pickford and the Poet in London, we do not think that it is likely to occur in this country.

The Tientsin Surrender:—The four Chinese suspects in Tientsin whom the British authorities had refused to hand over to the Japanese in the earlier stages of the Anglo-Japanese negotiations, have, it was announced last week-end, been found guilty by the British on *prima facie* evidence and the decision had been taken to hand them over to the Japanese. It is significant that the decision was arrived at immediately after Parliament adjourned for two and a half months. The position of the suspects is worse even than it would have been had Britain handed them over as soon as Japan asked for then. For then at least there was no need for British representatives in the Far East to have declared on the guilt or otherwise of the suspects.

Is England a Democracy?:—In our leading article last week we quoted M. Andre Siegfried's query, Is England a Democracy? A partial answer to it, is furnished in an article in the *New Statesman* by Mr. Tom Harrisson headed "The House of Uncommons." He refers to Simon Haxey's recently published "Tory M. P." as demonstrating beyond any doubt that, as far as the Conservative Party is concerned, the Reform Acts have hardly altered the basic system of plutocracy, government by those who have inherited wealth. "The Labour Party is dominated by another type of business director, the Trade Union official, who is often as far removed from ordinary workers, (the majority of whom are still not in unions) as Earl Winterton from the loyal conservative butcher. Apart from Trade Union leadership, the dominant Labour M. P.'s today (in contrast to the lost leaders, MacDonald, Snowden and Thomas) tend to wear old school ties or to come from the old universities...The leadership of Labour today is farther than it has ever been from the masses."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, August 19, 1939.

DEMOCRACY AND INDIA.

The suitability of Democracy as a form of government to India, was the subject of two important pronouncements last week. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, an ex-President of the Indian National Congress, devoted his address under the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri Endowment in the Madras University, to a comprehensive survey of "the problem of Democracy with special reference to India." On the same day, Sir Shanmukham Chetti, Dewan of Cochin, delivered the inaugural address at the Intermediate College Association at Bangalore, covering nearly the same ground. The coincidence of the dates is rather important as some parts of the addresses would seem to be intended as replies to each other. Both the distinguished lecturers were agreed that Democracy was suited to India. But the Democracy which Mr. Aiyangar visualised as the best suited to this country was different from that which Sir Shanmukham favoured. For instance, Mr. Aiyangar was strongly against the two party system as destructive of the democratic principle and out of tune with Indian conditions. Sir Shanmukham, on the other hand, held that the two party system was essential to the working of parliamentary democracy. Then, again, Mr. Aiyangar condemned communal representation as incompatible with democracy. Sir Shanmukham, on the other hand, maintained that democracy can not function in India unless it recognised the existence of communities. We have selected these two points not only because of their importance but also because of our own predilections. We agree with Mr. Aiyangar and have repeatedly pleaded against the party system of politics. We agree with Sir Shanmukham that, situated as we are, a democracy which ignores the communal divisions of our population is not workable in this country. The two party system has not succeeded in any country except Great Britain and even there, as Mr. Aiyangar pointed out, it has ceased to be anything more than a shadow. That it is not essential to democracy is evident from the fact that it does not obtain in France which is more truely a democratic country than Great Britain. In his article on "The French Democratic Tradition" in *Foreign Affairs* (New York), Mr. Andre Siegfried observes :

> For two centuries the civilized world has recognised the English system as an admirable model and has done its best to imitate it. With no great success, one must admit! The English system is the system for the English and (as conceived by that insular people) never pretended to be anything else. England has all along worked for herself, not for the other peoples in the world. By a marvellous adaptation of her institutions to the peculiar circumstances in which her people live—to her climate, one might almost say—she has solved the problem of combining a maximum of freedom with a maximum of order under law.

The comic result of Kemal Pasha's attempt to reproduce the British system in Turkey is well-known. This French writer who is a great admirer of the British system, is inclined to deny the name of democracy to it. We refer in an editorial note today to an analysis of the composition of the present House of Commons by Mr. Tom Harrisson in the *New Statesman* showing that the "people" are very poorly represented among the members.

With every free people the State, the political organ, must be continuous with and correspondent to its social structure. The English system has its roots in and has grown up with English society. So must the political constitution of India. Now, the outstanding feature of our population is its division into communities which from ancient times have been allowed and, indeed, encouraged to live their own autonomous lives. Until recent times this did not lead to any serious diagreements among them. On the contrary, by assuring each of its culture and religion, and racial integrity, it has been possible to ensure a very remarkable degree of good fellowship and neighbourly feeling among them. Sir Shanmukham declared,

> During the last eighteen years of my public life I have given serious thought to the study of the communal question as an integral problem of our political evolution and I have come to the conclusion that it is only when you get the courage to face the inevitability of the problem in the existing social order in India, that you can make any political advance in India.

Approaching the question from a sociological standpoint, we are definitely of opinion that the existence of Indian communities testifies to the wisdom of the ancient policy of religious and social toleration. A community in India, broadly speaking, differs from another in having a conception of Deity and a form of worship peculiar to itself. Belief in God and religion is thus the basic factor. When this belief is at its purest, the result is peace and harmony among all men. It is the corruptions that have crept into it that are responsible for its becoming the source of strife. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that a man's faith in his religion is often in inverse ratio to his zeal for communal politics. Here we have a straight indication of the method in which communal differences may be harmonised. The present tendency is to have a purer belief or to have no belief. In either case political communism is a vanishing factor. The alternative of "economic interests," on the other hand, cannot be turned into a harmonising influence. Economic interests are inevitably the most fruitful sources of conflict. In the Middle Ages Christianity was a uniting factor and Christendom was a fact. The Industrial Age brought with it economic nationalism, the full fruits of which we are experiencing only now. Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar doubted if a system of functional representation would tend to eradicate communal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

differences. "It may even," he added, "accentuate them by creating communal divisions in each economic group." We rather think it would by imparting economic acerbity to the communal division which by itself is both natural and innocuous. We are not pleading for the perpetuation of communalism as it has come to be today. The true goal is the brotherhood of man. We think that it is easier to reach that goal from the communal than from the economic line of approach. Once you get the Indian people to think of the economic as the prime motive, you set them on the direct road to protetarianism which may be good or bad, but which certainly few thoughtful Indians would wish to see done.

Pandit Nehru's Visit to China :—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is too upright a man to allow personal gratification any weight in determining his course of action in public affairs. Yet it is difficult to discover what other purpose would be served by his visit to China in response to the invitation of several struggling Associations in that country at the present time. Though the Pandit himself, as he says, may regard the visit as a purely personal one, the impression in China and abroad is bound to be that he goes there as representing Indian, or at least Congress, opinion. We do not know what the opinion is in Congress circles but so far as informed opinion in this country is concerned, we think that it is decidedly in favour of India abstaining from meddling in a complex international situation to which she has no means of making any effective contribution. The complexity of the question can be easily illustrated. The United States being prevented by the conflict between the President and the Congress from taking an active part in the Far East, Great Britain is the only Power on which China can rely for assistance against Japan. It is this fact that has aroused considerable anti-British feeling in Japan. Pandit Nehru is an inveterate opponent of British Imperialism. Will he suppress his cherished convictions and comport himself in Chinaas the supporter of that Imperialism? Obviously he will be doing no service to the Chinese nationalists by proclaiming his antipathy to British Imperialism on which they chiefly rely for support in their conflict with their powerful neighbour. True, Soviet Russia is also helping the Chinese against Japan and in a few days she may become an ally of Great Britain in Europe. Pandit Jawaharlal has a platonic sympathy for Sovietism. Since Russia is a friend of China and Britain is also another, the Pandit may modify his attitude to British imperialism on the mathematical postulate that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to each other. There is another consideration. Japan professes to be fighting for the independence of Eastern Asia from European domination. Of late she has been laying more stress on this aspect of her operations than on the urgent need for her overflow population to which all other doors are closed by the all-White policy of her pacific neighbours. Alone among Asiatic nations she has mastered the military and industrial technique of the West and is showing herself an adept. Is India prepared to join hands with these who would penalise her for it? The Pandit, by the way, will be going on a British passport and under the protection, now not very certain, of the British flag.

Mr. Bose's Excommunication :—Twenty years ago a man was outcast if he went on a sea voyage or dined with another who had married a widow. The *purohit* would not officiate at marriage and funeral ceremonies in his family. In the villages, he might find difficulty in procuring the services of dhobis and barbers. His women would be insulted if they went to a tank to bathe or to a temple to worship. In one or two cases within our knowledge, threats of personal violence and actual violence was a part of the programme. Times have changed. Excommunication is now very little in vogue. Reformers had their own priests or performed the ceremonies without the aid of a priest as every Hindu is competent to do. Gillette and others relieved them of the tyranny of barbers. Mechanical washing did the work of orthodox dhobies more quickly and effeciently. We seem, however, to have outlived the era of religious and social persecution, only to slide into one of political ostracism. The old custom has taken a new form. But we have not the least doubt that political excommunication will be no more effective in stemming the tide of freedom than social persecution has been. The Congress organisation today is an exact replica of the sectarian caste organisation. Those whose life-work has involved a constant challenge to caste and sect, can not lightly regard this new phase of the same old evil. Mr. Subhas Bose who had in his early youth come under the influence of the Brahmo Samaj and Swami Vivekananda, is not perturbed by the papal bull from Wardha. Besides, he has himself been President of the Congress and knows it for all it is worth. He has expressed his determination to tread the path which he has chalked out for himself. Compliance with the dictates of the men in authority might have brought him peace and popularity. There are conspicuous examples of persons who have preferred this easy path. But Mr. Bose can not find peace in that way. Easy acquiescence has been the bane of Indian history. The country wants men who dare to say "No" to temptations from within and allurements from without. Mr. Subhas Bose has dared to say "No." However embarrassing it may be to Gandhiji as Congress boss, it cannot but gladden his heart as one who holds that not institutions but character—in the ultimate analysis the power to say, "No"—makes a people great.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TEACHERS AND POLITICS—II.

(By the Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.)

There are all sorts of rumours in the air, but we are not justified in believing them. One, however, is very persistent and widespread. It is to the effect that the teachers in a certain district on the West Coast as a rule have been affected with extreme socialistic doctrines, and that they have sometimes held out a threat even to strike. If a body of teachers in one place have deviated a little from the line of propriety, it is certainly not necessary to take away the right of taking part in elections from the whole profession without a word being said.

It was said that teachers in aided schools, being dependent to some extent upon public money, are to be treated in the same way as teachers in Government service, in Municipal and Board service, because all alike receive public money. I do not object to Board teachers getting this privilege, Municipal and Board teachers being placed upon the same footing in respect of right to candidature. As to the teachers in Government service, there is perhaps a wider consideration, and it may be impolitic on the part of the Government to choose one set of employees and give them a power which is denied to another set of employees. Amongst Government servants there must be equality, and that is a higher principle. But I am quite willing that between Board teachers and us in aided institutions there should be complete equality.

Then it is asked, "Why should teachers go and interfere in these public matters?" Have they not enough to do in their schools and with pupils? That is a particularly undemocratic view to take. We are all citizens of our country. Not only are we citizens but we are expected to raise the citizens of the future. Those who raise citizens, must themselves be citizens.

Again, it is asked: "Why should teachers come at all into those legislative bodies and into the Municipal Councils? It is true you had this privilege once, when education was not wide-spread and there were not enough workers to take up public work. Now we have a plethora of competent citizens for all the tasks of democracy." If this is so, it is due to our labours. Is it fair to shut us out of the world which we have ourselves helped come into being?

It has been pointed out to me that the South Indian Teachers' Union has among its aims the obtaining of pensions from Government, of a large increase in salaries, of better leave provisions and so on, in other words, it seeks large ameliorations in the conditions of the profession. Representations to this effect have been made to Government before and it is felt that, if at the same time we cling to this privilege of candidature, to vote, it might be thought that our claims were mutually self-destructive and we were really weakening the force of our demand.

I am in entire sympathy with the teaching profession. Their present condition is to be deplored. They should get better salaries, better leave conditions and they should be in fairly comfortable circumstances at the end of their service. But we in Madras are famous in the whole of India for having developed the grant-in-aid system to perfection. It is in this province that Government has the least direct share in the furtherance of education. It is in this Province that collegiate and secondary and primary education are dependent largely, in fact very largely, on the existence of private but aided effort. If we are to go back upon this and seek to provincialise ourselves, it follows that Government cannot maintain the extensive field in education which it now occupies. Government will be obliged to contract in a very great measure the educational operations going on in this Presidency. We must be content to go without a great number of colleges and schools and private institutions. Now are we, who clamour loudly for the extension of compulsory education and for the further extension of the facilities of secondary education, for the reduction of school fees and college fees, the throwing open to the poor of these institutions by means of more scholarships, are we justified in demanding these things from Government and also demanding that the whole service of education should be provincialised?

I think we ought to be clear about our position. Much as I sympathise with the disabilities and hardships of the teaching profession, much as I should like that in many directions these conditions were improved, I am not in favour of steps which would amount to a provincialisation of these services. It is the greatest disservice we could do to a poor country which is putting itself in the way of democratic development.

Next I should like to say a word about secret voting. Why should our teachers be specially told that the voting must be done secretly? I suppose in all our text-books upon democracy the secret ballot is held up as one of the principal aims. But are teachers the greatest offenders in violating this rule of secret voting?

Is it that the teacher by declaring his vote will turn the fortunes of candidates at the polls? We know how men of the highest education belonging to University electorates give their voting papers to the candidates either unmarked or partially marked; we know how well and widely established a practice this is; yet how can we countenance a measure which tells the poor teacher, 'It is on you that the responsibility of establishing the secrecy of the vote must rest.'

Then we are told that the Director of Public Instruction may call upon a Manager to dismiss a teacher. I almost tremble to think how it will work out. The Director knows few teachers in person; his numerous Inspecting Officers will therefore be the means of conveying news to him of how at elections, when by the way the Congress has numerous candidates along with other political parties in the country, certain teachers in this school or in that school used their influence or took part in the electioneering. It is a new terror added to the life of the teacher. But we are told we are not to misunderstand the motives behind this rule. The motive may be good, but nothing has been said in public about the object of these rules and how they will be worked. Some people say that it is for the protection of the teachers themselves that these rules has been framed. Because they have this right of candidature, of electioneering and of voting, unscrupulous managers who themselves take part in these elections, use the teachers as their agents and instruments.

We are all grown up people, we have taken our places in a profession, we know the risks of public life and we vote and we take part in electioneering and we stand as candidates like men erect, knowing our rights and privileges and the way to protect ourselves. If some simple people amongst us, a few weak persons here and there, are victimised, it does not follow that the whole lot of us should be deprived of the rights that we are enjoying. Nor do I see how this will be a protection. Unscrupulous masters will always find employees to be at their beck and call.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It has been pointed out that, if Government are unfortunately not persuaded to change these rules, teachers might ask that they should be formed into a separate constituency with a certain number of seats in the Legislature, Municipality and other bodies. That is, a teachers' constituency should be created for the purposes of these elections. Now gentlemen, it looks attractive on a superficial view, but I think it is thoroughly unsound and at the same time undemocratic. Are we to imitate Hyderabad? We ought not to have occupational constituencies; our electoral system is already vitiated by the introduction of constituencies to represent several interests like landholders, merchants, etc. Let us not have a teachers' constituency. We do not want to be isolated from the main body of public citizens as though we had interests of our own which we could only protect by forming a trade union. I think we teachers must not fall into a narrow groove. We must keep on the highway of citizenship.

If our Government went back and recaptured for a moment the spirit of May 1933 when they introduced those other rules, we might see the disappearance of these rules from the code of education.

But what is the profession doing? It is some time since these rules were published in the Gazette and the papers. It is astonishing that few voices have been heard. The Trichy Teacher's Guild has just passed a resolution. If the profession do not show that they want these rules to be abolished or drastically modified, no Government will voluntarily do it.

I am no longer a member of the teaching profession. I am not affected by these rules. Nevertheless, I have great respect and great affection for the teaching profession, to which I once belonged. Whatever tends to increase its welfare has my most sincere sympathy; whatever threatens to contract the honour and usefulness of this body, whatever threatens to stamp upon it the mark of inferior citizenship, whatever seems to stain its character in any way, I deeply resent.

NO "REPRESENTATIVES" OF CONGRESS ABROAD.

Propaganda which is being carried on in foreign countries by some Indians, who purport to act on behalf of the National Congress, has come to the knowledge of the A. I. C. C. Office. Steps are being taken by the General Secretary to stop and counteract it. Propaganda of this type is stated to have secured publicity in an American paper named the *Kansas City Star* when His Majesty the King visited the United States recently. It appears, it was given out in that paper, that a message had been sent from London that the headquarters of the Indian National Congress in Allahabad, India, had issued instructions to the "Indian Branch of the Congress in New York," not to participate in the official or non-official receptions and demonstrations given in honour of King George VI or Queen Elizabeth. It is also learnt that some Indians style themselves as non-official representatives of Gandhiji or as "non-official ambassadors of India or the Congress" in foreign countries, one of them being America, to exploit the situation. The A. I. C. C. office has taken serious note of this and adopted suitable measures to make it clearly known in all foreign countries including America, that no branches of the Indian Congress, official or non-official, exist anywhere outside the geographical limits of India, and no ambassadors of Gandhiji or the Congress are appointed in those foreign countries.

GROWING TENDENCIES.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Not long ago there was a rather heated discussion in the Delhi Municipal Committee over the resolution of a member prohibiting dancing in cinemas. Such dancing is being increasingly introduced by money-making cinema managements as an additional attraction for their customers. That the resolution was opposed was not surprising, in view of the loose tendencies which are visibly spreading among the educated classes; but, when one member stood up proudly to assert that such dancing was a part of cultural life, many an uncultured thinker must have felt stung into a sudden realisation of the fast-moving times in which he was living. The culture-seeking member went on, with no less animation to add that, in places like Calcutta, nude dancing was a common feature of stage entertainment, a statement which is news—at least to the backward uncivilized denizens of Calcutta.

But, whether the above reference to the Calcutta stage be true or not, it ought to provoke serious thinking in all well-wishers of society, because of the light it throws on the mind of its educated members. While one reads this exposition of the view of culture, as held by many educated persons, of whom the above municipal councillor is not an uncommon type, one reads also of hundreds of university students invading a cinema-hall in Allahabad for forcing their admission thereinto without tickets to witness the dancing of a star. This woman had previously been invited by the students to address them on her art, and at that meeting she had invited them to the cinema to witness her performance—without buying tickets or so they concluded. The Proctor of the University, who was called on to the scene, did not consider it his duty to find out how the trouble arose. What he did was only to interview the actress and the cinema manager to effect a compromise, without expressing serious disapproval of the conduct of students in seeking admission without tickets, and for their unseemly eagerness to see the performance. A reprimand or an expression of disapproval with an unqualified refusal on principle to associate himself with such an affair as a compromiser, might have displeased the students and made him unpopular with them; but it is not for an educationist always to humour students and seek their popularity, but to teach them high moral and ethical principles, and to tell them the truth, even if that be harsh. It is by so doing that he really discharges his duties and trustful responsibilities towards his students. rather than by merely teaching them some books and texts.

However, the incident shows which way the current wind is blowing the educated mind. Not that dancing girls were non-existent in this country a generation and more ago or that they were not engaged for performance in marriage and other merry functions. Their public contact with society was confined to such functions. Their status in society was not such as to give them free and uncriticisable access to respectable society, much less to a students' gathering. Under the influence of the present day non-puritan and easy self-satisfying civilization, actors and actresses in the West, have been accepted into society, and are even given elevation in status according to the degree of their entertaining ability. The mad eagerness of the London public to see Mary Pickford, the film star, when she went there (for the first time probably) so much surprised Poet Rabindranath, who happened to be there at the time, that he was led to wonder what that civilization was worth, which paid so much attention

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to an actress, who could only pose and affect attractively before the public.

The higher and the purer a civilization tends to be, the more womanhood is raised in people's estimation, and women are less regarded as creatures for dancing, singing, acting and posing with sex appeal for public amusement and entertainment. Naturally, therefore, women who depart from that pure conception of womanhood to take to these things, lose public esteem in a civilization freed from animality and based on high moral standards, and are relegated to a position in the social order, that is distinctly marked off from respectability and common acceptability. It was for such reasons that actresses and dancing girls in the Orient could not emerge out of their distinct corner to pass off unmarked in society at large.

Unfortunately, there is an increasing number of people in India now-a-days, who with much noise and vigour criticise the apparent 'injustice' and 'cruelty' done by society in thus outcasting them; but if they would have the patience and calmness to deliberate over the matter they would at once see that by such outcasting society had, in fact, paid high respect to womanhood and had at the same time wished the outcastes well by condemning their tastes and tendencies and by suggesting to them, though indirectly, a return to higher ideals of womanhood.

There is another class of critics, who call and think themselves to be art lovers, and who bring dancing, stage-singing, acting, etc., under art, and ask what sin there can be in such art. Art, no doubt, there is in acting, in staging, in singing, and even in voluptuous dancing and lascivious posing, just as there is art in everything. Once a man, coming to know that his brother was killed by a person, went with drawn sword to take revenge; but at the sight of his brother's dead body, cut neatly into two pieces across the chest along his sacred shoulder-thread, he was so charmed at the skill of the assassin that he forgot himself and congratulated the killer of his brother on his fine stroke of sword. There was art in that fine sword thrust. In its wide and liberal sense art is, in fact, in all kinds of skill, whether in good or in bad things. But to construe it in such unqualified and extensive sense will mean losing the higher import which good people in all ages have given to it, and according to which art is that which appeals to higher and nobler instincts, instincts which distinguish humanity from animality.

But what about the art of acting and dancing girls? Shorn of its sex appeal, what can such art stand for? And what will its value be when judged from the point of view of art's higher sense mentioned above? To one unsusceptible to such base appeal such art is charmless. Even its enslaved admirers will not be without sticky hesitation to assert that such art kindles noble sentiments and divine inspirations, and makes them not look upon the artistes with lustful eyes and desire-full mind. They may argue to the contrary, but they will not thereby convince a psycho-analyst prying into the depths of their mind.

If that be so, feminine stage performance that excites animal cravings and prevents us from looking reverentially on womanhood ought not to be included within art in its purer sense and women who take to such art should not be accorded the admiration and ovation that masses and educated people in the West are now-a-days giving them. Women who prefer to trade in that art for monetary gain or for mere hunt for the popularity of uncontrolled and principle-less people must be prepared to remain outcastes, unqualified for the free social contact and for marriage and other relationship. That is the way to discourage them from going off the ideals of womanhood, and to restrain young folk from running madly after them.

WOMEN IN INDIA.*

(By Mrs. A. Asaf Ali, Delhi.)

Had this account of the women of India and the rise of the Women's Movement not been meant for an American and European public, the hurry and haste evident in most of the chapters might have been overlooked. As it is, one cannot help regretting the somewhat vague and loose style in which the writers have expressed themselves, because it gives one the impression of a scrappily compiled series of newspaper articles rather than of a book with a definite plan.

Kamaladevi's interpretation of the man—woman relationship as outlined in the opening chapter is an attempt at tracing its historical background. The scientific approach to this problem is to study it in its anthropological aspects instead of treating it as a strictly economic problem, and it would have been better if specific Indian customs like Purdah and Child Marriage had not been brought in by way of illustrations of social degeneration, since this particular chapter was meant to be a survey of a universal nature.

While no one will entirely disagree with Kamaladevi that the women who are leading the movement for social reform and the removal of their legal and other disabilities belong to the bourgeois class, her own admission that "the working class women, both industrial and urban, are comparatively freer than the upper class women in India," accounts for the stress on the problems and hardships peculiar to the women of this class. The working class and peasant women can not depend on a women's movement as such to redress their primary grievances. Their problems are predominantly of an economic character and can be dealt with by only those who are working for fundamental changes in the political and social framework. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that, however unreal and ineffective the women's self-appointed task of eradicating social maladies may appear to politicians, it is definitely related to most of the important problems and handicaps of the women workers of India.

Most of the contributors who have dealt with particular facets of the Indian background, seem to have taken it for granted that their audience is well informed about its main characteristics, whereas the average American and European still think of India as a land of rajahs, elephants and aborigines. To make our culture and our problems intelligible to the West it is essential that writers should bear in mind the confusion of ideas about India that prevails abroad. To inspire respect they must adopt an objective attitude and avoid self-praise or emphasising our helplessness.

The effort made by the author and her colleague is, however, creditable because so far very little attention has been paid to the task of acquainting the West with facts about Indian women and their outlook on life. It will certainly go a long way to educate those who are eager to know how thinking women are approaching their problems.

*The Awakening of Indian Women, by Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya and Others. Everyman's Press, Rs. 1-8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA AND THE WORLD: A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING.

(BY N. LAKSHMANAN, COIMBATORE.)

The venerable C. F. Andrews has gone round the world, thrice, as an Ambassador of India. During his recent world tour, he found in country after country that anti-Hindu literature was spreading like poison. In East and West alike, his friends requested him to check this growing menace to international goodwill and friendship. Even in Oxford and Cambridge, Indian students urged him to write out a simple and constructive book that might state in a brief compass the real truth about Hindu morals and religion. "The Hindu religion itself has been the centre of the attack .....The replies that were published in India had only a small circulation, and therefore the misunderstanding has remained. India's own case has very nearly gone by default." Friends of India all over the world are quite familiar with his writings and they will certainly be glad to read his book on "The True India, A Plea for Understanding" just published by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London (price 3sh 6d. net). By this timely publication, Mr. Andrews has rendered a valuable service to the cause of international friendship and goodwill. He is best fitted to do this kind of "spiritual red-cross work."

The book is dedicated to Poet Rabindranath Tagore with deep affection. Mr. Andrews is approaching his seventieth year, and half of his life-time has been devoted to India, the land of his adoption. "If I had my life to live over again," he says, "I would wish to spend it once more in India." (p. 220). He has been in intimate contact with Tagore for more than a quarter of a century now. Tagore opened "my eyes both to the deeper meaning of Indian culture and to the singular beauty of the lives of the simple villagers.....Tagore knows and loves Indian village life best of all, and his simple songs will live on the lips of many generations of the country folk long after other memorials have perished." (Preface). Curiously enough, many of our friends who dabble in rural reconstruction are in blissful ignorance of the fact that Tagore is a pioneer of the rural reconstruction movement in India.

Mr. Andrews gives a beautiful illustration of the inner meaning of *Ahimsa* or Non-violence. "Sometime ago, at Santiniketan, I had been in the habit each morning of plucking a few white, scented blossoms and giving them to Poet Rabindranath Tagore, for his writing-table before he began his day's work. But his daughter said to her father, 'Why does he pluck the flowers when they are growing in the sunshine? Tell him not to do so. God gives us the blossoms when they fall. Let him gather *those* for his morning gift to you! They will provide you with the same beauty and perfume." Mr. Andrews adds by saying that this deep sentiment, that does not wish anything, however humble, to be sacrificed to man's need, is one of the noblest things in Hinduism. (p. 201). Dr. Albert Schweitzer has described in his *Autobiography* (p. 185) how when making his way through a herd of hippopotamuses, there flashed upon his mind, unforeseen and unsought, the phrase, "Reverence for Life." Mr. Andrews remarks that this is a motto which has been current in India for more than two thousand years (p. 186).

Tagore has been stung to the quick by Miss Mayo's mischievous books on India and her people. He himself happens to be one of those whom the American tourist had "selected as a target for her midnight raid." He was cleverly misquoted by Miss Mayo as supporting the custom of child marriage. Mr. K. Natarajan, in his well-known booklet on Miss Mayo, had discovered her literary offence and verified Tagore's sentence in Count Keyserling's *Book of Marriage*. "That she was determined to discredit the poet is evident." Tagore says: "For my own defence, I shall use the following extract from a paper written by Mr. Natarajan, one of the most fearless critics of our social evils." The extract is given on pages 39 and 240. Mr. Andrews has also met others whom the authoress has misrepresented in the same inaccurate manner. He institutes a comparison between Miss Mayo's notorious book and Mrs Stowe's novel and concludes that later history has shown that, where the picture drawn in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was highly exaggerated, it did mischief. "The wound inflicted on the Southern States has not yet been fully healed." The author reminds us of A. O. Hume's reply to B. M. Malabari given in Wedderburn's personal Memoir (A. O. Hume p. 150).

The facile accusation of "phallic" worship in Hinduism is examined with a vast background of historical knowledge. The author's conclusion is similar to that of Bishop F. B. Fisher's illuminating chapter on Sex in India in his great book "That Strange Little Brown Man, Gandhi." While Fisher explains the erotic sculpture of some temples of Peninsular India, Mr. Andrews is uncompromising in his condemnation of some of these Temple carvings, for, according to him, they are a sign of diseased imagination and not of health (p. 75). Mr. K. Natarajan himself refers to these erotic carvings in his book, *Our Trip to America*. Dr. J. B. Pratt in his book called *India and its Faiths* also deals with this intricate subject and holds that phallic symbols are common all over the world. Gandhiji says that in India, as elsewhere, these symbols have lost all sexual significance. Millions in India "are unaware of the obscenity alleged to be behind it" (caste-mark) p. 34. Thus the argument, advanced by Mr. Andrews, in this and similar topics, is clinching and comprehensive."

Like Dr. J. B. Pratt, Mr. Andrews says: "I have watched Hindu women making their offerings at the wayside shrines, or near the river bathing ghats, whose faces were like that of a Madonna. It would be impossible to associate obscenity with such faces as these." (p 75). Writing from direct knowledge, the author says that the *Devadasi* system is a gross evil which is actually encouraged by debased religion.

Public opinion, backed by legal powers, is setting its face against this degenerate system. As for untouchability, "Educated India is endeavouring rapidly to cast out once and for all this pernicious evil in the same way that it is attacking purdah and child-marriage.

Mr. Andrews wisely insists that all these evil and outworn customs need to be exposed. "Yet in order to get a true picture we must turn also to the deeper bedrock facts which are practically undisputed. The facts are these: that whateve, excrescences have intervened to sap its vitalityr whatever evil customs and traditions have spread like a creeper over it, the tree of Indian life is still sound at the centre." P. 76.

SIR N. N. SIRCAR TO PREPARE REPORT ON INDIAN WOMEN'S DISABILITIES.

The League of Nations has been engaged for some time in preparing a comprehensive memorandum on the political and social disabilities of women of different countries of the world. So far as India is concerned, with the approval of the Government of India, the League approached Sir N. N. Sircar, ex-Law Member, to undertake the task. It is understood that he has accepted the invitation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TEMPLE-ENTRY REFORM.

The Editor

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Opponents of the Temple-Entry movement come under different categories. In the first place, there are the venerable persons who strongly feel that the question of the Harijan uplift should confine itself to the economic uplift. They believe that religion invests a sort of divine sanction on the existing social order and arrangement in virtue of which they are considered too sacred for rearrangement. They will not realise that if we are to improve the economic condition of the lowest stratum of a society, leaving aside the spiritual, we should wait till eternity, unless in the meanwhile a sort of communism is bolstered up. Secondly, there are opponents of the temple-entry movement who express intellectual appreciation of the reasonableness of the reform, but who believe that the reform will come about by wise preaching and patient propaganda by the elect of the land. This class of people are against any legislative enactment for changing the outlook among the people. Their moral inertia will not allow them to offer a constructive policy to satisfy the aspirations of the generation now coming to maturity.

One main reason why the bureaucracy was forced to concede political reforms was their belated and woeful realisation that in the sphere of social administration, further progress depended on the assumption by Indians of real responsibility for social conditions, and that under responsible government alone can it be attempted with any prospect of success. The attempt to continue the existing social inequality on the basis of the guarantees in the Queen's Proclamation is bound to be futile. In a nation aspiring for democratic sovereignty public opinion will soon find its way into the legislative forum; and the invocation of the legislative machinery for speeding up the pace of the lethargic section of the community or for bringing round an obstinate and untractable minority is justified as proper and legitimate in all democratic states. Having recognised the justness of the reform, we should not shirk the responsibility; mere intellectual appreciation is of no avail.

Now, the measure recently initiated by the Madras Government has raised a newer class of critics. These esteemed persons accept the inevitableness of the force of the legislative sanctions, and would be satisfied if a referendum is adopted, and if a majority of worshippers agree to the reform; but they object to the process of ascertaining public opinion. They consider the substitution of the Government consent for the consent of the majority of worshippers duly elicited, as unsound and undemocratic. Their criticism has gained strength on account of the fact that the Governor's aid was invoked for promulgating an Ordinance. The lay public have ever been used to associate the Governor's and the Viceroy's Ordinances as weapons used for the purpose of overruling legislatures or superseding Ministers or enabling them to escape responsibilities which properly belong to them. Hence an alarm has been raised that Fascist methods have been used by the Congress Ministry.

Even a cursory perusal of the chapter on the Provincial Executive in the Joint Select Committee Report should convince this class of critics that the Premier has only sought to realise the objectives of the Congress by utilising the powers inherent and vested in the Act of 19[illegible]. Adequate discretionary powers have been conferred on the Governor, "primarily in order that the Executive as a whole may possess the authority which experience shows to be essential to the success of Parliamentary government. The strong executive with the whole body of the Governor's reserve powers, may well prove the most effective guarantee for the development of a genuine system of responsible government. To magnify the legislature at the expense of the executive is to diminish the authority of the latter and to weaken the sense of responsibility of both. The function of the Executive is to govern and administer; that of the legislature, to vote supply, to criticise, to educate public opinion and to legislate; and great mischief may result from attempts by the latter to invade the executive sphere." A strong executive, supported by a disciplined party, may co-exist even with an omnipotent legislature. The last chapter on the working of the democratic forms of government is yet to be written. Even the referendum, like the initiative, is after all one means whereby the methods of direct democracy are adapted to representative government; and is but an imperfect and rough, though ready, way of ascertaining public opinion. Persons who do not object to the referendum method, need not raise a hue and cry over the novel procedure proposed by the Premier; for the trustee's sensing public opinion is safeguarded by the responsibility of the Government. My submission is that no democratic principle has been sacrificed. As the Joint Select Committee observe, "Indians should not be misled by deceptive analogies with the constitutional practice of the United Kingdom. Responsible government postulates conditions which Indians themselves have still to create." The Premier's achievement as a constitutionalist deserves praise.

Again, apprehensions are raised that the reform will ring out the old, but may fail to bring in the new, and that the old worshippers might go out, and that the new worshippers might not come in after all. Our ancients had the wonderful power of accommodation; and the temple-shunners of today will soon harken back to the temples to seek the message of reborn Hinduism in its resurgent glory which will afford daily solace to the lowly millions, and not merely to the cultured few. A powerful reply has been given by Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastriar in the pages of the *Bharata Dharma* in 1934; and I shall quote a few sentences from his articles:—

"The evil will not happen. Our country will react and live; it will not refuse to react and live. Newer ideas and appropriate changes are in progress. They cannot be prevented. God does not choose to withdraw into oblivion anything of value for the time and place. Time spirit is described as Vishnu in the Purana that bears His name. Vital reactions of a suitable character are willing submission to His purpose and aid in His work. We have shown this submission in the past by making necessary changes. Please do not, in your worst anger and vexation with heretical friends, get obstinately confirmed in the idea of 'no change,' whatever the cost, even if it be decay and death of Truth with a capital T. The broad stream of life will make its own path and flow on."

Let me conclude with a very appropriate quotation from Mr. V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar's speech at the second South Indian Musical Conference:—"Orthodoxy is everywhere only a safeguard; and progress and improvement can be attained only by the push and the urge of liberals, reformers, and radicals."

Peelamedu, August 10, 1939. } Yours etc., R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I welcome your comments on my letter about the "Reformer and the Communal Problem." I have always noted with pleasure that *The Reformer* has not that fascination for joint electorates which lures the Congress to agree to the destruction of the very basis of nationalism itself. What I have not been able to understand is *The Reformer's* support of the occasional communal unity parleys between the Muslim League and the Congress. Is there any doubt now in the minds of reasonable men that these parleys are intended to bribe the Muslims by weightages and privileges to accept joint electorates?

The Reformer's advocacy of the principle of entry into the services on merit and merit alone is worthy of all praise. But what the readers of *The Reformer* want it to recognise is the fact that this principle is as dead as dodo in all parts of India. The Hindu politicians in Muslim provinces only plead that the principle (if it is a principle) of entry and promotion in the services on the communal ground should not operate in totally keeping out the Hindus. It is cruel to characterise their efforts as calculated "to violate every principle of administration." That is what I wanted to protest against. I shall be a proud man if I can take the theoretical glasses from off the eyes of *The Reformer* and make it see the communal problem as it really is. Then perhaps from its detached position it can suggest a solution. The on-looker sees more deeply into the game than those who play it. To-day we do not get the requisite guidance from *The Reformer*. Take Sir Sikandar's proposal for an Indian Heptarchy. *The Reformer's* leading article on it is disappointing. Why the creation of the 'zones' and the weakening of the Central Government? Even the *Statesman* has had something to say against weakening the Centre, a point not touched upon at all in *The Reformer's* leader.

Delhi,
August 8, 1939. } Yours etc.,
B. BANERJI.

[We are unable to find out when *The Reformer* supported Muslim-Congress discussions for political unity. Mr. Banerji understates the case when he says that the Hindu politicians "only plead" that communalism in appointments to the services should not "operate in totally keeping out the Hindus." We would refer him to Mr. H. L. Mehta's original article out of which the letters of Mr. Banerji have arisen. Mr. Mehta wrote (*The Reformer*, July 15, 1939): "So far as Hindus are concerned instead of geting any weightage to which they are entitled as a minority, they get about 25 per cent in the services, which is below that to which they are entitled on a population basis, their population being according to the 1931 Census figures about 26·32 which figure itself is wrong." As for Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's scheme, if Mr. Banerji had read the first comment of *The Reformer* immediately after Sir Sikandar's exposition of it at a Bombay Rotary luncheon, he would not have fallen into the error of inferring that *The Reformer's* attitude towards weakening the central Government was doubtful. We refer Mr. Banerji to *The Reformer* of July 8, which remarked in an editorial note, 'If the Punjab Premier follows the trend of events in countries where the rights of component units are being rigorously safeguarded, he will find that their constitutions are strained to breaking-point in order to meet the pressure of World forces.....The history of India shows beyond doubt that the country had prosperity within and security from foreign invasion, only when she had a strong Central Government and that when it weakened or allowed the provinces to grow stronger than itself, the country was plunged in anarchy." On July 15 we again protested against the "Centre being dominated by the circumference." In the very article read by Mr. Banerji we wrote "the length of the coast-line has nothing to do with the constitution of a Federation except that it favours a strong unitary Central Government as against an impotent figurehead to which it is reduced in Sir Sikandar's scheme." —Ed., *I. S. R.*]

BRAHMO SAMAJ MARRIAGE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Lord Chancellor announcing the decision of the Lords' Committee on Lord Sinha's application for a seat in the House of Lords has said that one of the tenets of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj seat was monogamy and the Indian Courts would not recognise the validity of a second marriage while a person continued to be a member of that sect and his first wife was alive. This statement of the highest judicial authority, it is submitted with great respect, appears rather strange. The Sadharan Brahmo Samaj is a sect amongst the Hindus like the Arya Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj. The Hindu Law is applicable to the members of these sects among the Hindus and it does not certainly recognise the religious tenets propounded by the founders. The Courts in British India, therefore, would not hesitate to recognise the validity of the second marriage of any member of these sects even when the first wife of that member is alive. The Brahmos are as a rule monogamous. There is no doubt about that. But it should be noted that, if a Brahmo married a second wife when his first is alive, the Courts in India would recognise the second marriage as valid. The tenets of the Arya Samaj too included strict monogamy; but now-a-days polygamous marriages are performed under the Arya Marriage Validation Act and the authorities of the Samaj seem to be absolutely unconcerned. Will any Brahmo throw more and clear light on the statement of the Lord Chancellor?

Satara,
August 10, 1939. } Yours etc.,
K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

QUESTION OF RECONVERSION.

Their Lordships Mr. Justice Mockett and Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Iyengar delivered separate, but concurring judgments in a first appeal raising the question whether a convert to Christianity could, without performing a formal and expiatory ceremony, come back to Hinduism and to Hindu law.

A suit was filed for the partition of the estate of the late G. Appalasami of Gopalpur in the District Court of Berhampur. The defendants in the suit were the four sons of Appalasami by his first wife and the plaintiffs were two sons by his second wife.

Appalasami was originally a Hindu, who became a convert to Christianity at the age of 13. In 1898, his marriage with the first wife took place according to Christian form. Appalasami drifted towards the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

old faith and re-entered Hinduism, but there was no formal ceremony of any kind. In 1930 he married a second wife, while the first wife was alive. The sons of the second wife filed the suit for partition of the estates of their father.

The suit was dismissed by the District Judge on the ground that the marriage with the second wife was invalid according to Christian law. Though the family adopted the customs and habits of the Hindus, there was no formal re-conversion to Hinduism and therefore Appalasami must be deemed to have continued a Christian. Against this decision the present appeal was preferred.

His Lordship Mr. Justice Krishnaswami Iyengar observed in the course of his judgment that it was extremely doubtful whether the ancient Hindu law and the text-books on Smrithis permitted the return into the Hindu fold of an apostate, who had wilfully and deliberately chosen to abandon the religion of his birth and become a convert to an alien faith which held the Hindu religion in contempt. Apostasy was a sin, which was probably regarded as not capable of condonation or expiation by mere Prayaschitic performances. No Hindu law texts were cited before Their Lordships as governing the matter or tending to throw any light on the question. In fact, the examination of the few cases bearing on the subject had left the impression that the consideration of the topic had to be approached, not from the point of view of strict religion or of ancient lawgivers, but on a fair appreciation of the current sentiments and usage of a particular community to which the convert sought re-admission.

After referring to the facts of the case, His Lordship observed that it was obvious that it was scarcely likely that Appalasami embraced Christianity out of any religious conviction. His age at the time and his life and conduct afterwards, seemed to suggest the contrary. It was, however, undeniable that his outward bearing and habit from the beginning were more those of a Hindu than of a Christian. And as he advanced in life, he drifted more and more to his old faith, though it was difficult to fix any point of time at which he could be said to have definitely abjured Christianity, and reentered the religion of his forefathers. It was certain, however, that no formal ceremonies of any kind were undergone such as were sometimes resorted to in the present day, when a non-Hindu desired to become a convert to Hinduism.

The appellants' case was that the second marriage took place not in the Christian form, but according to the form prevalent among the Balija community and this was satisfactorily established. There was sufficient evidence to justify His Lordship in holding that the whole Balija community seemed to have accepted the entire family as still in the caste, and finally, when the members of that family died, they were cremated and "Brindavanam" erected over their ashes. There was no proof of any contact of Appalasami with the Church or the Padris after the marriage. The sons of the first wife were married according to the Hindu rites and customs. In his Lordship's opinion, it was difficult to conceive of a more complete reconversion to Hinduism or a clear abandonment of Christianity. The plaintiffs and their mother and other members of the family were received and treated by the entire Hindu community as Hindus without the slightest trace of any objection or dissent.

Referring to the observations of the District Judge, His Lordship observed that the reasons given by the District Judge in support of his judgment, namely, that society might get into a state of flux or confusion, if formal abandonment followed by performance of expiatory ceremonies was not insisted upon, were scarcely sound reason for the Court lending its support to maintain a social order, if the society concerned itself lost faith in it. His Lordship observed that matters affecting the well-being and composition of caste, the caste itself was the supreme judge, and if the caste had thought fit to give up old notions and practices and adopted new ones, not in any way repugnant to morality, such new usages should be respected. The Court could not shut its eyes to a change almost revolutionary in character and in extent, which had been for a considerable time past taking place in the structure of the Hindu social order and in the ideas and sentiments which governed it. The old sanctions seemed to have disappeared, sweeping away before them the faith in old institutions, which did constitute in the past an integral condition of the indigenous social fabric. In view of the new forces at work, it was no surprise, His Lordship observed, that as early as in 1903 the Privy Council refused to permit a departure from the orthodox standard in matters of diet or ceremonial observances to affect the status and civil rights of the erring individuals. His Lordship, in conclusion, said that there was no authority for the support of the District Judge's view that on account of the absence of a ceremony of reconversion or any other explatory ceremony the Court was bound to treat Appalasami as having continued to remain Christian and his second marriage was invalid.

His Lordship, Mr. Justice Mockett, agreed with his learned brother's observations.

In the result the appeal was allowed.

Messrs. B. Jagannatha Das and C. V. Dikshitulu appeared for the appellants and Messrs. C. Sambasiva Rao and S. Suryaprakasam for the respondents.

THE LEGAL POSITION OF THE ILLEGITIMATE CHILD.

The League of Nations has just published a short study on the legal position of the illegitimate child in the principal countries of the world, 15[illegible] pages; Price 4/- $1.00.

The study comes at an opportune moment, as the progress achieved in this field of social legislation during the last few years has led to a change in public opinion on the illegitimate child, which is being regarded more and more as the innocent victim of the irregular position of its parents. It is being granted certain rights bringing its position more into line with that of the legitimate child, or in the absence of such rights social measures are being enacted to improve its position.

The study opens with a short historical survey of the social aspects of the legislation on the subject in various countries. This is followed by an analysis of the various legislative provisions on the following points: civil status of the illegitimate child; [illegible] name, membership of certain communities, nationality and legal domicile; special measures to prevent disclosure of illegitimacy in official documents; re-establishment of the legitimate status of the child; inheritance rights of the illegitimate child.

The fate of the illegitimate child is closely bound up with that of its mother, though any social order founded on the conception of monogamous marriage imposes heavier penalties upon the unmarried mother than upon her child. No study of the legal position of the illegitimate child would be complete, however, without a chapter on the unmarried mother's rights including her right to maintenance.

The last part of the volume deals with social insurance laws (which, in many countries, are definitely favourable to illegitimate children) and with special social welfare measures, including public assistance and preventive health measures.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* **Bombay.**

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* **Madras.**

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ah...
Dhulia (District W... Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „)
Nandurbar („ „)
Shirpur („ „)
Shahada („ „)
Sakri („ „)
Sindkheda („ „)
Taloda („ „)
Malegaon (District N...
Satara („ „)
Kalwan („ „)
Dohad (District Pan... Mah...
Kalol

DIRECTORS'

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad. Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mensana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co., Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I.; (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4

Half Yearly Rs. 2-4

Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE

SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.

NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.

The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports.
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon.
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to :—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:- KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 12, 1939 No. 50

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Temple Entry Legislation.
The Politician and the Reformer.
Panicky Orders.
Listing Permit-Holders.
Germany and Islam.
Britain and the Far East.
Parsis and Prohibition.
Mr. Jinnah's Fallacies.
Crown Police.
Teachers and Politics—I.
Eastern Industrialisation.
Social Disorganisation in India—II.
The League of Nations and Social Standards.
The Aryas in Hyderabad.
Journalists Association of India.
Silent Films for India?

NOTES.

Temple Entry Legislation:—The first Province to undertake legislation for removing the legal difficulties in the way of members of the depressed castes worshipping in Hindu temples, was Bombay. The Temple Entry Act enabled trustees of temples to open them to these castes after obtaining the sanction of a judicial authority. The rules framed by the Bombay High Court for this purpose were printed in last week's *Reformer*. The Madras Legislature some time later passed a law applicable only to the Malabar district authorising trustees of temples to admit antyajas if, on a plebiscite of the worshippers, a majority was found to be in favour of the reform. Following on the Indemnity Ordinance to protect the promoters of the Madura coup, the Madras Government brought in and have carried through both Houses of the Provincial Legislature, a Bill empowering trustees with the permission of Government to throw open their temples to antyajas. They are not required to ascertain by a plebiscite the wishes of the worshippers and they are not required to obtain the sanction of a judicial authority before adopting the reform. These two omissions met with sharp criticism in both Houses. Mr. T. T. Krishnamacharya in the Assembly subjected the Bill to a critical analysis and ended on an impassioned note warning Government that if, as a consequence of the Bill, there were any outbreaks on the part of the orthodox, their blood would be upon the head of Government. In the Legislative Council the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry made a moving speech adjuring Government to move slowly in consideration of deep-rooted conservative sentiments. Mr. Sastry declared his sympathy with the object of the Bill. Differing from his friends, he said, he supported the use of the Ordinance-making power of the Governor by a popular Government, pointing out at the same time that indemnity acts were always passed to protect officials in the discharge of their functions, whereas in this case it was to protect private individuals who had, without the authority or the knowledge of the Government, incurred the pains and penalties of the law. Mr. Sastry urged that the agony that would be caused to thousands of men and women who believed in the established order, would be disproportionately in excess of the satisfaction which would be felt by the excluded castes by their admission to temples. He pleaded that the sentiment in favour of the reform should be allowed time to permeate the minds of the conservatives.

The Politician and the Reformer:—Hindus have shown themselves during the last fifty years that they are not blindly opposed to change and that all that they want is that those who believe in reform, should by their personal example prove to the satisfaction of the community that the reforms they advocate are wholesome and will inure to the benefit of society and will not prove to be detrimental to basic ideas of Hindu social and family life. Most of the reforms which were bitterly opposed fifty years ago, as will be found in the pages of the *Reformer* which begins its fiftieth year next month, have come to be accepted as a matter of course. The same method of example and persuasion will bring about the removal of untouchability. Here it may be pointed out that removal of untouchability will be real only when there are no castes regarded as untouchable; whereas the methods of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the Congress are calculated to perpetuate the evil institution by according statutory recognition to the existence of a class of Harijans. The Madras Prime Minister rightly observed in his speech in the Legislative Council that the movement for the removal of untouchability was an ancient one. Gautama Buddha, Shankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, the medieval saints, and modern reformers, have all worked for this reform. No Hindu who knows anything of his religious philosophy can justify the continuation of this evil institution. It is today a survival which is without any roots in the moral and spiritual soil of Hindu society. Political and nationalist ideas have further shaken its structure. Social reform should begin in the home; leaders should set the example in their own lives. Mr. Rajagopalacharya admitted that there

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were many in the Congress who were not wholeheartedly in favour of his Bill. It is a curious fact that while Congress Governments are ready to resort to legislation for temple entry and total abstinence, they fight shy of demanding pledges from their party members that they would not drink and that they would in their personal lives deal with antyajas on the same terms as with other Hindus and non-Hindus. Radical reform in temple worship is a long-felt need. They must come from men filled with zeal for religion like the medieval saints of India and not from politicians. The best that politicians can do is to abstain from creating obstacles in the way of reformers by hasty and ill-considered attempts to force the pace.

Panicky Orders :—The Government of Bombay withdrew their orders of August 1, imposing curfew and other restrictions on the movements of citizens when they had been in force for hardly a week and that gagging five local newspapers after nine days. The reason given was that there had been no trouble in the interval. As a matter of fact there was no probability of any trouble. The Muslim procession was avowedly a demonstration on behalf of houseowners, the most law-abiding class in every community, against the 1) per cent sur-tax on immoveable property. At its head marched one of the five Indian Baronets, the only Muslim holding that dignity. The leaders had publicly stated that they were not opposed to Prohibition. We suspect that their real purpose in getting up the demonstration was to prevent the Muslims from swelling the Government pro-Prohibition crowds on that day. If this surmise is correct, the object was not altogether ill-conceived. The action of Government was almost entirely due to their own loss of nerve owing, no doubt, to the strain of the excitement into which they had worked themselves up on account of Prohibition. Credit has been claimed for the trouble having been suppressed in a single day. If our diagnosis is correct, there would have been no trouble at all if the authorities had acted with ordinary circumspection. The first duty of a government is, of course, to govern but, it is also true, to quote a famous saying of Cavour's, that any fool can govern a country in a state of siege. The incident, however, has not been without some use. It has thrown into high relief the utter demoralisation in the ranks of journalists, which was evidenced by the rejection of the draft resolution which we print elsewhere, by a majority of the Executive Council of the Journalists' Association last week. Two arguments were advanced by the members who opposed the resolution: that the Association existed for the object of advancing the interests of its members and that, as the ban on the papers was imposed by a popular Government, it should not be condemned. On both points the opposition was wrong. Foremost among the interests of journalism is its right of freedom within the ordinary law. This has always been accepted as a cardinal tenet of journalistic associations the world over. As for the second reason, if it be sound, there should be no inclusion of freedom of the Press among the fundamental civil rights embodied in democratic constitutions. The draft resolution, it will be seen, was temperately worded. Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code under which the ban was imposed has never in our recollection been used against newspapers. Only last year the Government of Bombay repealed certain Emergency legislation thereby pledging itself against acts of an extra-judicial character in dealing with the Press. When the Official Secrets Act was wrongly applied against a British newspaper, the Home Secretary had to apologise and to promise that the mistake would not be repeated. We trust some member of the provincial Legislature will move in this important matter and that the Home Minister will have the grace to apologise for his precipitancy.

Listing Permit-Holders :—The Bombay Government issued to the press on August 4, the names of the first 175 Indian men and women who had applied for and had received permits for the use of liquor on account of their health. For reasons best known to them, the local dailies with one notable exception omitted to share their information with the public. It is likely that the newspapers considered such publication to be in bad taste. Fortunately the *Bombay Sentinel* did not share this peculiar squeamishness. For obvious reasons it is necessary that the names of those who are in possession of permits, should be available to the public. The Government had two methods open to it. It could, like the Police in the matter of motor registration, have kept a list of permit-holders at the office of the Prohibition Board and charged a small fee for every reference to it. Or it could, as it has now done, have released the names to the press. The second method has much to commend it. The licence-holder, for one thing, has not to prove his *bona fides* at every party he attends. In commenting on the attitude of Government House we remarked on the difficulties of arranging exclusive permit-holders' parties. This publication to a certain extent removes that problem not only for Government House but for all private permit-holders as well. Then, again, a dealer will know exactly where he stands. A permit-holder who holds his permit by reason of his health needs, must necessarily have been in the habit of imbibing his stuff regularly in the past. To do this he must have got his drink from a particular dealer. The dealer will, as he scans the published list, recognise his old customer, and note that the client will not be lost to him. We trust that after the list of Indian men and women, the public will also be told of the non-Indians who have received permits. The names already given must surprise many persons. Whilst the small number

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of permits seems to indicate a certain strictness in the issue of these personal concessions, the fact that some of the names recur twice in the list rouse the suspicion that some persons might have received two permits by mistake. On the other hand, the friends of many a permit-holder will learn with a certain anxiety of the health of the man or woman. The correspondent who in his letter to the local press accuses the Bombay Government of using Bolshevik methods in publishing the names of Indian permit-holders, makes two mistakes in his brief communication. The first one is his assumption that these men and women are opponents of Prohibition in principle. It is true that no European permit-holder can be a Prohibitionist. But this does not necessarily hold good of Indian permit-holders. It is possible but not necessary that a man's health and his convictions might lead him the same way. You cannot blame a man for his health. The second mistake lies in the comparison to Bolshevism. There seems not even the remotest connection between the two.

Germany and Islam :—About thirty years ago European writers on the Far East frequently remarked that the only factor which would make either China or Japan Christian, was a vague impression that the support of European powers would naturally be received by any Asiatic Christian nation. With a view to enabling them the better to adapt themselves to conditions in South America, the Japanese Government "converted" colonists to Brazil to Christianity before sending them out. No one could have dreamt that any Western power would reverse the process. Yet Mr. Elwyn James in "The Attack from Within," a recent Penguin Special, tells us of Nazi Germany's approach to Islam. "While synagogues have been burned in Germany, a mosque has been built in the heart of Berlin, where Muslims may perform their devotions... Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry professes to discover a number of points common to the Nazi creed of the sword and the teachings of the Prophet Mohammed. Not only has a school been opened in Berlin, where Muslim students are given free education and board; it has been decided to 'convert' 25,000 Nazis to Mohammedanism.....They will be sent into various Moslem countries as trade and political missionaries."

Britain and the Far East :—The British Prime Minister made a remarkable statement in the House of Commons before Parliament adjourned for its summer holiday. He said that his blood boiled at the humiliation to which British nationals were subjected by the Japanese at Tientsin but that, in view of their many commitments in Europe, the British Government were unable to protect the victims or to take effective action against the Japanese. That a British Premier should speak in such a strain has caused surprise in circles which have not understood the deeper significance of the speech. Mr. Neville Chamberlain was stressing the impotence of Britain in the Far East in order to impress on his people the importance of coming to a settlement with the European countries with whom they had differences as soon as possible, if they wanted to vindicate British prestige in Asia. The Japanese authorities have understood this and are pressing for a closer alliance with Germany and Italy. It will be imprudent on the part of Japan to rely too much on her European allies. Although for the time being, they are willing to make use of her as a counter-weight against the democratic Powers ranged against them, the moment they see their opportunity to come to terms with Great Britain, they will abandon her without a qualm and even side with Britain and the United States to extinguish their only Asiatic rival and competitor. Japan's interests lie in making a just and honourable peace with China as soon as possible. The two nations together can do much for the redemption of Asia. The Chinese too should give up their supercilious attitude to Japan as an upstart nation and learn from her the secret of material and military organization which has made her what she is today.

Parsis and Prohibition :—"A letter to the *Times*" is the Englishman's traditional means of ventilating his grievances. The importance of a letter in the *Times* arises to some extent from the fact that that newspaper is supposed to print only such letters as merit serious attention, either because of the importance of their writers or of the gravity of the questions with which they deal. Neither ground can be pleaded in justification of the publication of a letter in which Mr. N. M. Dumasia represents the Congress Party in this country as being inspired by sentiments of implacable hostility to the Parsi community in making Prohibition the main plank of its platform and adopting measures to enforce it in the Provinces under Congress Governments. The average British reader of newspapers is very ignorant of Indian conditions. But even he, we think, would perceive the absurdity of ascribing hostility to Parsis who are nearly all concentrated in Bombay, as inspiring a policy which covers practically the whole of the country. Parsi leaders and writers have done a great wrong to their community by making it appear that its prosperity is largely the outcome of the trade in liquor. The Beerage in England is not held in very high esteem. The extent to which it has penetrated the British Peerage has brought the latter into disrepute. The Prohibition policy of the Congress is the feature which has given it a high position among the world's social service agencies. To represent Parsis as the principal opponents of it, is not calculated to raise that community in the estimation of the world. If one of their leaders asks an English friend to tell him candidly what he thinks of the display of the Union Jack at anti-Prohibition demonstrations, it is ten to one that the reply might startle the questioner.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, August 12, 1939.

MR. JINNAH'S FALLACIES.

In the course of an address to the Ismail College Students Union last Sunday Mr. Jinnah declared that in his view there was no such thing as democracy in any part of the world today. We would go further: there has been never such a thing at any time past and there never will be in the future, in Lincoln's sense of "government of the people, by the people, for the people." Democracy is and will always be an ideal, an aspiration. Government of the people by the people, has no meaning. Government implies a dualism with the rulers and the ruled as two distinct categories. The monism of the rulers and ruled as identical, is a metaphysical concept and not a political one. Government by the people for the people, likewise confuses the subject and object. Government of the people for the people, on the other hand, is a real political concept and the only one. It is also the concept pervading the political philosophy of India. Lincoln's definition should be amended to run, Government of the people, by some of the people, for all the people. There should be government first: law and order should be maintained. This can only be done and has always been done by some people who have worked their way up to power by force of character or have got themselves elected to it by the arts of electioneering. In the first case, the government is known as an autocracy or oligarchy; in the second case it is called democracy. In both cases the rulers have to command a certain modicum of popular support. Only the methods by which it is secured and retained differ. We have a vivid illustration of the realities as distinguished from the illusions of democracy in the conflict now raging between the President and the Congress of the United States of America, both elected by universal suffrage. The same conflict exists in Great Britain today in a veiled form. The Cabinet for the time being has complete control of the machine just as much as an oligarchy which in fact it is, or an autocracy.

Mr. Jinnah repudiated the claim of the Indian National Congress to style itself a democracy. As a matter of fact, the Congress has, to all intents and purposes, given up doing so since it took office in the provinces. No secret is made of the fact that Ministers have mainly to carry out the wishes of Gandhiji and the Parliamentary Board. We have not yet found a suitable word to apply to the system which the Congress has evolved for its own constitution. Its main underlying principle seems to be that Power and Responsibility should not be vested in the same persons. This is worse than autocracy where the autocrat holds both Power and Responsibility in his own hands. Here, the Ministers get all the kicks: the High Command gets all the credit. What is true of the Congress organisation is also of the Muslim League—in fact more so. The Congress at least goes through the formality of electing a President every year: the Muslim League has Mr. Jinnah for its permanent and perpetual President. The Muslim League has no Parliamentary Board. But there is no Muslim League Government in any province for the simple reason that only a Muslim can belong to the Muslim League and no Government can last for a day even in the provinces where the Muslims form a majority in the Legislature, unless it has one or more non-muslim Ministers. Moreover there are only two provinces which have stable Muslim majorities. A Parliamentary Board of two would be like the poodle of which it will be difficult to see which was the head and which the tail.

In view of his general proposition that there is no democracy anywhere in the world, his opinion that democracy is not suited to India loses all its sting. But what does Mr. Jinnah mean by democracy? Evidently he means something, otherwise he would not deny its existence nor would he declare that it is unsuitable to India. Whatever he means, however, can not be democracy. He can not think of the people of India except as Hindus and Muslims—the others do not count in his calculations—which is fundamentally irreconcilable with the democratic idea. In a striking article in the July number of *Foreign Affairs*, Mr. Andre Siegfried writes of "The French Democratic Tradition." A hundred and fifty years have passed since the principles of the French Revolution were enunciated in the "Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen." The principles of the French Revolution inspired and influenced political movements in all countries thereafter. But in no country has the democratic ideal been accepted in the same sense as in France. English democracy is for Englishmen alone. "Can one be sure that there is democracy in England?" asks this French writer. In the United States there is a truer sense of equality between man and man but it is limited to white men. If Mr. Jinnah has a democracy, it is limited to Muslims. The universality of the true democratic tradition which disregards all distinctions of caste, colour, creed, does not belong to it. "Muslims and Hindus," he is reported to have said, "were poles apart in faith, education, culture and philosophy. They were two distinct races or nationalities." It is the simple historical fact that 90 per cent of Indian Muslims are racially identical with the rest of the population. Conversion from one faith to another does not effect a change in racial characteristics. On the contrary, race has powerfully influenced religion. Indian Islam has many characteristics not possessed and not recognised by Islam in Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia, Iraq or Egypt. Mere

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

assertions will not alter historical and ethnological facts. Hindu and Muslim philosophy in its higher reaches tend towards the same monistic goal. Mr. Jinnah is a Sindhi and he ought to know this, as Sind is the classic land where Hindu and Muslim mysticism met and joined hands, and where the effect of this union is still not extinct. As regards the popular religion, there is much in common between the Hindu and Mahomedan. If there is one doctrine of Hinduism which is most repugnant to the stern monotheism of Islam, it is that of Avatar or Incarnation relating to the descent of Deity on Earth to help and comfort humanity in its darkest hour of distress. Yet this doctrine is fundamental to more than one important sect of Indian Muslims. We do not think that Mr. Jinnah knowingly misrepresents facts. But it is obvious that he is very ignorant of the actual conditions prevailing in the country. We are not concerned to answer his challenge to the Congress. We are concerned only to correct his flagrantly incorrect asseverations about the differences between Hindus and Muslims. No one who is unable to see that the differences between them are superficial, and have been and can be overcome by a judicious leadership, is entitled to speak as a national leader. Mr. Jinnah, we are sorry to say, is not making any contribution to the great task of promoting good relations between Indian communities.

Crown Police:—The neglect or refusal of some provincial Governments to discountenance the organization of subversive movements against Indian States in their areas, is to be followed by the establishment of what will be known as the Crown Police under the control and to be paid out of the budget of the Crown Representative to carry out his obligations to the Indian States. What the relations of this new Force will be with the Provincial Police, remains to be seen. The Government of India, the Madras Prime Minister announced in the Provincial Legislative Assembly, has refused to agree to his suggestion to abolish their special Information Department, representatives of which are posted in the Provinces. They work ordinarily in co-operation with the Provincial Police but are not under the control of the Provincial Government. In regard to the appointment of the Agent of the Government of India in Burma, the Government of India has not accepted the recommendation of the Madras Government. Any one of these incidents can be made a major issue between the Congress and the Government of India if the former were in a mind to do so. That this has not been done shows that the Congress has shed some of its early aggressiveness and that the Government of India has correspondingly regained its liberty of action in matters in dispute with Provincial governments.

TEACHERS AND POLITICS—I.

(By the Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri)

One of the corner-stones upon which the educational edifice has been constructed is the grant-in-aid system. This was first promulgated in 1854 in the famous Despatch of Sir Charles Wood, which has now come to be called the Magna Carta of Indian Education. It laid down for the first time the lines upon which grants were to be given to those that laboured in the field of education. Those principles have upon the whole justified themselves. It is not difficult to see upon what grounds this system has been so highly recommended and consistently practised. In the first place, it is a great financial saving to Government that instead of maintaining public institutions wholly from their own funds they should be able to attain their object by merely aiding private effort in the field. In the second place, it is the only means in this poor country of obtaining a wide spread of education of all kinds. In the third place, it ensures a certain variety of educational work and prevents the whole of our education being cast in one iron mould, the Government mould. which is not always the best. Then you also have the possibility, wherever managers should like it, of introducing a system of religious education to the pupils. Government has to be strictly neutral in this respect, and in all schools under public management education is purely secular. Aided education, however, need not be under that disability. The last consideration that I will mention in favour of the grant-in-aid system is that it affords the people a certain amount of training in practical citizenship. They learn to combine their resources, and this is the foundation of common citizenship.

These principles were not always loyally or uniformly worked out by the Governments in India. In 1881 an educational commission was appointed mainly for the purpose of determining how far the principles of this Despatch were kept in view by the various Governmental agencies in the country. Sir William Wilson Hunter was the Chairman of the Commission and his report is considered to be one of the most weighty documents in the history of our education. The first point that they took up was that the Governments in the country should consider it their primary business to aid and develop aided education as far as possible:

> The rules should therefore be such as to make it clear that *to evoke, guide and strengthen private effort is the object to which the main attention of the Department should always be* given.

Then they recommended that the managers of these aided institutions should be consulted periodically by the Government officials in all important matters, a counsel which it cannot be said they have always respected. As a means of carrying out this great object they suggested that the Department should hold conferences periodically, first of their own officers, and occasionally of their own officials and managers of aided schools together. Now by these various conferences it was hoped that there would be a complete understanding and constant co-operation between Government on the one hand and the managers of aided education on the other. This happy consummation, however, was not always attained. The two parties pulled different ways. The Government, bureaucratically-minded as it was in those early days, refused to admit managers to the footing of complete co-operation and confidence which the framers of the Despatch of 1854 and the Hunter Commission envisaged. Conflicts constantly arose and Government dropped the habit of calling these conferences.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

On the 31st of October 1899, the educational world was started by the publication in the Gazette of a considerable body of modifications of all kinds made both in the educational rules and the grant-in-aid code. The managers had been kept in complete ignorance and they were taken unawares. Now amongst the changes proposed there was one which took away from teachers the opportunity that they had theretofore enjoyed of taking part in political movements in the country. Not only were teachers forbidden, but the managers of aided schools also came under the ban.

At once there was an agitation of unprecedented magnitude. In this agitation which was spread throughout the Presidency and in which all people took part, members of the general public as well as the teachers and the managers who had been disabled, the Madras Teachers' Guild took the lead. The Guild was then fresh and was afforded a big opportunity of proving its youthful vigour. When we applied to be received in deputation the application was readily granted. Sir Arthur Havelock was the Governor, and we were an influential deputation. I was the youngest member of it and I happen to be the sole survivor. The principal member of the deputation was Dr. Miller; our spokesman was Rev. Kellett and we also had amongst us Rev. Pittendrigh, Rev. Macphail, Rev. Cooling, Mr. Lakshminarasu Naidu, Mr. K. B. Ramanathan and myself. We were received courteously and listened to patiently.

Now the result was that Government shook in their position and instructed the Director of Public Instruction at once to hold a conference. Accordingly an influential conference was held and the whole body of these changes came in for thorough review.

I must now quote the offending rules:

Managers should sign a declaration that neither they nor their teachers would take part either directly or indirectly in political movements or agitation, and that they would not attend political meetings without the previous consent of the Director-

No member of the staff or establishment of an institution under public management shall be permitted to take part either directly or indirectly in political movements or agitation or to attend a political meeting where the fact of his presence would be likely to be misconstrued or to impair his usefulness as a public servant.

The second clause is meant to apply to Government teachers and to teachers in Municipal and Board Schools.

As a result of the discussions at the Conference the rules were greatly modified. The fangs were drawn from them as it were, and, as they were subsequently re-published, they appeared comparatively innocuous. They held the ground for a great many years. There were slight changes now and then, and in their last form I find they were divided into rules for Colleges and rules for Schools. They were highly elaborated. The substance, however, is to be found in these two rules:

No Manager or member of the staff or establishment shall be permitted to take part in political agitation directed against the authority of Government, or inculcate opinions tending to excite feeling of political disloyalty or disaffection; and the pupils should not be permitted to attend political meetings or engage in any form of political agitation.

In the event of such misconduct being practised in and encouraged or permitted by the masters or managing authorities, the Director may, after due warning, withdraw recognition from the offending school or withdraw the grant-in-aid or withhold the privilege of competing for Government scholarships or of receiving Government scholars.

When the Congress Government came into power they apparently judged these rules too drastic, and in May 1938—*i. e.* little over a year ago—the Congress Government published a set of rules to supersede these. To the credit of the Congress Government these new rules greatly simplified matters. They also struck off the fetters in respect of political activity from managers and teachers and enlarged the status of students. Students were, under the old regulations, forbidden altogether to participate in any kind of political activity. We must be grateful to the Congress Government for the improvement, and I shall be the first to give them a sufficient meed of praise.

The first rule is: "No School or College should be barred against any one convicted of any offence whatsoever." That is to enable young students who, being misled by people who ought to know better, get into scrapes and may be convicted of sedition or other offence. Obviously it is not desirable that such young people should be prevented from reforming their lives. It was to help them that this rule was framed.

The second rule is: "Students of Schools and Colleges should abstain from active participation in party or communal politics." Apparently Congress considered it desirable that, when politics were of an anti-imperial kind, students should have liberty to participate. There is no rule about Managers and none whatever about teachers taking part in politics so that, according to these rules, the restrictions upon the liberties of Managers and teachers are removed.

Unfortunately in June, 1939, certain rules were introduced into the grant-in-aid code to which I am unable to give the same praise as to the rules of 1938. I almost think that the Congress Government repented of their original generosity to the teaching profession. Anyhow they now reintroduce into the educational law of the country a certain disability from the point of view of the future welfare and dignity of the profession.

A member of the teaching staff or other establishment employed as a whole-time or part-time servant, whether salaried or not, in a school or college which receives aid from Government, shall not stand as a candidate or interfere, or use his influencce in any way, or do anything in aid or in obstruction of any candidate, in an election to a legislative body constituted under the Government of India Act or under the Government of India Act 1935, or the local authority; nor shall he take part in, or subscribe in aid of, any electioneering party organisation.

Provided that, if he is qualified to vote at such an election he may exercise his right to vote, but shall as far as possible avoid giving any indication of the manner in which he proposes to exercise, or has exercised, that right.

The Manager of a school may be required by the Director of Public Instruction to dispense with the services of any member of the teaching staff or other establishment employed in the school who contravenes with the provisions of this rule; failure of the Manager to comply with such requisition shall render the school liable to forfeiture of Government grant.

If unlike the bureaucratic Government the Congress had established the practice of consulting the teachers or the managers before they were dealt with, they would then have discovered that the teachers were a non-offending class as a whole. I wonder whether you have seen any people of this class standing as candidates at big elections. They are generally speaking, without the necessary courage, the necessary self-confidence and the necessary money. This is a privilege which we have appreciated and enjoyed but have not used.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EASTERN INDUSTRIALISATION.

(By V. G. Ramakrishnan, Annamalai University).

By Eastern industrialisation is meant the industrial changes that are now taking place in the Eastern countries like Japan, India, China, etc This process of industrialisation is already beginning to tell upon the economy of the countries of the West. There are some aspects of Eastern industrialisation—the geographical position of the countries concerned, effects of climate and topography, transportation facilities, power resources, available stock of raw materials, etc. But much more fundamental to the countries of the West is the social setting in which the industrialisation of the Eastern countries is taking place, *viz.*, the crowding upon the land of a dense and increasing agricultural population with small holdings so that the mass of the people live very close to the margin of subsistence. This factor of population to area is the basic economic fact of the East and a fundamental contrast between East and West. It explains the low standard of living, the low level of wages. The dense population predominantly engaged in agriculture, provides a background for industrialisation very different from the West. In the major European countries there has been less crowding on the land and more economic opportunity in the form of expanding foreign commerce. For example, in the U. S. A. industrialisation has occurred in the midst of material plenty and comparative labour scarcity.

In the Oriental countries, industrialisation is taking place in the presence of a great expanding reservoir of potential labour. Agricultural land is is overcrowded and the gradient of the population is away from and not towards the farm. The possibilities of emigration are limited. Being kept on the land for lack of economic opportunity, the increasing numbers have pushed the standard of living lower and lower. The outlet now provided by industrialisation draws a stream of workers from the countryside by a wage which in itself is extremely low but higher than the money income expected from agriculture. The level of wages in the Eastern countries is so remote from the Western standard. But such a low level of wages does not mean necessarily sweated labour. In general, it gives a somewhat higher standard of living than the worker from the rural areas has been accustomed to.

The low standard of living is because of the low cost of living and the requirements are a minimum and the demands of the people are limited to a nourishing and economical diet, simple housing, inexpensive cotton clothing and very few non-essentials; and the eastern standard of living yields relatively a high return in human comfort and in the satisfaction of primary human needs.

If Oriental wages are expressed in terms of purchasing power, they become much more nearly comparable with Western wages. For instance, an American cotton spinner receives a money-wage about 15 times the money-wage of a Chinese spinner, and 12 times that of a Japanese spinner or 10 times that of an Indian spinner. Expressed in terms of food units the cost of worker per day is that an American spinner receives only about 4 times the amount received by the Chinese and 3 times the Japanese.

It is said that the Oriental wage level is low but Oriental labour constitutes no threat because of its many deficiencies — its agricultural background for many centuries, the attachment of the Oriental population to the land, and the village. It turns to the city and to industry reluctantly. Recruiting has been necessary to provide the labour for factories. The labour turnover is high and continued replacement of the workers is necessary, since they are likely after a year or two in the factory to return to their villages. Such labour is unskilled in the use of machinery and with the constant shifting, adequate training becomes a difficult problem. The agricultural background has also given labour a peasant outlook — not exactly a lack of ambition, but a slow deliberate movement in keeping with the labour demands on a holding of land too small to keep a farmer fully occupied. Labour accepts long hours but it does not take to the tempo, the close application of continuous attention demanded in a machinery economy, and is, therefore, not efficient in the same sense as European factory labour. Many more workers are required for a given operation--*e.g.* in the Indian Jute and Cotton Mills, it is impossible to keep the workers in close attendance at their machines. They wander about and a group is always to be found in a courtyard smoking and talking and, unless the management has made provision for such conditions by adding workers beyond the actual minimum required, the machines are idle and they are rattling on unattended. But in Japan with increasing industrial maturity, Japanese standards approach the standards of the West. Because of inefficiency and the lack of training, comparative labour costs, *i. e.*, the amount of labour required to produce a unit of goods, are higher in the Orient than in the Western industrial countries. For example, an Indian spinner will tend only 100 to 200 spindles; a Chinese 200 to 400 spindles, a Japanese from 400 to 800 spindles; and an American 1,000 to 2,700 spindles. In the weaving sheds in India, the usual practice is one man to one loom; a Chinese weaver will operate 2 to 4 looms; a Japanese about 6 looms; and an American 4 to 12 non-automatic looms. Similar differences exist in other factory industries, and in mining. As long as Oriental labour is untrained, inefficient and poorly disciplined, it is not cheap labour despite the low wages. So much more labour is required per unit of product that labour costs one relatively high.

But it is a mistake to assume that the deficiencies of Oriental labour are permanent. They are the marks of the agricultural roots of the workers and they can all be changed and they are being changed. The labour can be trained; its efficiency can be increased; the industrial population is becoming more stable; management is becoming more effective. In the Eastern countries there are many factors much more efficient, particularly in Japan. Japanese efficiency was sometime ago on a par with that of China but now in a comparatively brief period of industrialisation amazing improvements in manufacturing effectiveness have been accomplished through more familiarity with machine industry, adequate training discipline of labour and better organisation within the plants. The striking improvements in the efficiency of Japanese labour have been accomplished with no advance in the wage level. In fact owing to the stream of labour into Japanese industry, the trend of wages has been downward. But the downward trend may not last long. The standard of living in the East may be efficient but it is not very elastic. Organisation of labour may bring this about. There is much more discontent among the rural classes in the Eastern countries than among the industrial population though it is not very articulate. The margin of subsistence is pushed so closely that by-occupations are essential. There is spare time. This surplus time could be turned to good account

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is this surplus and idle labour of the farm that is the basis of Gandhi's movement for hand spinning in India. Before the entrance of Western goods, each Oriental country tended to be self-sufficient for the staple goods consumed by the farmers and the villagers. With the spread of cheap machine-made goods the competition for village industries has become severe. As each by-occupation or handicraft industry declines, the poverty of the rural area is intensified.

If Eastern industrialisation proceeds apace, as it is doing now, in the first stage, these countries have to displace their chief direct labour with indirect labour in the form of equipment that, in the beginning at least, must be brought from the West. In such circumstances the Orient is making use of the indirect costs of countries with higher wage levels and must add also the cost of transporting the equipment from Europe or America and the expense of repairs. In the second stage of industrialisation, however,—the manufacture of machinery in the Oriental countries—the gain to the Oriental becomes apparent. The industries then have both cheap indirect and cheap direct labour. Japan has reached that stage to a considerable degree. A few years ago, Japanese industries were mainly producers of consumers' goods and the equipment for Japanese factories was imported from the U. S. A., Germany, Great Britain or Sweden. Today it is made in Japan. And this fact is one main reason why Japan is now able to flood the world markets with low priced cotton textiles. Not only do the Japanese textile mills enjoy low wages but their capital charges in plant and equipment are low. There remains one major aspect of Eastern industrialisation. Will not the further introduction of machinery into a crowded population organised on a handicraft economy create a problem of labour displacement far more serious than any technological unemployment experienced by the West? Evidence points to the continued increase of the population in India, China and Japan. It is not likely that any substantial part of the increase can be absorbed in agriculture, since holdings are already too small. And there is comparatively little unused land to be reclaimed. Moreover there are indications that the food supply of the Orient will be produced by fewer workers than at present. Crop yields are being improved by seed selection and by better methods of cultivation. Emigration provides no relief. Manufacturing industry remains the one promising outlet for the population. It may be taken for granted that once begun, industrialisation will continue and the rate of development will accelerate.

To reconcile an increasing labour supply and a progressive reduction of relative labour through the use of machinery, three possibilities present themselves:

(1) There will be a growth of the consumers' goods industries in response to an increasing demand in the domestic market arising partly from the replacement of the goods formerly supplied by handicraft industries or imported abroad, and partly perhaps from increased individual purchasing power. The handicarft industries have declined and imported goods are being displaced by goods of Oriental manufacture, but any appreciable increase in purchasing power is problematical in view of the depressing effect of the population pressure upon incomes.

(2) A part of the labour will be absorbed in the development of capital goods industries to supply the machines demanded by the manufacturers of consumers' goods and now imported from the West.

(3) The labour and the machines will be used to produce goods for export as they are now being used in Japan. It is in this pressure of export [illegible] Oriental industrialisation becomes particular significant to the West.

As long as India, China and Japan were isolated or provided only raw materials or exotic products in exchange for the manufactures of the West, Western economists could argue that the low money wages and low real incomes in the Orient were not factors in international trade. When the East and the West begin to pour competitive goods into the same world markets, a direct interaction of the two distinct and widely separated standards of living and a major alteration in the course of world trade would seem inevitable.

SOCIAL DISORGANISATION IN INDIA—II.

(BY KEWAL MOTWANI, ADYAR.)

Amidst our wide-spread social disorganisation there is very little intelligently organised social welfare work. We have yet to learn how to organise our charities so as to make every rupee go the longest way. Social welfare work is a science, not a mere soft sentimentality.

Our education cannot help representing the success of the philosophy of science and machine. In the first place, most of our institutions of higher learning are located in cities, creations of science. The success of physical sciences that have come from the west has led to our indiscriminate homage to the philosophy that they represent. Consequently, the ideologies of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest have fought their way into our educational theory. There is no adjustment between education and life around us. While unemployment increases, while the village is in the process of disintegration and men herd together in cities in search of work, the universities continue to receive and send out graduates by the thousand. Meanwhile, the proportion of possible employments to the number of claimants grows narrower, and there is widespread dissatisfaction.

The number of subjects taught in our universities has certainly increased; sometimes, one feels that the syllabuses are unnecessarily overburdened. A want of idealism still clings to our educational system. Our students are compelled to develop a mania for passing examinations. They want the largest number of marks with the strictest economy of knowledge and labour. Annotations abound. There is a great emphasis on natural sciences, the social sciences are offered in a very truncated manner. There is no binding link between them, they function in isolation and without any reference to the larger realities of life. The younger generation does not leave our halls of learning sufficiently strengthened to adjust itself to the new environments created by machine and science and discharge the duties on its return to the life of the world. When every boy and girl from the village comes running and seeks admission to the college and the university, the professors must be overworked. The emphasis is on quantity, all along the line. There can be neither creative study on the part of the students, nor efficient teaching on the part of the professors, since both must work under pressure and for a set purpose, which is to eke out a living.

The philosophy of science and machine is conflict, and the relationship between the teacher and the student is based on conflict. The teacher can no longer be considered as one who imparts knowledge and should, therefore, be reverenced; and the student is no more a candidate for wisdom. Both become cogs in the machine, the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

former to earn a living, the latter to pass examinations and get out. The students have learnt to go on strike in exactly the same manner as do the industrial workers in the factories and the mills. There is a continuous friction between the teacher and the taught. The students demand dismissal of teachers and officials whose lives have been dedicated to India's service for decades. There is not a day that we do not come across a report of some school or college strike or leakage of examination papers, which is only another form of sabotage. This is a sad commentary indeed on a country whose educational ideals and institutions have been models for imitation by other civilisations of early times.

The commercialised entertainment, the movie, the radio and the race course surround our young men and women in our cities; it is only natural that there should be a craving for sensation. False ideals of "getting rich quick" dominate the minds of the students; wealth has become the criterion of appraising the greatness of individuals. The seeds for scramble for worldly goods are sown in the early school and college days of our students. Our younger generation is no longer prepared to accept the social and religious controls which the older has known, the link between the past and the present is being quickly broken. Sex is already rearing its threatening head and becoming a major problem in our educational institutions. In a situation such as this, it is only natural that our higher educational system should come in for a good deal of criticism and the demand for its over-hauling become insistent.

When we come to the political scene, the effects of conflict with the western-culture assume alarming proportions. Democracy, a child of science and machine, is being transplanted in India, with all its futilities. We, like the west, are beginning to believe in the hallucination of numbers. We must have large electorates, legislatures with large numbers of representatives. Whether these representatives attend the sessions regularly or not, look upon their tasks as grave responsibilities, and whether they have the brains to understand fully and appreciate the significance of the complex problems of a changing social order is another matter. We judge the strength of our political organisations by their size. Quantity reigns supreme; quality is at a discount. It is the mob psychology that prevails. Those who wear a particular kind of head-gear or have been to jail for a few months, have earned the right to sit in the deliberative assemblies of a nation that prides itself on placing brahman, man of the wisdom, above the heads of the "madding crowd." Our National Congress has a tremendous task before it if it only realised its significance.

The modern technique of propaganda is throwing out into the limelight a new type of leader who is very much like the political boss of the west. With the printing press and the platform at his disposal, he exploits the enthusiasm of the masses under the mark of patriotism. Self-interest, not service of the people, is what counts. We have developed a plethora of parties, and our politicians are picking up the art of lobbying and jobbery. In one province alone, there are no less than nine political parties. These are the offspring of industrialism, of machine and science.

We have a hoard of contending political ideologies, fighting for mastery; socialism, syndicalism, bolshevism, fascism and the rest. The meredian of international politics may shift from Madrid to Moscow, from Munich to Tokyo, but we follow it with close attention. We have become internationally minded, and yet we are pathetically provincial.

One of the most interesting fields for study of the effects of the new culture of machine and science is that of inter-provincial relationships. Fate called India to a synthesis of peoples, races, religions and philosophies. People moved freely from province to province; they went on pilgrimages, made their residences far away from their homes. This free mingling was further augmented by railways and other mechanical devices of western culture. But by a curious twist in our psychology, we have become victims of petty provincialism, division, isolation. Our provincialism is very much analogous to the aggressive nationalism of the western nations, some of which are smaller than our districts. If the Congress High Command has been compelled to accept this balkanisation of India, it is because the philosophy of conflict and self-interest has come to stay with us. We are subverting the processes of history, and, with our limited vision, are segregating people into their respective regions. The provincial Public Service Commissions advertise widely for applications for various government posts, but they do not fail to make it clear that only residents of the province need apply. We are thus sacrificing talent for the sake of provincial preferences and nepotism. Each linguistic area of India now demands autonomy and wants to be separated from other parts. The efforts of the Government of Madras to introduce Hindi into the Province has met with considerable opposition.

When viewed as a social process, this is exactly the same thing as the western arrogant nationalism and hatred that have made Europe a shambles. Only we have no weapons to carry on the warfare, but the conflict-patterns, both in India and Europe have a family-likeness. To look upon India as a part of the world, to envisage her problems from national and international points of view is something very much different from thinking of her in terms of a community, party or province. That way lies death. The nemesis that has over-taken the mechanised west will be our fate. Mobility, spatial and social, that is migration of people from one province to the other and along the sliding scale of social status, is one of the most vital elements of social progress.

The philosophy of rights, aggressive and assertive, is a creation of mechanical civilisation. The possessed and the dispossessed are always engaged in a mutual war. We, in India, are immortalising these legal fictions in our Constitution. Duty, dharma, an intelligent adaptation to environment, with one's feet firmly fixed in the eternal verities, finds no place in our life. Our future generations, drilled in these dogmas of rights and privileges, of success at the cost of the other fellow, will rush at each other's throats as will these provinces fight with each other. The repetition of Europe's history, in a slightly different form, is not a remote possibility in India. No matter how stable our organisation or the party programme may be, the process of national disintegration can slip through and clutch at our very souls.

How can any higher feelings or spiritual values supervene when the educational institutions give no attention to the problem, when the social, economic and political institutions are based on conflict? Religion which smoothens social life, helps the individual to find his niche in the social cosmos and fulfil his dharma, which imparts enthusiasm to his efforts for human welfare, which softens the blows of fate, which enriches and expands his inner being and sustainshim in his sorrow, that religion has no place in a mechanised milieu. Money-making becomes the summum

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bonum of life, people are all the time goaded on to success. The sources of friction, however trivial, between the two major communities of India begin to multiply and there is a constant fear of general disruption. Separation, Pakistan, Jihad, are all phases of a machine-mind. We are in danger of accepting the materialistic philosophy of life and rationalistic religion of the same type and on the same scale as in the west, unless we take special care to guard ourselves from contamination. Evidences of a new materialism in India are not wanting. The modern barbarian has his habitat here as in any other part of the world.

The present social disorganisation that we witness in India is born of conflict between two cultures and has to be intelligently understood and consciously controlled. But how are we to do it?

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND SOCIAL STANDARDS.

The League of Nations has set a standard for social treatment which no authority in the world can ignore. It was with this comment that one of the experts called to assist the Advisory Committee on Social Questions summarised the work of its recent session in Geneva. With regard to some particularly difficult social problems, such as the prevention of prostitution and the position of illegitimate children, the League has done pioneer work. With regard to the general question of organisation and administration of welfare work, social assistance, vocational guidance and training for young people, the League has been able to render immense service to public authorities by collecting information and experience from different countries and providing a meeting-ground where both Government representatives and experts working in these fields may discuss their common problems.

It is a commonplace that the effects of the crisis and widespread unemployment have brought problems of social organisation to the forefront in every country. It is now no longer possible for any Government to distinguish between problems of a political order on the one hand, and those of a social nature on the other. Indeed, the main preoccupation of every Government today is to maintain a social economy and a standard of living in which every economic rank may make its best contribution to the public weal. It follows that increased attention is being given to the welfare of children, the training of young people and the provision of wholesome surroundings, both physical and social for all. The work which different League bodies are doing with regard to nutrition, housing, vocational guidance and apprenticeship is proving of immense help to Governments in their task of meeting the Governments' social challenge of the economic crisis.

The recent meeting of the Advisory Committee on Social Questions made a further contribution to social welfare when it discussed the training to be given to persons engaged in any sort of social work, and the organisation and administration of welfare work among young people. Their discussion on the first problem showed their concern that people engaged in any activity for promoting the social welfare of other members of the community should bring to their task that attitude of mind and training which will enable them to deal with the maze of questions bound up in the modern social order; questions of health and protection against disease as well as problems of conduct and personal relations within the family and the community.

The discussion brought out the observation that in general, there seems to exist a gap between social workers (those concerned primarily with problems of human relations in society), on the one hand, and, on the other, public health workers, district nurses and physicians, whose primary concern is for health and prevention of disease. Now that the care given in schools is being supplemented by the employment of school nurses and the work of social workers is being assisted by public health visitors, there is urgent need for co-ordinating these physical and social services, which together seek to minister to the needs of modern society. Social workers should have some understanding of the nature and importance of the problem with which the district nurse deals and the latter, on her part, should be given some training to help her appreciate the specially "social" approach of the trained social worker. Above all, it was emphasised that social work will not be given proper scope unless those people engaged in public administration, municipal or national, acquire during their period of training some understanding of the importance of problems of public health and social work in modern life.

The comparative study which the Advisory Committee is preparing on provisions adopted for the organisation and administration of welfare work among the young, including social assistance, is designed to assist Governments in achieving the system of welfare work and social service most apt to meet their particular needs. The study presents conclusions derived from a survey of the welfare organisations of thirteen countries. The Rapporteur, Mme Brault, a French expert on this question, drew attention to the organisation of public welfare work in Poland which illustrated, in her view, an efficient way of dealing with the many problems facing public authorities. The Polish administration was based upon the idea that the authorities are bound to go to the aid of any needy person, of whatever rank or class, as the State: their first duty was to minister to the needs of youth and childhood. The competence and work of the different ministries and public bodies responsible for public welfare was co-ordinated in such a way as to leave no gaps where need might be felt, while avoiding duplication of effort and expense. Penal administration, the rights of minors under the law, regulation of apprenticeship and entry into work, technical and professional training for young people, special teaching for young people whose lives are to be passed in agricultural districts, health, nutrition, social assistance, medical assistance, assistance for needy young people living abroad; these are some of the many problems which must be provided for in an adequate administration of public welfare.

"Iron Lungs" For Bombay:—Thirteen "Iron Lungs" have been requisitioned by the Government of Bombay for the different hospitals in the presidency from the Nuffield Institute for Medical Research in England. Five "lungs" will be utilised for the Government hospitals, and others will be distributed among the private hospitals controlling 100 beds and over. The J. J. Group of Hospitals and G. T. Hospital will have a "lung" each. The Sassoon Hospital, Poona and Civil Hospital, Ahmedabad too will have a "lung" each. Among the private hospitals, it is understood that the Parsi General Hospital, K. E. M. Hospital, Bai Jerbai Wadia Hospital, Harkisondas Hospital and Singhanee Hospital also will have a "lung." Members of the staff of the Hospital where the lung is to be installed will be trained in the use of tha "lung."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE ARYAS IN HYDERABAD.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Mr. P. V. Ratnam has replied to my letter which appeared in your issue of the 15th July 1939. I am writing this to enlighten Mr. Ratnam on some points.

I wonder if Mr. Ratnam has aquainted himself with all that has transpired during the six years preceding the launching of the satyagrah movement. No representations, as their careful perusal will show, were made "in a dictatorial and threatening spirit."

As regards the forcible removal of our flag he has conceded it at least in one case, but this does not show that other cases of the kind did not exist. I however, quote below a Government prohibiting the carrying of Om Flags.

It is an order of the Muntzim Kotwali station House Rosa, Taluqua Latur District Usmanabad, dated 21st Asfander 1347 F (23rd January 1938) No. 243 to Madho Brother, Qasba Kalare:

You have taken out a flag with boys from your house without permission of the Department concerned which is not only against *law* but in defiance of orders for which a separate explanation has been called for. In future no flag is to be taken out without permission and if the order is not obeyed you shall be challaned.

Thus despite the justice which Mr. Ratnam thinks had been done in the case of Kalyani, the restriction on the flag, as ordained by law, continues.

It will be readily conceded by Mr. Ratnam and by you too, dear Sir, that laws are not always framed for immediate use but for a possible distant emergency and then much depends upon the spirit in which these laws are executed. Mr. Ratnam says, "The insinuation that the Arya Samajists are groaning under oppression of a prejudiced Ecclesiastical Department is false. Such regulations as are existing in Hyderabad are common to all religions and are framed on the principle of safeguarding public tranquility, without discrimination." It will be, however, a revelation to your readers and Mr. Ratnam as well that there are separate rules in Hyderabad for the construction, alteration and supervision of religious houses for the Muslims. The buildings to which these rules are applicable are the following :—Mosque, Idgah, Makan Asar Sharif and Tabarrukat, (Relics of religious buildings) Monasteries, the houses of preaching, Tombs, Ashurkhanas.

The list comprehends all possible places of worship or reverence from religious point of view. They are divided into three classes : (1) Government buildings, (2) Buildings under Waqf which are or shall be inhabited, (3) The buildings which are uninhabited.

The first class of buildings are Government buildings and must needs be maintained by Government and looked after Government offcials. They can be repaired, overhauled and extended without let or hindrance and any amount of money with the permission of the Government spent on them. The remaining two classes also receive Government grants after due reports. So the rules framed for erection, extension or repair of religious places are primarily meant for the religious places of Hindus. When applications concerning Hindu temples are to be heard by the Ecclesiastical Department, which has of late come into the limelight, one can easily understand what the fate of these applications must generally be.

I said in my last letter that the restrictions which are galling are recent innovations and have been the cause of so much irritation. Mr. Ratnam has very conveniently neglected this point and taken shelter behind the plea that these regulations were framed some 40 years ago and if "census statistics are correct three decades ago the Arya Samajists barely existed in Hyderabad and there was only one Arya Mandir." Even this shows that there were Arya Samajists even before this Mandir was built more than three decades ago. It is possible, that the building of this very Mandir may have put theidea of framing these rules into the heads of thosewho did it.

But our fight is not about the past. It is about the disabilities we are now labouring under.

After enumerating all rules and regulations issued by the Ecclesiastical Department imposing restructions on the construction of new and the repair of old temples, Nishan No. 376 dated 24th Asfendar 1347F (26th January 1938) of the Ecclesiastical Code, page 395, Latest Edition, says :—"Havan Kund comes under the definition of place of worship." This is a very cunning trick that has been played. The Havan Kund, as every one knows, is not in itself a place of worship, but only an appendage for doing worship or for the performance of any religious ceremony. The house or place where people congregate for some religious purpose is the place of worship and not the Havan Kund as such. But as Havan invariably forms a part of and a prelude to all our religious ceremonies, so in bringing the Havan Kund under the category of a place of worship and placing a ban on it, the Ecclesiastical Department has very adroitly stopped the holding of religious meetings, even within buildings, which are allowed by Section (i) of Annexure IX of the Government-Paper named "Arya Samaj in Hyderabad," for the very construction of a Havan Kund will give the place the sanctity of a temple and will then need the permission of the Government (Ecclesiastical Department) for using it as such. There is another order to the same effect but coming from a higher authority and at a much later date. The Kotwal of Hyderabad writes *inter alia* to the Secretary, Arya Samaj, Hyderabad on 21st April 1939 : "If you construct a pucca Havan Kund in your Samaj which makes it a permanent temple you should obtain permission for it as early as possible but if it is temporary then there is no objection." I may here add that a Samaj temple can also be without a pucca Havan Kund as they invariably are on hill stations.

I have said this much about the flag and the construction of temples. But there are other graver things. The reforms announce "that the existing rules in regard to public meetings (requiring previous permission for holding such meetings) may be repealed" but you will be surprised to know that though socialists, even communists, will be free to hold public meetings anywhere without permission, no religious meeting will be allowed to be held in the open. In British India restrictions, if any, are laid on meetings of a political character and not on religious meetings but in Hyderabad the case is quite different. Here religious meetings are more to be dreaded than political meetings of howscever subversive a character they might be. There is also, as the reforms claim, no freedom for the formation of religious associations particularly Arya Samajes.

Are not these facts enough to prove to even as ardent advocate of the Nizam's Government an Mr. Ratnam seems to be, that the Hindus in Hyderabad who number 88% and who fill the Government treasury are groaning under a step-motherly treatment which has now become unbearable even for their patient and resigning nature?

Delhi,
July 31, 1939.

Yours etc.,
RAM PRASAD

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

II

The resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the International Aryan League in connection with the discontinuance of the Hyderabad *Satyagraha* movement read:—

(1) In view of the *communique* issued today by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam clarifying certain points by the Sarvadeshik Sabha and particularly in view of the spirit of conciliation behind this clarification and in deference to the opinions of highly placed friends and wellwishers who helped to bring about the above clarification and whose sympathy and support the Sabha greatly values, this Sabha fees itself justified to discontinue the *satyagraha* movement and does hereby declare its discontinuance. The Sabha also directs the satyagraha committee to disband the "jathas" stationed at different places. In the opinion of the Sahha the clarification referred to above represents an earnest attempt on the part of the Government of the Nizam to meet the demands for which the *Satyagraha* was launched. The Sabha has taken the responsibility for the discontinuance of the *satyagraha* fully trusting the good intentions of His Exalted Highness' Government and relying upon a liberal interpretation of those declarations The Arya *Satyagraha* was undertaken is no spirit of defiance of or hostility to the Nizam's Government and not in any way, directly or indirectly, to promote communal discord. The sole motive behind the movement has been vindication of religious and cultural freedom.

(2) In order that all this valuable sacrifice may yield the best possible result it is in the opinion of the Sabha all the more necessary now for Aryas and other Hindus, more specially those in the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam, to exercise self-restraint and conform more strictly to truth and non-violence in a true religious spirit.

(3) The Sabha acknowledges with thanks the willing co-operation which it received during the days of the *satyagraha* campaign generally from the Press in India. The Sabha expresses its sense of obligation to all those institutions and persons who rendered assistance, financial or otherwise, to the movement. The Sabha, on behalf of all Aryas in India and abroad, offers their respectful homage to the sacred memory of the martyrs who laid down their lives in the cause of Vedic Dharma.

JOURNALISTS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA.

The following is the draft resolution which was thrown out by a majority of the members of the Executive Committee:

Resolved,

That in the opinion of the Council of the Journalists' Association the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate issued on the 1st August under Section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, directing five specified newspapers to abstain from publishing any news, articles or comments relating to the riot that took place that day or any other riot which might have occurred or may occur in the course of the next two months, and to any agitation or protests against the Urban Immovable Property Tax, is highly objectionable:

(1) on the ground of principle as an infringement of the legitimate right and duty of the Press to report and comment on current events and on questions of public interest and importance, the due exercise of which right and the due discharge of which duty is essential to the growth and maintenance of civil freedom and ordered government based on law and not on the individual sentiments of any person in authority;

(2) on the ground that it is directed against five newspapers in contravention of the Prime Minister's admission in his appeal issued on the 31st July, that "in the heat of controversy many harsh things have been said on both sides" and contrary to the Home Minister's statement on the same day that "the ban is not intended to prevent legitimate criticism of Government measure;"

(3) on the ground that the order covers not only the riot of Tuesday but any riot that may happen within the next two months, and that it prohibits criticism of the Urban Immovable Property Tax which are all matters for legitimate public criticism and comment.

The Council of the Journalists' Association of India therefore, is of opinion that the order should be immediately withdrawn and that steps should be taken to get the law amended so as to make similar orders impossible in the future.

SILENT FILMS FOR INDIA?

In a personal article in *The Reformer* of May 13, 1939 Mr. K. Natarajan remarked that the solution of many of India's language difficulties for exhibitors of films lay in a return to the silent pictures. The following extract from a letter to the *Statesman* from its film correspondent, shows that an attempt is being made to revert to the silent film:—

"A new type of silent film, designed to educate India's millions, has been proposed by Mr. A. J. Patel, a prominent Bombay film producer, now in Hollywood.

"He explained to a friend of mine that the films must be silent in order to overcome the handicap of India's diversity of languages and dialects. There would be no captions, because few of the prospective audiences could read them.

"English people don't realize what a blow it was to many races when talking pictures came in," he said, "To them, the silent picture was the great link with other peoples and the chief source of education and entertainment."

"The pictures, while telling stories, will be really constructive. Travelogues and technical films showing the industries of other lands are proposed, and, whenever possible, the pictures will be made in India.

"In this manner," Mr. Patel said, "I believe we can reach all of India's 400,000,000 inhabitants with messages against child marriage and uncleanliness, and for an improved economy."

"Mr. Patel also explained that in place of captions explanatory booklets would be provided in theatres in the vernacular of each district. They would be read by specially trained lecturers."

League of Nations Broadcasting Station:—The Swiss Government is negotiating for purchase of the League of Nations private Radio broadcasting station. Official circles have disclosed that negotiations have been in progress for the last two months and only the price remains to be settled. M. Avenol said that he had been prompted to authorise the sale by two chief considerations, firstly, expenditure on the station in recent years had greatly exceeded receipts and the League's declining membership necessitated sharp budgetary reduction. Secondly, as the station enjoys extra-territorial rights, the Government had been somewhat alarmed with regard to the use that might be made of it in war-time.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 30th June, 1939		... „ 32,74,84,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

108 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank. Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha
Nandurbar
Shirpur
Shahada
Sakri
Sindkheda
Taloda
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara
Kalwan
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dharwar.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897)

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & **MADRAS.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE
SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION
COMPANY LIMITED.

Head Office at BOMBAY.
NAROTTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents, Ballard Estate, BOMBAY.
The Premier Indian Shipping Company.

Regular Fortnightly Cargo Services between :—

(1) Rangoon, Bombay, Karachi via Malabar;
(2) Rangoon, Madras, Colombo;
(3) Calcutta and Karachi, via Coast ports,
(4) Rangoon, Calcutta, according to demand.

Regular Passenger Service between :—

(1) Rangoon and Coromandel Coast ports.
(2) Chittagong—Rangoon and Chittagong—Cox's Bazar (B. B. S. N. Co.'s services.)

Managing Agents of

The Bengal Burma Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., Rangoon
The Ratnagar Steam Navigation Co., Ltd. Bombay.

For further particulars, apply to
SCINDIA S. N. Co., Ltd., Scindia House,
Ballard Estate, Bombay.

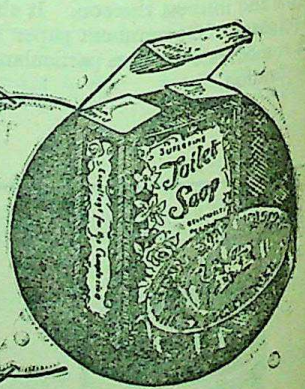


For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.
For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY AUGUST 5, 1939. No. 49

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Change of Method Recommended.
Contretemps on Prohibition Day.
Prohibition Unemployed.
The Indo-Ceylonese Muddle.
Bengal Prisoners and Congress Ministries.
"The European in New India."
Theft and the Police.
An Indian Heptarchy.
Britain's Colonial Policy.
Social Disorganisation in India—I.
A Thought for Parents.
Canadian Appeals to Privy Council.
The "Reformer" and the Communal Problem.
League of Nations Publications.
Prohibition Methods in the United Provinces.
Canada and Prohibition.
Bombay Rules for Temple Entry.
Guide to Study of a Changing World.
Indian Workers in Ceylon.

NOTES.

Change of Method Recommended :—Mr. Rajagopalacharya's defence of his promulgation of a Governor's Ordinance to arrest pending litigation on the Madura Temple entry incident, is not materially different from that of Lord Willingdon in justification of his Ordinances to restrain Civil Disobedience. The fact is that the Madras Premier's hands were forced by the shock tactics of Mrs. Brijlal Nehru in Madura. At a meeting held in Madras subsequently, Mrs. Nehru revealed that before she went to Madura she had interviewed the Premier. He was very pessimistic, he did not think that the reform will come in his life-time. When, therefore, she demonstrated that it could and did come when barely a week of his life-time had passed since the interview, he was—well, we do not know what his feelings were. When the incident led to litigation which, under the law as it stood, must have gone against the entrants, the Prime Minister took the only step that was open to a Minister whose of freedom love was not equal to his zeal for Temple Entry. But he does not want to see a repetition of such incidents. Speaking at Madura this week he deprecated holding large meetings to bring pressure on other people or to try to influence them. They must adopt other methods. Their propaganda in future, said the Premier, should take another form. As Mr. Ramanathan had said, there were old people in their homes who did not agree with them. And they knew with what respect these elders should be dealt with. Similarly it was for them to speak to their neighbours, relatives and friends and explain the justice of this movement. They should tell them that this was a big temple built by their Rajas and the general public and that it was a big institution from which it was not right to exclude only two or three classes out of the hundreds of sub-castes of the Hindu community. Those others also wished to go to the temple with true Bhakti and not for mere fun or bravado. It did not matter if those who were fully fed did not go. But the poor were in sore need to go God was like the mighty ocean, which could not be dried up by any number of people worshipping him in the temple. That was the argument that they should adopt in persuading the people. They should tell them that no harm would come if they changed a particular custom for doing good to others. They should do this kind of propaganda with patience. It was not because people did not realise the justice of the cause that this reform had not so far been brought about. It was because they had not been able to muster sufficient courage. There were numerous sub-castes among them and each one of them was proud and jealous of his caste. But in the matter of going to a big temple all of them forgot their differences and went together. They should do the same in the case of Harijans also.

What Mr. Rajagopalacharya recommends here is a reversion to the methods of the older school of reformers, the Raja Ram Mohan-Ranade school. In another connection we point out today the danger of calling out the crowds into the streets to advance social reform. The Madras Premier's advice is very timely and we trust it will be widely followed.

Contretemps on Prohibition Day :—The celebrations inaugurating Prohibition on the 1st August were marred by the occurrence of a nasty conflict between the Police and a Muslim procession which was declared by its organisers to be a demonstration not against Prohibition but against the property tax levied by Government to make up the loss of revenue on account of Prohibition. The tax is part and parcel of the Government Prohibition scheme and if it goes, Prohibition must go. The mode chosen by Government of financing Prohibition is open to reasonable objections but a street procession is not the proper way of proving that a better method might have been adopted to make up for the loss from the Prohibition which the processionists as good Muslims were bound to support. They could at least have chosen another day for their demonstration. Their demonstration would have been less liable to misapprehension and gained immensely in effect if they had joined the pro-Prohibition demonstrations of Tuesday and staged the anti-tax demonstration on Wednesday. Unfortunately, despite the remonstrance of the Police Commissioner, the Muslim leaders insisted on having their show on the same day as the Government show. The crowd got out of hand, started throwing stones and bottles at the police and was fired upon. Some fifty persons were injured on both sides. Happily, there was no loss of life. The incident has provoked bitter feelings which are not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

appeased by the order of Government under a much abused law imposing a ban forbidding comment not only on the riot but also on the property-tax for two months on five newspapers. We have no hesitation in saying that the order is absolutely indefensible. It is a flagrant attack on the Press, for which the only parallel that we can recall is the pre-censorship imposed on the *Bombay Chronicle* by Lord Lloyd's Government when the Civil Disobedience movement made its debut in Indian politics. Besides, Government themselves cannot be absolved from responsibility for the situation as it developed on Tuesday. That Government were aware that feelings were running high in the city and breaches of the peace were likely, is evident from the order of the Commissioner issued a day or two previously banning the carrying of sticks and knives on Prohibition day. This knowledge, and the reasons we gave last week, should have convinced Government of the necessity and wisdom of making the pro-Prohibition demonstrations, as little obtrusive as possible. The best and surest way of maintaining the public peace at a time of public excitement, is to keep the people engaged in their homes and working places. To get the crowd out in the streets is to court outbreaks of disorder. It is high time that processional politics were abandoned. It is a way of appealing to the emotions of the people over their reason, and fit only for demagogues. It is altogether out of place as an instrument in the hands of a constitutional Government.

Prohibition Unemployed:—The Government of Bombay have declared their special interest in the plight of those persons in the employment of liquor dealers prior to July 31, and they have offered to help those who were given "written notice of discharge" on account of Prohibition. It is an invidious policy for any Government to offer relief to one section of the community. That the Bombay Government should do so to the "prohibition unemployed" gives one the impression that in spite of the speeches and processions they are ashamed of their restrictions on the sale of liquor. This sympathy has no doubt been evoked by the general agitation by liquor dealers and has no rational basis behind it. The persons who were given "written notice of discharge" are but a fraction of even the number affected by the Excise police of the Bombay Government. The property tax, for instance, has had its repercussions on the building trade and it has from all accounts affected the employment of many labourers, both skilled and unskilled. Apart from that, most people who have had to pay the property tax, have had to cut down expenses in other directions. Often the cutting down exceeds the strict demands of economy, and it is hardly likely that, even if the tax is withdrawn at the end of the financial year, the new economies will be given up. The suburban railways lost a good number of their first class passengers when they raised the fares some years ago and they never got them back even after the fares were reduced to the old level. The rather disingenuous argument that there has been no increase in taxation, which certain Government spokesmen have advanced, is obviously unfair to that section of the community which, whether it can bear it or not, has to bear the extra burden. And the revelations of concessions to non-conformists have removed from the thinking citizen any feeling which he might have had at the outset that he was sacrificing personally in a great national cause. The strictness shown in giving out addict licenses has been reassuring. But the dangers of a lapse into leniency are very real so long as the Government order stands in its present wording.

The Indo-Ceylonese Muddle:—Referring to the delegation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to negotiate with the Ceylonese leaders on the impending repatriation of Indian employees of that Government in receipt of daily wages, we pointed out the advisability of Pandit Nehru acting in consultation with the Government of India. Recent incidents have shown that co-operation between Government and the Congress is no longer contrary to Congress policy. We remarked that in the absence of an understanding with the Government, there was the danger of Government and Congress working at cross-purposes. We are sorry that this is what has happened. The Pandit in his negotiations with the Ceylon Ministers kept prominently in view the impotance of maintaining friendly relations between the two countries. He regarded the repatriation of a few hundred employees as a minor issue. That he was able to impress on the Ministers and the Ceylonese people that India cherished the most friendly feelings towards them, is shown by the warmth of the reception accorded to him by all classes and by the observations of Sir Baron Jayatilaka, which we reprint. The Government of India, however, have proceeded on a different line. In fairness to them, we should say that the line which they have adopted is the one pressed on them in the Legislative Assembly and in the Indian Press. The Pandit's attitude, which is also ours, was somewhat unexpected. Government not only broke off trade negotiations with Ceylon. They have placed a ban from 1st August on the recruitment of unskilled workers in India to work on Ceylon plantations. They seem to have argued that, if the Ceylon Government is pursuing a policy of excluding Indian workers when they are no longer needed, India is not obliged to supply Ceylon with labour where she needs it. The Ceylon Government, it was reported, is unperturbed by this decision. But this is not in accord with the alarm expressed by the Prime Minister when he first heard that the Government of India might take such drastic action. Since the announcement was made two days ago Ceylonese opinion has completely thrown off the friendly professions which followed on Pandit Nehru's visit. The comments of the Press

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and political leaders are tinged with not a little bitterness. The Pandit has scored a great personal success but the situation between the two countries was never worse.

Bengal Prisoners and Congress Ministries :— The question of the release of political prisoners in Bengal has once again come into the limelight. From a speech delivered by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in Calcutta last Saturday, it is clear that Calcutta Congressmen had expected to persuade the Congress to regard the release of Bengal political prisoners as a major issue, to be decided if necessary by a threat of ministerial resignation in the other provinces of India. It is equally certain from his remarks that other Congressmen had failed to accept this position. Speaking at a Bombay meeting in sympathy with the prisoners, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru rightly rejected the idea of appealing to the Governor-General to intervene over the heads of the popular ministry in Bengal. It is fortunate that so soon after the Madras Governor's Temple Entry Ordinance, Congressmen should realise the dangers of invoking the reserve powers of the Governors and the Governor-General when it suits Congress ministries or political leaders to do so. A section of Bengal Congressmen looks forward to involving the whole of India in mass Civil Disobedience just because they have themselves failed to win power in Bengal. Otherwise it is difficult to understand why Mr. Bose should regard Pandit Nehru's advice in favour of direct popular agitation against the Bengal Ministry rather than for political pressure on the Governor-General through the Congress Governments in other provinces, as a rebuff to Bengal leaders. The only seemingly sound argument advanced for Governmental pressure from the Congress provinces by Mr. Bose, is that they were prepared to do so in the case of Rajkot. Mr. Bose was President of the Congress at the time and he should know best how prepared the Congress ministries were to resign over the Rajkot incidents. But it was clear to everybody that public opinion was by no means prepared in any of the provinces to see a ministerial exodus over a mismanaged political manoeuvre in a small Indian State. Mr. Bose has declared his intention to start satyagraha in Bengal, if the Bengal Ministry do not release the political prisoners immediately. On the other hand if they did, or if they were prevented by the Governor or the Governor-General, the Congress in Bengal would form a political unity with the Haq Cabinet. Mr. Bose assured his hearers that 10,000 volunteers would join from outside Bengal in satyagraha in spite of the refusal of other ministries to resign; he asked them to collect Rs. 10,000 and he wanted finally a supply of 10,000 volunteers from Bengal to be enrolled. The reasons for the recurrence of the figure 10,000 in Mr. Bose's calculations are obscure. Satyagraha could only then be launched in Bengal. Mr. Bose, according to the latest report, was able in the light of this declaration to persuade the prisoners to cease from their hunger-strike. Press reports seem to hint at an understanding between Bengal Congressmen and the Government for a two months' suspension of the present agitation at the end of which the prisoners will all be set free. The Bengal Cabinet has scored a political victory in persuading Congressmen that their only point of difference lies in the release of prisoners.

"The European in New India" :— How the European, as the native of Great Britain likes to be known in this country, has come to regard himself as the primary factor in the life of India and the people of the land as of importance only as his instruments, is well, though unconsciously, brought out in a paper read by Mr. Oliver Stebbings of Calcutta and the discussion thereon at the East India Association, London, last April. "The value of British investments in India," he said, "has been computed at £ 1,000,000,000." Mr. Stebbings did not, of course, mention at what sum the drawings from India by Britain have been computed. According to one authority, 5 shillings in the pound of the income of every Briton was obtained from India. The British national income is now estimated to be £ 5,000,000,000 per annum. The total investment as estimated by Mr. Stebbings of British capital in this country, is thus recouped in a single year, and this has been going on for several years. In other words, British capital in India yield a return of one hundred percent! It is not unnatural, therefore, for the agents of British investors to apprehend that they may not be able to do business on the same terms under a nationalist Government. It is natural too that the English commercial man does not like the Indian in the same field.

Theft and the Police:— The complaints which the ordinary citizen has against the police force are so frequently ventilated that it is good once in a way to see the police retaliating. In the annual report for 1938 on the Police of the City of Bombay, Mr. W. R. G. Smith, the Commissioner of Police, has made full use of his opportunity to read the public a salutary lesson. "Thefts by servants and criminal breach of trust cases by employees in business concerns," he writes, "were as numerous as in previous years. The victims in the majority of such cases have only themselves to blame. A pittance of a wage is usually paid and no attempt is made to enquire into the antecedents of the persons employed before engaging them. It is only tempting Providence to expect honesty in such circumstances." The warning to employers of labour to exercise due caution both in engaging their men and in giving responsible jobs to them, is very timely. It is appropriate that it should come from the police whose chief duties arise out of the mistaken judgment or misplaced trust not of employers only.

—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, August 5, 1939.

AN INDIAN HEPTARCHY.

The *Tribune* of Lahore publishes the text of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's Note on the scheme which he offers as an alternative to the Federation of the Government of India Act of 1935. He points out not quite correctly that the Government scheme has met with opposition from all parties in British India and the States. The Liberals, while criticising several features of the scheme, have decided that it should be worked for all it is worth. Their influence in the country is not to be measured by the numbers who attend their Conferences. The Hindu Mahasabha has taken up a more definitely favourable attitude to the acceptance of Federation. Under the Presidentship of Mr. Savarkar the Mahasabha has grown rapidly in strength and influence. The position of the Congress majority today approximates to that of the Liberals. Non-co-operation has been ruled out and co-operation is, though not the formally, the virtually accepted policy of Congress towards the Paramount Power. It is not right to say that the Princes have rejected the Federal scheme. So far from doing that, the Bombay Ministers' Conference pleaded for more time for the Princes to make up their minds, which Lord Linlithgow has allowed. The larger States are already committed to the acceptance of Federation. Of the smaller States, the Deccan and the East Bengal States have dissociated themselves from the dilatory resolution of the Bombay Conference. In the Muslim League itself the beginning of a split has manifested itself on the question. Sir Sikandar's scheme is plainly intended for the sole purpose of preventing this from developing into a schism. We can see no other occasion or purpose for it.

"Any alternative scheme to be generally accepted," Sir Sikandar writes, "must, therefore, be so devised as to allay the reasonable doubts and apprehensions of the minorities and the Indian States, and at the same time meet the criticism levelled on the score of inadequate political power which it is proposed to transfer to the representatives of the people under the present scheme." Sir Sikandar practically declares that the goal of Independence by whomsoever proclaimed is mere cant; that everybody would be satisfied with Dominion Status provided it is immediately presented to India. He does not pause to define what he means by Dominion Status. Is it the Dominion Status of the Westminister Statute which, according to the latest and most authoritative interpretation, carries with it the right of neutrality in any war in which the British Government may be involved? Canada has demanded to drop the designation of Dominion and to be called a Kingdom to mark the changed status which she now enjoys. The "Dominion" is, indeed, fast becoming obso... But Sir Sikandar does not care to enter into ... essential details. He does not even specify w... objections of the minorities and States ... scheme would meet, and how. He does not se... to know that the majority community is ... dissatisfied with the scheme and that a sch... to be acceptable should be acceptable to it a... He does not tell the public what his credenti... are to speak for the States or for all minori... We find it hard to believe that one occupyi... the responsible position of Premier of an imp... tant province would lightly engage in ... irresponsible political's pastime of ... flying. He has no doubt consulted some frie... perhaps some of the Princes, and assum... their approval stamps his scheme ... one which might be offered for public comm... with some confidence.

The central feature of his scheme is ... heptarchy of which he gives a tentative sketc... The seven regional divisions which he propo... are so crude even as a tentative outline that ... fears that Sir Sikandar's knowledge of ... geography, physical, cultural and economi... of his country outside his native Punj... is not among his many accomplishme... as a soldier, politician and nationalist. Take, ... example, his fourth zone which comprises Madr... Travancore, Madras States and Coorg. His fi... zone comprises Bombay, Hyderabad, Weste... India States, Bombay States, Mysore and Centr... Provinces States. Does Sir Sikandar kn... that the larger half of the Nizam's Dominio... is geographically, linguistically and cultura... a part of Andhra and, therefore, regiona... belongs to the future Telugu province? T... Marathi-speaking districts would for t... same reason be annexed to the Bombay zo... Mysore is integrally connected with Ta... Nad by the Cauvery which is her great sour... of irrigation and electric power. The Punj... and Sind are a close analogy. The Canare... districts of Bombay would regionally belong ... Mysore. Coorg, again, is a Canarese-speaki... territory which should go with Mysore. Thes... are some palpably anomalous features of S... Sikandar's scheme. Sir Sikandar pleads th... he had not the equipment necessary to wo... out details. All the equipment needed is a good... sized map of India. For an Indian statesma... to attempt to mould the future of his country wi... out the assistance of a map, is a bit adventurou... Sir Sikandar's rather hackneyed and out-of-da... observations on the Defence problem shows th... what he means by Dominion Status is not wh... it has legally and actually come to denote toda... but what it was before the last war, an... was known as Colonial Self-Governmen... which Gokhale offered as the goal of India's ... political aspiration in his presidential addres... to the Benares Congress thirty years ag... Sir Sikandar reminds us in his Note, as if ... were a great and original discovery, that Ind... has a long coast-line. But surely the length o...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the coast-line is a problem not only for the defenders but also and more so for the invader. Not the length of the coast-line but the ratio which it bears to the area and population of the hinterland, is the decisive factor in a country's defence. The disaster which overtook Napoleon on his march on Moscow, is a lesson which has not lost its force in our day. In fact, paradoxical as it is, the conditions of modern warfare have placed a comparatively undeveloped agricultural country at an advantage as compared with highly industrialised nations. That is why Poland is able to challenge Nazi Germany, and why Czechoslovakia with her greater resources, a well-equipped and trained army, could not. Anyhow the length of the coast-line has nothing to do with the constitution of a Federation except that it favours a strong unitary central Government as against an impotent figurehead to which it is reduced in Sir Sikandar's scheme.

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan is visibly beyond his depth when he criticises Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose for his policy of utilising the difficulties of the British Government to advance the cause of Indian self-government. From the strictly ethical point of view this is not a policy which can commend itself to men of high principles. But it was the policy of Count Cavour and later that of Mr. Thomas Masaryk in working for the independence of their respective countries to utilise the difficulties of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and both of them have been acclaimed as men of great foresight and patriotism. From the purely moral standpoint there is little to choose between those who would utilise their neighbours' difficulties to aggrandize themselves and those who would keep on good terms with a powerful neighbour because it saves them the effort of fending for themselves. Whether India should remain a part of the British Commonwealth and whether the British Commonwealth should retain India as a part of it, must depend ultimately on the consideration whether this would conduce to the greater good of humanity. Sir Sikandar thinks that India can help forward the cause of human brotherhood by remaining within the Commonwealth. Merely remaining within the Commonwealth, however, will not serve this purpose. India must be free to work for the good of humanity and in order to do so she must be in a position to influence British policy in the same direction. Otherwise India will be doing more harm than good to world peace by being a passive instrumentalism of what is often called British Imperialism. Her position at present is that of a passive and helpless retainer of Great Britain blindly following whatever world policy may commend itself to the Government in power in Great Britain.

BRITAIN'S COLONIAL POLICY.

Herr Hitler demands the return of the parts of Africa which before the last war, were under the political and economic domination of Germany, on the ground that they were wrongfully wrested by force from her. The argument with which several British and American writers of distinction incline to concur, is that the whole scheme of the Treaty of Versailles hinged upon the hypothesis that Germany was solely responsible for the last war. The German delegates signed the treaty under the threat of invasion of their country. It is now generally agreed that the war guilt must be shared by all the belligerents. The key-stone of the arch of the treaty thus falls to the ground. Other main clauses of the treaty have been allowed to lapse without effective protest and even with the consent of the Allies in the last War. This restitution of the colonies is the only outstanding issue which prevents a complete understanding between Germany and the Allies. Danzig is a minor matter. If the colonies are returned, the appeasement will be complete. These colonies are vitally necessary to Germany for raw materials of her industry. The opponents of the German demand in Great Britain, virtually accept the position that the Treaty of Versailles was no longer a valid argument against the restitution of the African colonies. The main consideration is the interests of the natives. From the way the Nazis treated the Jews, they can not be trusted to deal justly and humanely with the African natives. Pushed to find more substantial grounds they had to differentiate between the aims of the Germans and their own in Africa. The Germans wanted raw materials. The Africans can look forward to no higher prospect under them than to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Germans. This was not Britain's object. Britain was there for the good of the natives. As a climax came the announcement of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the object of Britain was to train the natives to self-government. As an earnest of this, the British Government is establishing at once the Makerere College in Uganda which will be later developed into a university for Africans. It is intended to produce national leaders who will in the fulness of time take over the Government of their country in their own hands. To us in India all this has a familiar ring. For the last century and a half India is being trained to self-government. She is still being trained. The period of tutelage is not yet past. That is because English education has not produced men of the requisite calibre. That system is a failure. We have no doubt that a hundred and fifty years hence the graduates of the African University will be found to be as total misfits as the educated Indian today.

The British settlers in East Africa, however, have taken alarm at this declaration of His

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Majesty's Government and the establishment of the Makerere College. They have ambitions of an East African Union like the South African Union and in harmony with it, with White men dominating natives many times their number under a "democratic" constitution. When the proposal for a grant for the College came before the Kenya Legislative Council, their representatives strenuously opposed it. Their point of view was voiced by Mr. Cleland Scott in the *Spectator* of June 30. Mr. Scott denounces the grants sanctioned by Kenya and Tanganiyika for the Makerere College as "barefaced extortion." He points out that there is no university for the children of European settlers who are unable to afford the fees to send their children to England. He proceeds in language familiar to us in India to suggest that even from the African's point of view the money would be better spent if devoted to teach them "a trade useful to themselves and to the community in general." He writes :

> The unfortunate part is that to-day almost any African who can read and write, considers himself to be a full-fledged karani (clerk) and worth high wages. Again, the general attitude of what might be called the semi-educated African is insolent and of no help to him in life.

Incidentally he complains of the conduct of the Indian members of the Kenya Legistative Council in voting with the Government on this question. He says that they did so not because they have the interests of the natives at heart but "rather that it made one more lash in the whip for scourging the White Settlement." He pities their want of foresight because if "the African is really to advance it is obvious that it is he who in time should fill the posts of station masters, postmasters, goods-clerks, guards and office jobs in the Government services to the detriment of the Indian fraternity." For our part we are proud of the action of Indian representatives in the Kenya Council who supported the Government proposal even though it may eventually oust them from the jobs which they now monopolise.

What will be the reaction in South Africa to the declared policy of the British Government to train the Africans in East Africa to govern themselves? The South African policy in regard to the native Africans is notorious. The Union Government is sure to exert all its influence to obstruct the progress of the new policy. They have been hoping to extend their policy throughout Africa. That can not now be done if the training of Africans in self-government remains the policy of the British Government. Africans from South Africa will join the Uganda College. They will graduate from the University when it becomes one. They will not be content to remain in their present repressed condition in their own country. The declaration of His Majesty's Government opens up a new and bright prospect for African natives. We trust that Indians will continue consistently to support the prosecution of the policy in the interests of their motherland as well as the country of their adoption. In an article on the same subject in a later *Spectator*, Sir Donald Cameron expresses his belief that Indians will send their children to the Makerere University College. We are sure they will.

SOCIAL DISORGANISATION IN INDIA—I

(By Kewal Motwane, Advar.)

Before we begin, we should define the word culture, since we shall use it quite frequently during the course of this paper. By culture, we mean something more than what Matthew Arnold meant, "the study of perfection, the disinterested search for sweetness and light" which consists "in becoming something rather than in having something, in inward condition of mind and spirit, not in outward set of circumstances." Culture, in sociological parlance, means, as Tylor defined it, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, arts, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." By culture, we mean the totality of group life, both in its subjective as well as objective aspects. Culture is the tool-making, institution-making and value-making ability of men. Culture is a human product, no other sentient species is known to have culture in this sense.

Cross-fertilisation of cultures, technically called acculturation, is a constant phenomenon in human history. Cultures, like human beings, migrate from one region to another. Indian culture, for instance, has been the most migratory of its kind. It is said to have gone into practically every country of the ancient world from Japan to Britain. But during the modern times, with the quickened means of communication between different parts of the world, the pace of acculturation becomes considerably accelerated. In every nation of the world, a process of cultural fusion is going on. Indeed, there is fast emerging a uniform culture-pattern throughout the world, with almost similar social attitudes and modes of behaviour.

Now, two types of cultures, with vastly different ideologies and values have come face to face in India and are engaged in a deadly combat. India with a rural, agricultural, handicraft culture, with an integrated view of life, with its emphasis on indefinable, qualitative values, on individual uniqueness, on dharma, on self-imposed poverty, on social synthesis, on subjective broad-based nationalism, on man and not the machinery of government, on life of religious experience, unfoldment and tolerance, on power through repose, is confronted by a culture that stands for science and machine, for an urbanised mechanised order, for an analytical view of life with its emphasis on neurosis and complexes, for mass production, for quantitative values of life, for struggle for existence and survival of the fittest, for accumulation of wealth and economic imperialism, for assertive arrogant nationalism, for democracy and dictatorship, for religion of scientific humanism and rationalism. This culture of science and machine has taken a firm grip of India and is slowly seeping into her soul.

This conflict of cultures, this process of acculturation, is producing a considerable amount of social disorganisation. Let us take an example. When the steam-engine, a trait of material culture of science and machine, came to India, it not only served to knit the various geographical units into an organic whole, but it also affected our social attitudes and organisation. It struck a death-blow at our caste system. All castes, high and low, began rubbing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shoulders at the railway station and in the train compartment. The process of communication became accelerated, and social distance between various groups of people, artificially maintained by tradition and custom, began to take to wing. Our static society began to yield before the machine of the West. The caste system began to run away on the wheels of the train, the tram and the automobile. Communication is the heart and soul of all social and cultural change, as Professor Cooley, of the University of Michigan, pointed out many years ago.

India's life has gone through a considerable amount of transformation during the last hundred years or so. The culture of science and machine has come to stay with us, with all its products and processes. Cheap Manchester fabrics and prints have ousted the village weaver, now Manchester itself is being ousted by the Indian Manchesters of Ahmedabad, Bombay and Madras. Village sugar industry was crushed out by imported sugar; that, in its turn, is replaced by indigenous sugar industry, with enormous capital invested in it. The American kerosine oil replaced oil from the hand-press of the village. Village potter and brass-ware have yielded their places to aluminium and enamelled iron-ware of local and foreign makes. Every industry of the village has been affected. Mechanized, large-scale agriculture is beginning to make its appearance and the signs of its displacing the peasant are on the horizon. The village smithy is being replaced by the modern repair-shop. The village craftsmen are leaving their hereditary occupations on account of foreign competition. There is a migration of labour to cities. The railways have destroyed economic self-sufficiency of the village. The old system of barter and payment of wages in kind has yielded before the money-economy. The village, which is the basic unit of our culture, is in ruins, and unemployment is rising every day.

The city is prospering at the cost of the village. Cities are growing in number and size. They combine financial, industrial and educational functions, as do the cities of the west. The mill centres, the engineering work-shops, the leather factories, the jute mills, these and other specialised centres of industry are rising in India very rapidly. The machine has raised its mausoleums of coal, smoke, iron and steam, of dirt, squalor and over-crowding, of coolie-lines and human ware-houses, in our country also. The voluntary, spiritual, co-operative communism of the village in which all the groups worked together for mutual welfare, has disappeared, and India is today broken up into two camps, arrayed against each other: capital and labour. Look where we will, we meet with this one problem in one form or another. The big landlord, the zamindar, the petty raja, or the industrialist on the one hand, and the hari, the peasant, the kisan or the wage-earner on the other. Strikes, lock-outs and sabotage are as common here as in the industrialised west. Conflict, not co-operation, is the basic pattern of our lives today. India is fast being dominated by Marxian philosophy of class-conflict and materialistic interpretation of history. The capitalistic class is undoubtedly a formidable group, already opposed to the interests of labour. Some of the legislation of socialistic hue, rushed through the various provincial legislatures and the amount of opposition it has given rise to, bear testimony to the extent to which class-conflict has gone in India. Industrialism, capitalism, class-war, this is the natural sequence. Once science and machine have gained admittance into a nation, they must move on in their relentless course. This is one of the socio-logical laws. A simple trait of culture, accepted by a group of people from another group, will send repercussions throughout the social life. There is no retreat, no matter how much the group may shut its eyes. More science and more machine, but both yoked to India's welfare, this is the only sane attitude.

Another very powerful factor, contributing to our social disorganisation, is the rapid increase in our population. Though our death rate is as high as 22 per thousand, the birth rate is 35; Our population in 1941 will shoot up to four hundred million, nearly twice as much as it was in 1881. Since 1921, the rate of growth has been a little over one percent per annum. The life expectancy is very poor, 25 years compared with 55 years in U. S. and 58 in New Zealand. The average stature and weight of an Indian is diminishing. The amount of land used in India to produce food for an individual is ·34 acres, while it is 2·20 in Britain! Such a great pressure of population on land must mean a steady decline in the fertility of soil as well as low standard of living, considering India's politically subordinate position at present. But we still continue to multiply our numbers indiscriminately, we have no intelligent policy for controlling birth-rate, and we insist on exporting our surplus population abroad, thus creating serious inter-empire and international complications.

With the rural life uprooted, with the land-man ratio upset, struggle for existence must grow keener. Science and machine are no friends of the family institution. They are dealing sledge hammer blows to the sanctity of marriage wherever they have gone. Divorce and abortion put in their appearance and women clamours for rights. The modern movie, a new contraption of science and machine, takes a hand in the game and puts virtue on the defence. Under such circumstances, the woman of India stands the danger of being a replica of her sister of the west, utterly oblivious of the great destiny of uplifting man. Cinema actresses of Hollywood and Gaumont brand will soon replace Sita and Savitri. Glamour so graphically depicted on the screen and the seductive arts so well portrayed on the stage, combine with contributions in journals and magazines in teaching the arts of make-up and the psychology of developing attractive personality, must mean a good-bye to modesty that has been one of the chief characteristics of Indian womenhood. The joint family system is breaking up, as it broke up in Europe when industrial civilisation set in. Family like the village, is a primary group. An individual finds his place, his *locus standi* there and becomes a person. Torn from the moorings of these primary groups, he becomes a physical and spiritual nomad. Walking, cycling, motoring round the world, are all signs of restlessness in a mechanised order. Fantastic experiments in marriage, disintegration of joint family, increase in divorce, abortion, all have their roots in science and machine.

Social diseases, which came to us from the west, are now no longer confined to sea-ports and large cities, but are invading our rural regions as well. The health and vitality of our nation are at a low ebb and cannot stand comparison with those of any other country in the world. Fortunately, we are just waking up to the necessity of reverting to our indigenous systems of medicine which are comparatively more efficacious and economical than those of the west. But the day when every man, woman, and child in need of medical attendance will get it, is still far off. Cancer, known to be the disease of civilisation, is beginning to be common in India. Malaria, plague, cholera, kala-azar, though partially controlled, still take a heavy toll of mortality in India. Artificial rejuvenation, lust of life which is death, is becoming quite common in India.

Movie houses multiply by the dozen in large cities, and travelling picture-shows are invading our

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

rural regions. The Ras-Lila, the travelling theatre of India which dramatised the religious and spiritual lore of India, is fast disappearing. Our people witness movies screened in India or abroad but they are cast in alien spirit, and there is an emotional response that is not Indian in tone. Everything is being westernised, mechanised. Profit-making motive is taking possession of arts and entertainment. Our daily metropolitan newspaper gives more space to sports, games, races, sex, cinema, stocks and shares than to actual news.

Crime, which is an unfailing index of social disorganisation, is on the increase. Train and mail robberies, bank robberies, rape, kidnapping, hold-ups, traffic in women and children, are quite common in India now, and the papers publish the news in flaring head-lines. If we read the official reports submitted during the last year by the Inspector-Generals of Police of the various provinces, we find one and all complaining of the rise in crime. The criminal in India emulates his colleague of the west whose exploits he sees in the cinema, and presses science into service. Hatchets and daggers are being replaced by guns and pistols stolen from government armouries. When the embargo over the arms is removed by the Government and the volatile temperament of the tropics get control of them, it will be a much worse situation.

A THOUGHT FOR PARENTS.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

According to a news from village Bhimsa in Patna State, which appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 18th July 1939, a son without hands and legs has been born to one Kirtan Patel of that village. Ten years ago he had another son, who died at the age of one, since when, during the nine intervening years, the childless parents prayed earnestly to Lord Jagannath for the blessing of a child. A child now they have got, and though the child has no arms and legs it has otherwise normal health.

Most people will no doubt pass over the news as no more than a mere freak of nature. Even the rationalists, who enquire into the causes of ordinary happenings, will probably not feel inclined to think that the above so-called freak must also have some reason behind it. It is such non-inquisitive and non-investigating mentality, which has kept us in the dark about many truths and many happenings in Nature. While the unsophisticated attribute things, which are beyond their comprehension, to supernatural causes and pass their belief down to progeny thus preserving their experience from oblivion, the sophisticated mind rejects as silly and superstitious whatever does not come within the four corners of its limited field of experience. Even many leading thinkers and scientists, who are expected to keep an open mind for everything, are found to be most conservative in respect of things, the novelty and strangeness of which perplex them. By rejecting their probability and discouraging any search for truth in them these thinkers and scientists, inspite of their other contributions to world thought and world knowledge, have often been instrumental in causing the loss of much precious knowledge coming through the experience of man in different countries and at different times.

Now, about the birth of the above child with incomplete body it should be remembered that Lord Jagannath of Puri, to whom the child's parents prayed for nine years for a child is Himself without arms and legs. The very strange resemblance between the physical form of the Deity prayed to and of the child should provoke thinking, for it sugg... that an image which holds the imagination ... a mother goes to influence the child born of ... There is a lady in Allahabad, who told my mot... that her daughter did not resemble any of ... parents, but was very much like a woman in ... picture which was hung in her room and on whi... she often used to look intently before her birth ... during her conception. I have heard of an Engli... woman giving birth to a son, whose physical featur... closely resembled those of a negro, making ... husband wonder what the matter could be. But th... it was found that there was a negro's picture in ... room at which she used to look every now a... then, so strange it appeared to her. More of su... happenings can be enumerated, though many ... them, unless particularly striking, are passed ov... unobserved and unrecorded. That like their phys... cal conditions, the thoughts, mentality and outlo... of parents should also leave impressions o... children, is really not to be surprised at, but is natural or rather inevitable. B... do parents care to remember that? Do th... care to idealise their lives, purify their thoughts ... and ennoble their outlook at least for the sake o... their children? Even in the case of an ordina... plant you have to look to the quality and condit... of its seed, the nature and fertility of the soil, t... influence of environment and the conditions ... weather and climate, in order to get a good flow... or a good fruit. Will not those considerations b... more appropriate and necessary in the case o... perhaps the ultimate fruit of creation, the huma... child? If, therefore, even educated and cultured m... and women are found to go their ways without th... least heed to those vital considerations, how indee... would one feel inclined to assess the value of thei... education and culture?

Go to their houses, and you will be surprised a... their taste and their inclinations. In the roo... are pictures either of film stars in their chara... teristic shameless and sex-appealing pose, or o... productions of some popular modern artists, whos... imagination generally centres round the physic... form of women. If they entertain you with musi... you will find that their stock of gramaphon... records consists mostly of songs composed i... low taste with ideas emanating from illegitima... passionate love. Their book-shelves, if any, contain generally novels of the railway-stall type... while on their table there will be daily paper an... perhaps some pictorial magazine, but no periodica... providing thoughtful reading matter. They drin... tea, chew betel-leaves or chocolates and smok... cigarettes at all hours. They obviously observ... no rules of restraint and discipline in living an... thinking, but act and move on impulses, th... satisfaction of which seems to give some momen... tary pleasurable feeling and recreation. They ta... gaily on light topics passing on from one ... another from surface to surface, without any deep penetration; and if you would attempt to hol... their concentration over any point they would visibly be restless, and after a commonplace and conven... tional remark flung in with an air of superio... experience and wisdom they would just smile an... manage to change the topic. You will be veritably surprised at the immensity of their knowledge about the film figures, and their lives,—knowledge which they proudly compare with one another and carefully store-house in their find. The physica... forms of their favourite stars seem to float before their eyes.

Such is the very common type of an *educated* an... *cultured* man or woman. What can children born o... such men and women be like? What mentality

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would they get from parents, whose eyes now and then revert to pictures of half-nude immoral people hanging in bed-rooms and sitting-rooms, whose mind leaps with delight at the thought of going into a dark and crowded cinema-hall to see on the screen some obscene movements of characterless, virtue-selling people and who pass their lives in mere ease and comfort free from all restraint, rejecting as silly superstition all moral, ethical, and religious taboos and disciplinary rules of living and conduct which may come in the way of their *smooth* enjoyment of life?

I ask all parents to deliberate deeply over the above points, instead of wanting to belittle the significance of my observations regarding film stars' wall pictures, etc. Let them remember, unless of course they look upon children as unhelpable bye-products of their union and not as its divine aim and purpose, that their thoughts and mentality are transmitted to their children, for which reason they owe it to them to keep their thoughts and outlook always pure and noble. For such purity of thought they must keep away from bad sights and unwholesome association and environment. Avoid seeing bad pictures and the faces of characterless unprincipled people. Remove all bad pictures from your rooms, and put there instead pictures of men and women who do not excite your animal instincts but inspire you with pure and reverential thoughts about men and women. When once the father of a boy, four years old, went to a clergyman for advice regarding the boy's education and upbringing, the clergyman exclaimed, "Oh, you have come to me too late, you should have come long before the birth of your son, so as to receive good education yourself."

That holy man had said a great truth, the truth of *which I* want to impress most strongly on all parents. If you believe you can depend on good teachers and good schools for educating your children well and for developing noble instincts in them, you are sadly mistaken. They can ably rub and polish but cannot alter the material of which the children are made. It is the parents alone who can determine that material, by regulating their lives well on high principles and by purefying and elevating their thoughts under the influence of high ideals and ennobling surroundings. It is a great privilege and the highest object of life to be productive of noblest specimens of humanity through your body and mind, and no amount of what you may call self-denial of pleasure involved in a life of scrupulous self-discipline and strict virtue can be too much for that object. Such watchful self-discipline and virtuous living are not only the *sine qua non* of you individual progress and perfection, but they will also entail supreme satisfaction at the thought of your having lived nobly and usefully yourself and your having been instrumental in the constructive creation of human divinities, who will bring real peace and happiness to troubled humanity.

CANADIAN APPEALS TO PRIVY COUNCIL.

A correspondent writes from London :—

"I read with interest the paragraph in *The Indian Social Reformer* of the 24th June, relating to Canada and the Privy Council. I am not sure that you can speak as positively, of the rarity of Canadian appeals to the Privy Council. I have just been looking up the figures. In 1936, for the first three terms of the years there were 8, but the fourth term gave another 12—20 in all. The corresponding figures in 1937 were 12, 5 and 17. For 1938 they were 8, 4 and 12, and for the first three terms in 1939 they are 10, with the number of the fourth term not yet known."

THE "REFORMER" AND THE COMMUNAL PROBLEM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the twenties, as a fresher in the College, I made my first acquaintance with *The Reformer*. Ever since then I have turned to its pages for comments on current events for enlightenment and instruction. But there is one problem of which *The Reformer* does not seem to have the proper grasp. Its comments relating to it appear to me to be doctrinaire and theoretical. It is the communal problem. To emphasise the supreme importance of this problem I can do no better than to quote from the leading article in its latest issue :

> Communities represent the bed-rock of Indian life. Communal interests in the minds of millions override economic interests. The villager, Hindu, Muslim or Christian, will spend several years' earnings on a communal function without a thought of the hardship which the extravagance will entail on him for the rest of his life-time. He lives, thinks and acts in terms of communal life. The communal interest in fact is the only interest he cares for.

On another page we find, "The people of India are a nation of communities."

This is excellent so far as it goes (though I feel that there is a little confusion between 'communal' as contrasted to individual and 'communal' as the term is used in Indian political parlance.) But it is not the whole thing. *The Reformer* considers that the communal problem is a problem of minorities, whether the minority is Hindu or Muslim. Lest I misrepresent its position—and I know that every word used in *The Reformer* is carefully weighed—I quote from its note on "Communalism" in the latest issue :

> It is obvious that it would be impossible to satisfy the Muslim League in the Congress Provinces or Hindu politicians in Muslim provinces without violating the principle of administration and injuring not only the majority and lesser minority communities but the interests of the provinces as a whole. We do not see why the acid test of a good administration should be the number of appointments which fall to the minority community. Why should a civil engineer, a doctor or teacher be regarded as more fitted for a post in a secular government because he happened to be born—for a continuing faith is not required—in a particular community? Nobody pretends that a Hindu or a Muslim appointed to satisfy quota requirements is chosen because he is a Hindu or a good Muslim. Everybody suspects that he is a bad engineer, a bad doctor or an indifferent teacher.

This is much too doctrinaire. What is more is that it ignores actual realities—a very unusual thing in *The Reformer*. Is *The Reformer* in a position to substantiate that Hindu politicians in Muslim provinces cannot be satisfied without violating every principle of administration? I know of no authoritative Hindu organisation and no responsible Hindu reader who has made demands that justify this sweeping accusation. It has been the boast, and an eminently justifiable boast, of the Mahasabha that it has never departed even by the fraction of an inch from the strait path of nationalism. Bhai Parmanand is one of the extremest, if not the extremist, of the Hindu leaders. What is his position? I have known him intimately, and have worked with him, for years. He stands for one principle, whatever that principle, may be, to be applied throughout India. If it is pure nationalism, let it be so. If it be on population basis, let that be the basis applicable throughout the country. If it be weightage, let that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

weightage be given to minorities in all provinces. What Bhaiji is deadly opposed to is the policy of "heads you win, tails I lose" policy that the Congress has followed, with such tragic failures, *vis-a-vis* the Muslims. I consider Bhaiji's position to be eminently just and reasonable. And I repeat that Bhaiji is supposed to the extremest Hindu leader. I ask again is *The Reformer's* accusation justified?

Let us then take the question of services. I am sick of the cheap jibe about "seats and services." Seats and services do matter in the political economy of any country and only those living in a fool's paradise can ignore them. Bengal's politicians did live in such a fool's paradise and we have the result before our very eyes. *The Reformer* is mistaken when it thinks that the acid test with the Hindu politicians is the number of appointments which fall to the minority community. No Hindu leader or Hindu organisation has ever proposed this so-called acid test. The question is when efficiency ceases to be the sole test, and when comparatively inefficient people seek entry into the services on the ground of belonging to the minority or the majority community (and not on the ground of merits)—depending on whether it is a Muslim minority province or a Muslim majority province,—what is going to be the "acid test"? Are the minorities to be denied entry into the services on the ground of being a minority and inspite of superior efficiency? That is the question. That this is the question should be clear to the most casual reader of newspapers who has read the debate on the service question in the Bengal Assembly or the memorandum of the Hindu deputationists to the Bengal Governor. Again, in the services there are not merely doctors, engineers and teachers but administrators and executive officers. What becomes of the administration of which the administrators are chosen on tests in which efficiency and impartiality occupy a secondary place?

The Communal problem is the Muslim problem, pure and simple. The problem is euphemistically called protection of minorities where the Muslims are in a minority. In the Muslim majority provinces, it is a problem not for the protection of the Hindu minority but for assuring the privileges to the majority Muslim community. For more than half a century our political leaders have applied their blind eye to the telescope and refused to face the problem squarely. One of the reasons undoubtedly have been that the most eminent leaders of our political thought have hailed from the Hindu majority provinces and have never understood the Muslim mentality. Even to-day when the partition of the country on communal lines has almost become practical politics, the big guns in the Congress prepare to repose in the land of the lotus-eaters. I might get the retort that Bengalis have guided the Congress for long and that Bengal is a Muslim majority province. My answer is that Bengal was not a Muslim majority province till 1912 and that even then the intellectual and economic ascendancy of the Bengali Hindu community was so supreme that nobody could imagine that Bengal was a Muslim majority province.

I plead with *The Reformer* to take up a realistic attitude towards the Communal problem. In these days of monopolistic Congress Press, with its pet theories and shibboleths, *The Reformer* is one of the very few journals that stand for independent thought. Let us grasp the real nature of the ploblem and then perhaps we may find a solution. The very fact that the efforts of more than half a century have deepened the problem instead of making the part towards solution shows that there is yet no real understanding of the problem.

Delhi,
July, 27, 1939.

Yours etc.,
B. BANERJI.

[The passages our correspondent quotes from *The Reformer* relate to two different subjects: the basis of Franchise and appointments in the public Services. As regards the first, our view is that so long as Indians think communally they will vote communally whether the electorates are joint or separate, and that joint electorates can not educate people out of the communal outlook whose roots lie deep down in the sub-conscious mind. It is, therefore, purely a matter for a minority community whether it wants to vote in joint electorates like the Parsis in Bombay or in separate electorates as Muslims all over the country. But there should be no weightages in either case either as a reward for coming into joint electorates or as an inducement to remain in separate electorates.

As regards appointments in the Public Service, it should be immaterial what religion a man professes so long as he is competent for his duties and is honest and impartial in dealing with communities. To appoint a man to a post for which his qualifications are not the best among the different candidates available or to retain him there when he is dishonest and is inspired by communal bias, is to lower the standard of the Service and to bring the administration into discredit.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

LEAGUE OF NATIONS PUBLICATIONS.

A reader in Geneva remarks :—

"I have read the comment you have made in *The Indian Social Reformer* of June 24th, 1939 (p. 674 column : 2) on the League of Nations' Third Annual Report on Child Welfare.

"It might interest you to know that the Report on Child Welfare is based on the documents furnished by different Governments to the League of Nations Secretariat. From a constitutional point of view, I gather, it is not posible for the Social Welfare Activities Section of the League of Nations Secretariat to incorporate in the Report any other documents. In these circumstances, when a Government fails or refuses to supply any "Annual Progress Report" there inevitably occur gaps. The position of League Officials is very much like that of officials working in various Government Secretariats. They may or may not like the policy of this or that Government, but in compiling their publications they have to adhere to what the Governments supply to them. This will explain why the "page devoted to India contains a very perfunctory account of what is being done" in India and why there is no information regarding Soviet Russia where—as you say—"important developments are in progress on social problems including Child Welfare." By the way, Japan no longer co-operates in the League's social welfare work."

PROHIBITION METHODS IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

An article in *Public Information*, U. P., enunciates the basic principles of the excise policy followed by the Government: Its aim is to achieve complete prohibition throughout the province within the shortest span of time.

The present Government came with a pledge that such temptation should be removed in order that the people may live a normal life. As such no cost could be considered to be high enough for this Government to discharge in primary obligation. At the same time, the Government could not believe that people could be made moral overnight by acts of the Legislature alone. It also knew that a system that had continued for a long time and sapped the vitals of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a perceptible number of people could not be uprooted in a day. The Government, therefore, sought to mobilize public opinion by propaganda and education in order to create a powerful social urge for total prohibition. The Government also counted on the knowledge of the public that temperance propaganda was of no avail unless restrictive measures by the Government were there to reinforce it. The excise policy of the Government was based on this principle.

So on 1st April, 1939, the prohibition experiment was extended to Budaun, Farrukhabad, Bijnor and Jaunpur. The first two districts form compact areas with Etah and Mainpuri which had had one year's experience. The enlightened opinion in these districts in favour of temperance demanded prohibition. As the areas did not border on any Indian State the danger of smuggling did not exist to the same extent as elsewhere. In Bijnor and Jaunpur ground had already been prepared by the introduction of state-managed agency which had greatly reduced the consumption during the last year.

Apart from the special provisions for "charas" and opium addicts, as well as for the use of intoxicants for medicinal use, the following measures were adopted:

(A) Reduction of shops by about 20 to 25 per cent, varying district-wise according to local conditions.

(B) Fixing of retail prices appreciably above those which ruled in different localities. In the previous year, the prices had been considerably raised. This year the prices have been allowed to remain at last year's level. In the case of "charas" the retail sale price and the issue price have been raised by Rs. 20 per seer.

(C) State-managed agency: Last year this system was introduced in Allahabad, Lucknow, Jaunpur and Bijnor, whereas in Benares it was in force in regard to drugs. This year prohibition was introduced in Jaunpur and Bijnor whereas in Allahabad and Lucknow state-agency continued, and in other important centres, extended. Last year's experience showed that state-managed agency resulted in a considerable reduction in the profit-making motive on the part of the licensees, which more than any other single factor was responsible for the increase of sales by resorting to illicit practices. The increase in temperance on the part of those who were used to intoxicants could be clearly traced to this system, as can be proved by the fact that the fall in consumption in the areas under the state-managed agencies was twice as large as the fall in the other areas of the province.

(D) The Government introduced the system of auction with fixed retail prices last year and it continues this year. It has been asserted in certain quarters that the system of auctioning liquor shops which was introduced some years ago, has been continued by the present Government. But it is not true. The auction system continues but with a difference, namely, with fixed retail prices. The surcharge system was produced in the province in 1922 with high hopes. It was altered to the present auction system without any fixed retail prices about ten years later, in the case of liquor licences, and a couple of years after that in the case of drugs licence also. The auction system resulted in an enormous increase of consumption of all intoxicants. In certain places the retail sale prices were below even the economic level. alternative system which the Government had to consider was the surcharge system and for a long time the Government were considering the desirability of going back to it. But ten years of the working of that system did not inspire confidence and it was felt that to go back to it would mean no advance on the conditions which existed before 1922-32.

It was thought inadvisable to go back to the surcharge system. Therefore the possibility of introducing the auction system in an improved form was examined. The first improvement, as has been stated above, consisted in fixing the retail sale price at a level substantially higher than the rates of last year under the auction system and in certain cases even higher than what prevailed under the surcharge system. The second improvement consisted in the issue of instructions by the Government that auctions would in future be conducted in a strictly fair and impartial manner.

Thus it will be seen that a combination of intensive propaganda by the Government and the public, the reduction of shops, the improvement of the auction system by fixing retail prices, and the state-managed agency, are the basic principles of the new excise policy which is directed towards the goal of total prohibition.

CANADA AND PROHIBITION.*

It will have been noted by all Temperance and Prohibition workers, as well as by a much larger public, that the world press did not fail to recognise the significance of their Majesties' landing at Charlottetown, on June 14th last, which, though it was in the most inclement weather, after two hours' bad crossing from Nova Scotia, brought them to the only *dry* Province in the Dominion—Prince Edward Island. Three-quarters of the island's entire population—a crowd of 60,000—came out into the streets to meet them. This was the Province where the people, election after election, despite overtures from and pressure and invasion by the Liquor Interests, remain true to Prohibition, and here, jubilant at the presence of royal visitors, came the children in their thousands—children who will maintain the integrity of their State in the days to come.

At the Provincial Buildings an address of welcome was read by the Prime Minister of the island, the Hon. T. A. Campbell, who expressed the hope that their Majesties would come back again and bring with them their two daughters, Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret. In reply the King said that he hoped to do so for "the life of the citizens of Prince Edward Island exhibits blessings which abound where democratic principles flourish in an atmosphere of tolerance and goodwill."

It is probable that to no other official function during the whole of the Royal Tour, extending into many thousands of miles, would the following press notice be applicable :—

"The drinks served at luncheon were non-alcoholic, Prince Edward Island being the only Canadian Province where Prohibition is in force."—*Daily Telegram* (*London*).

It was said by John Morley on one occasion that "fidelity to conviction is the mainstay of human advancement," and Prince Edward Island is to be congratulated on its stand for the better way of life —the way free from the pitfalls due to indulgence in alcoholic liquors. Smaller men than those who

* *The International Record.*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

conduct the public affairs of this Province might have anticipated the visit by suggestions of what is "done on such occasions," but this was not to be expected of a Premier who so recently replied to a deputation that "the Government did not deem it fit to introduce any change in the present Prohibition Law." Prohibition is the policy of Prince Edward Island, and loyalty is the policy of every right-thinking citizen living there.

This shining example of true citizenship will encourage friends of the *Dry* Movement all over the world. To-day men and women are torn by dissension and confusion of thought in the political sphere, they see life held cheaply, and note that the words of Governments are not their bond. We do a service to mankind, therefore, when we acclaim right actions which the spirit of Humanity commands. "Thus ought the enthusiasm of Humanity to work in these days," says Seeley in *Ecce Homo*, "and thus, plainly enough, it does work."

BOMBAY RULES FOR TEMPLE ENTRY.

The rules and form framed by the Bombay High Court for trustees of temples in the province, who intend to throw open the place of worship under their charge to Harijans under the Bombay Harijan Temple Worship Act, are published in the *Government Gazette*.

All applications under the Act shall be regulated under the Code of Civil Procedure. The declaration opening a temple to Harijans shall be presented to the sitting judge of the High Court in Chambers. If the Chamber Judge is satisfied that the declaration is in order, he shall order it to be taken on file and shall cause public notice to be given and shall cause it to be published in accordance with the provisions of the Act.

After the expiry of three months from the date of the publication, of the declaration, the trustee or trustees shall file in the Court an affidavit of proof of the publication along with a certificate of the Prothonotary and Senior Master, that no application, has been made to set aside the said declaration, and the Court shall on application of the trustee or trustees make the declaration absolute.

This general lowering of the retail sale prices stimulated consumption. Habits of drunkenness increased and use of deleterious drugs assumed dangerous dimensions. These considerations condemned the auction system in its old form. The

GUIDE TO STUDY OF A CHANGING WORLD

The student of modern society in the national or international sphere has been given a valuable guide to the immense resource of documentation which the League of Nations affords him, in a manual recently issued by M. A. C. de Bracha-Vauthier: *Sources of Information*—a handbook on the publications of the League of Nations.

Professor Shotwell, of Columbia University, says in his preface: "The fact that this (*i. e.*, the League's) collection furnishes materials for the study of domestic problems within the national States as well as those in the field of international relations is already well known to serious students of the sociological, economic and political problems of the modern world. This is not wholly trrue, of course, of the purely technical documents oh agreements which Governments make with each other, but it is true of the realities with which these documents deal. Economics, public health, finance and even questions of security and disarmament are at bottom the expression of national facts and the need for adjustment to other similar fact in a changing world. Nowhere is this fact better illustrated than in the trend of the documents of the League of Nations. They have now become [illegible] indispensable source for the study of major proble[ms] that find expression in national policy to-day."

INDIAN WORKERS IN CEYLON.

The State Council hall was packed to the [illegible] with visitors who gathered to hear from Sir Baron Jayatilaka, Chief Minister, an account of the talks which the Board of Ministers had with Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru. Sir Baron Jayatilaka said.

"The Indian National Congress decided to send one of its most prominent members to Ceylon to study the situation here and report. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came here and spent ten days meeting all sorts of people, listening to everyone who had something to tell him, addressing public gatherings and also having a number of friendly discussions with the Ministers.

"Even before the arrival of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Ministers of their own accord considered the question carefully and they came to certain conclusions. In discontinuing from service non-Ceylonese of the first category, the Ministry decided upon a certain course. It was that if a non-Ceylonese was married to a Ceylonese woman, he should not be brought under the operation of the measure, [if] he had not married but had children through a Ceylonese woman, and if he was prepared to marry that woman and register the child or children, he should be exempted. We also came to the conclusion that special cases of hardships must be considered individually. I can mention some of these. Where a spouse entered service after 1934 but the partner had been in service much longer, it would be hard to apply the rule strictly because it would break up a family. We thought it only humane to consider such cases on their merits. We, therefore, decided that in such circumstances, the Minister concerned should review the cases and not the head of the department.

"As regards the second category, in respect of those who have been in service for more than five years, we have come to certain decisions. We thought that the cases of those who have served the Government for more than ten years should be specially considered."

"These," Sir Baron said, "are the decisions we have come to with regard to this question, both before and after Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru arrived. But it is published in certain newspapers that Pandit Jawaharlal came here, made all sorts of impossible demands, and that the Ministers have yielded. I want to repudiate that statement as strongly as possible. Mr. Nehru is a patriot and he would be the last person to ask us in Ceylon to do anything which would be detrimental to the interests of this country. He made no such demand. As a matter of fact, he has said on more than one occasion that the immediate question—the one relating to the question whether a few hundred persons should be sent away or not—is of a trivial character. He wanted to see something done which would not inflict on the affected people any hardship or leave in the minds of the Indian people any sense of hostility. He was more interested in seeing that the friendly relations that have subsisted between India and Ceylon continued than in anything else. He came to us with a message of goodwill and sympathy from the Indian public. There is nothing more than that. Wherever he spoke, Pandit Jawaharlal clearly laid down the principles that should guide even Indians in this island. I think I have said enough on that point to remove the gross misunderstanding that has been given wide publicity to by certain journals."—The *Hindu*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad)
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh)
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „)
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „)
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „)
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „)
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „)
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „)
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „)
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(„ „)
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(District Nasik)
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „)
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(„ „)
Palghar	(„ „).		(District Panch Mahals)
Kalyan	(„ „).	Kalol	
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and Individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co. Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin, Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more delicate perfumes in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 29, 1939. No. 48

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Prohibition Day.
"Sweet Toddy."
Reform in Indian States.
Lord Sinha.
Britain in the Far East.
Pandit Jawaharlal's Mission to Ceylon.
Communities or Interests?
Mr. Chamberlain Persists.
Cochin.
School and College Text Books.
Divorce and Dissolution of Marriage.
Mr. Bose on Prohibition.
Aryas in Hyderabad.
The King in the U. S. A.
Mr. Joad on the Gospels.
Lord Sinha's Peerage.
Hindu Mahasabha and Hyderabad.

NOTES.

Prohibition Day:—The Bombay Government in co-operation with the local Congress organization has organized a mass demonstration on the 1st August when Prohibition comes into force. There will be flag-salutations, open air mass meetings (if the weather permits), processions. The day is to be observed as a public holiday. We feel that all this fuss is both untimely and misplaced. Great social reforms are best begun quietly and without the blowing of trumpets. "The heavens were spread without a word." There are special reasons for inaugurating the Bombay scheme with as little fuss as possible. The scheme as it has emerged, if it can be regarded as final, is not so much Prohibition as a Permission scheme. What is prohibited with one hand is permitted with the other. When the Government announced its plan to attack the drink traffic in one of its biggest strongholds, Bombay city, we applauded their courage in declining the line of least resistance which other Congress Governments have preferred, and supported them wholeheartedly though our own first inclination was in the direction of clearing the districts before approaching the capital. Since the last few weeks the Government policy has steadily tended to be whittled down. Gandhiji's declaration that Prohibition is a misnomer and that all that was intended was to cease licensing liquor shops, was a stunning blow to those who believed that Prohibition meant Prohibition as the term has come to be understood all over the world. We expected Government to come forward with a contradiction or at least an explanation. None has been forthcoming. The rules issued a few days ago by conceding that abstinence from liquor might lead to serious and permanent injury to the health of persons who were not minors, pulled out the biggest block in the foundation of Prohibition. Little is left of Prohibition now in the Government measure. It is safe to say that not many persons need now abstain who have not always done so voluntarily or by force of habit. In any case, there is not much cause for jubilation in the inauguration of this milk-and-water scheme. If we are mistaken, we shall readily apologise but, as we understand it, the scheme to be inaugurated on Tuesday is one not of Prohibition but of Permission. The contemplated celebration is inopportune for another reason. The Excise Minister, Dr. Gilder, has been estranged from his community and there is today talk of a social boycott. Our sympathies always go out to the man who is fighting with his back to the wall. This is what Dr. Gilder has been doing in one sphere and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in another. Even if the Prohibition scheme was intact, it would be wise not to put the Excise Minister in a more invidious position than his official duties absolutely entail. There is one another consideration. The Government has yet to obtain full statutory authority for its measure. Unlike other Congress Governments, it has only a precarious majority of four or five in the Legislative Assembly. The Tuesday celebrations will be somewhat in the nature of hallooing before you are out of the wood.

"Sweet Toddy":—Dr. Sokhey, Director of the Haffkine Research Institute, issued last week a report of the analysis of "sweet toddy" which was made at the Institute at the instance of the Bombay Government. It may be recalled that Gandhiji came out suddenly some weeks ago with an encomium of nira or toddy which he had taken to be free from alcohol, and was surprised to learn from a licensed victuallers' deputation that the stuff he was sipping contained 6 per cent alcohol while beer contained less than 4 per cent. Some nationalist scientists at once came out with a contradiction of the licensed victuallers' allegation. The Government of Bombay wanted apparently to make sure of the actual contents of nira and they put the work in the hands of the Haffkine Institute. Dr. Sokhey's report substantially bears out the truth of the licensed victuallers' allegation. Sweet toddy juice, he says, ferments rapidly unless special methods are used to prevent the process. The Institute has devised a method which will keep the toddy not only unfermented for any length of time, but will preserve its taste, and will prevent its ill-odour. The Institute is arranging to produce this sterilised toddy in quantities and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to put it on the market as Government want to make available to the public this health-giving drink with its nutritive value unimpared. This value consists chiefly in a liberal supply of vitamin C which "almost equals the content of lemon juice." The price of lemons in Bombay never exceeds three pies each for small and six pies for large ones. Will a bottle of Haffkinised toddy be sold at a less price? Besides the fresh fruit in all circumstances has many more valuable qualities than bottled stuff however carefully manufactured, for the simple reason that the laboratory of Nature is better equipped than any human laboratory can be for such tasks. Government will be doing more for the health of the people by encouraging and extending the growth of lemons than by having nira treated and bottled in the laboratory and sold under their guarantee that it will never produce intoxication. No such guarantee is needed in the case of lemons, the ideal source of C vitamins, as Nature has endowed it with a sour taste which is a permanent and natural safeguard against excessive use. As in the case of older medical theories there is already a reaction against the vitamin theory. Some days ago we were surprised to read an article by a doctor on vitamin poisoning. Since the above was in type, it is announced that the Bombay Government has decided to sell Haffkine toddy as an "aerated water." No one, we trust, will contract the nira habit because Government wants people to do so. It will be a bad habit at the best and may have consequences which are not patent to the scientist in his laboratory. Dr. Sokhey's conclusions, we see, have been contraverted by another scientist.

Reform in Indian States:—The Indian Conciliation Group in London of which Mr. Carl Heath is Chairman and Miss Agatha Harrison is Honorary Secretary, has published a pamphlet entitled "The Indian States: Reform and Federation." Intended as it is for the use of Members of Parliament and the British Press it is necessarily sketchy. Though the facts mentioned in the pamphlet are more or less correct, the inference to which they point, namely, that the present agitation in the States is for the redress of grievances, is not correct. The States where the agitation has been most acute, are the most advanced States in which the standard of administration does not fall short of the standard of British India. Indeed, in some respects they are admittedly ahead of British India. The demand now is for full responsible government with the ruler's powers limited to those of the British sovereign. This demand is supported only by an abstract belief that full responsible government will achieve more for the people than the present system which, in the advanced States, is far from being autocratic. We recently asked a distinguished Indian administrator who is sympathetic to the claims of the States peoples, whether Mysore, for instance, would have made the progress it has if it had parliamentary government for the last thirty years. He thought for a while and replied that he must say that it would not. This claim of the States' politics was countenanced by Congress leaders who their own organization are obliged to adopt Dictator rather than the Democratic mode Gandhiji was dragged into this agitation and found out too late what he had let himself in for He pulled himself out of it with an effort which would have meant the collapse of many others his position and even in his case has involved much loss of public confidence. Whether parliamentary democracy is the best form of Government, is no longer a question admitting of only one answer. Whether it is suited to all conditions and countries, is another question. The Indian situation has changed much even in the few weeks since Miss Agatha Harrison visited India. It has become necessary to form a Conciliation Group here but no one so far is coming forward to form it.

Lord Sinha:—After an unconscionably protracted period of suspense the Committee of the House of Lords entrusted with questions relating to the privileges of peers, has decided that the present Lord Sinha was the "heir male of the body of the late Lord Sinha, lawfully begotten." We reprint the Lord Chancellor's observations as a conspicuous example of British circumlocution. The present Lord Sinha is the eldest son of the late Lord Sinha. No one but a fool or an idiot would think of doubting that fact. But the Attorney-General reported to the King that he was in doubt "whether the evidence produced to him, if accepted, would establish a marriage entitling the petitioner to make pedigree and establish his descent in the Peerage Law from the first Lord Sinha." This doubt has now been solved and Lord Sinha is accepted as the son of his father according to the Peerage Law. The difficulty raised by the Attorney-General seems to have been that Lord Sinha's marriage under the Hindu law was not a monogamous marriage since it was permissible for him under the Hindu law to marry a second or third wife. That the late Lord Sinha did not exercise this permission and marry a second wife, was noted as a point in favour of the petitioner, the present Lord. But it was a subsidiary point, the main one being that, about a year prior to the birth of the petitioner, his father joined the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which the Lord Chancellor described as a sect one of whose tenets (?) was monogamy. Indian courts, he added, would not recognize the validity of a second marriage while a Brahmo continued to be a member of the sect and the first wife was alive. With due respect to the authority of the highest judicial functionary in England we doubt if this is more than an obiter dictum. We believe that Brahmos as a rule are monogamous but we are not sure that, if a Brahmo married a second wife when his first wife was living, the Courts in British India would not recognise the second marriage

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

as valid, unless the first marriage was registered under the Special Marriage Act of 1872 which is entirely unrelated to the tenets of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. The tenets of the Arya Samaj as promulgated by its Founder included strict monogamy, but nowadays polygamous marriages are performed under the recently passed Arya Marriage Validation Act and the authorities of the Samaj seem to be absolutely unconcerned.

Britain in the Far East:—Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, gave the House of Commons on Monday the text of the agreement reached between Mr. Arita and Sir. Robert Craigie at Tokyo. The Japanese had insisted on such an agreement as a preliminary to the Anglo-Japanese talks over Tientsin. The agreement reads:

> His Majesty's Government fully recognize the actual situation in China where hostilities on a large scale are in progress, and note that, as long as that state of affairs continues to exist, the Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purpose of safeguarding their own security and maintaining public order in regions under their control and that they have to suppress or remove any such causes or acts as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy. His Majesty's Government have no intention of countenancing any acts or measures prejudicial to the attainment of the above-mentioned objects by the Japanese forces, and they will take this opportunity to confirm their policy in this respect by making it plain to British authorities and British nationals in China that they should refrain from such acts and measures.

The Japanese have reason to rejoice at this achievement. Some idea of the importance attached by Japan to it can be had by the fact that a day before its official release the Japanese Premier gave an interview to the Press in which he furnished the Japanese view of the Arita-Craigie agreement. He was not quite accurate when he said that the understanding implied abstinence from helping independent China. One cannot escape the feeling that the agreement as it stands is much more than a general statement of British policy towards China in the present Sino-Japanese hostilities. In the first place, it is the first official recognition of the hitherto "undeclared war." In the second, it implies British recognition of the Japanese Government in the areas which she has taken by force, and almost an offer of help to Japan in the difficult task of administering these territories. And lastly, while it does not commit Britain to a policy of denying credits to Chiang Kai-shek's Government it does impose on Britain abstinence from any anti-Japanese act. For some months Japan has been anxious to consolidate her position in China rather than to press further into the interior. The agreement gives her an opportunity to do so. If any doubt is left on the subject, the attitude of China where anti-British feeling is reported to be running high, and the reactions of the United States press should be conclusive. Mr. Chamberlain's explanations in the House of Commons were as usual unhelpful. They fail to convince anybody of the correctness of his intrepretation that the agreement does none of the things it appears to do; at the same time they appear to have increased Japanese suspicions of British intentions to carry out their declared policy honestly. As a result the Tientsin situation continues to be anxious and anti-British demonstrations still occur even in the Japanese-occupied parts of China.

Pandit Jawaharlal's Mission to Ceylon:—On the threshold of his mission to Ceylon on behalf of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru announced that he was not going there with any resentment at or purpose of retaliation against the decision of the Ceylon Government to dispense with the services of some hundreds of Indian workmen employed by them on daily wages. This is exactly what we had commended as the right method of approach to the question. The Ceylonese point of view should be given adequate weight in order to obtain fair consideration for the Indian point of view. This seems to have been done by the Pandit. We agree with him that though the results as far as the immediate question is concerned may not be spectacular, the foundation has been laid for a permanent understanding between the people of Ceylon and the people of India. We look forward like the Pandit to the time when India and Ceylon will be one great political and economic unit as geographically and culturally they have been one. In all our dealings with differences which may arise between the two countries, this goal must be steadily kept in view. India as the larger and more powerful neighbour, should set the example by conceding something more than the legitimate claims of Ceylon. In the present dispute, Ceylon must be conceded her claim to provide work for her own workless people before helping others. This claim is made by and on behalf not only of the Sinhalese section of the Ceylonese population but also of the Tamils who are an influential section in the Northern half of the island, and who are bound closely by ties of language, religion and social intercourse to the people of Tamilnad. That the results of Pandit Nehru's visit are not likely to be negligible is suggested by the rather hysterical outburst of a Sinhalese leader threatening the Ceylon Government with dire consequences if it made my concession, as he feared it might, in consequence of the Pandit's representations. We are sorry that the Government of India have not taken the same conciliatory and far-seeing attitude in this dispute as Pandit Jawaharlal. They seem to have been in a hurry to forestall the Pandit and to show that they are more keen about the matter than the Congress. The breaking off of the Trade negotiations with Ceylon was a precipitate step without precedent. Countries where Indians have more serious grievances have not been rebuffed in a like way.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, July 29, 1939.

COMMUNITIES OR INTERESTS?

The Hyderabad Reforms Committee has devoted several pages to the question of the proper basis of electorates. In discussing it the Committee has not been content to restrict itself to the conditions in Hyderabad State with which alone it was concerned. It now and then indulges in generalisations about India while in some places it insists that Hyderabad conditions are peculiar to itself. The Committee's conclusion regarding communal electorates is inconclusive. The Chairman, Dewan Bahadur S. Aravamudu Aiyangar, wishes to point out

> that he does not believe there is anything in the system of territorial representation which should necessarily tend to promote communal rancour. But, without concerning himself with the pros and cons of territorial representation, he desires to make it clear that the considerations which have weighed with him to incline in favour of representation by interests, are that it will dispense with communal representation, separate electorates and other safeguards, and that under this system no single section will be able to secure a predominant majority for itself, and that, if the experiment failed, it should by no means be difficult to resort to another system.

The other Hindu member of the Committee, Mr. Kashinath Rao Vaidya, was more positive. He preferred the territorial system, without any reservation of seats or safeguards on communal lines, and opposed the system of representation by interests as striking at the root of representative Government. The official (Muslim) members of the Commission did not disagree with the view expressed by the Chairman that there is nothing in the system of territorial representation which should necessarily tend to promote communal rancour; but they wished to make it clear that

> under conditions existing in India, and particularly in the present atmosphere here (Hyderabad), candidates will very often for the furtherance of their own ends, try to convert territorial constituencies into political arenas of communal rivalry.

As if representatives of "interests" will more easily disinterest themselves in, and will do nothing for the furtherance of, their own ends, economic and communal! All this part of the Report, however, is nullified by the introduction of the dreaded communal bogey under the orders finally passed by his Exalted Highness. Each of the interests specified for purposes of election, it is provided, must send an equal number of Hindu and Muslim representatives while similar equality must exist between the two communities among the nominated members. This is to be done by "convention" and not by statute. So communalism is there after all.

Mr. Vaidya in asking for territorial constituencies without communal or other safeguards was ignoring the hard facts of contemporary life. His proposal, with provision for communal representation or reservation added on, for some obscure reason did not suggest itself to the Committee as a possible alternative. For the political education of the people, a constitution which rests on recognised foundations, is more valuable than one which is based on hypothetical ones. Territorial constituencies with communal reservations would have been better from this point of view than the interests-communal arrangement adopted. We said last week that communal differences are preferable to differences due to economic interests as foundations of a political edifice. In this country communities have lived together for centuries and have evolved a technique for being good neighbours without worshipping in the same shrines and without interdining or intermarrying. The communal "evil" is, therefore, one to which people in this country are acclimatised. 'The conflicts of economic interests," on the other hand, are comparatively unfamiliar to them owing to the system of occupational castes which is the peculiar and, in the opinion of eminent sociologists, an admirable contrivance for avoiding economic class wars which, at present, are found chiefly in highly industrialised parts of the country, of which Hyderabad is fortunately not one. The belief that emphasis on economic interests will divert the mass mind from communal tendencies, is not consonant with everyday experience. The dominant interest of the masses of people being admittedly communal, the communal motive is bound like Aaron's rod to swallow up all other interests. From the administrative point of view also, the interest franchise is more difficult than the communal franchise. A man belongs and can belong only to one community. He is either a Hindu or a Muslim, or a Christian. There is no chance of overlapping. (The Aryas claim to be both a distinct community and a class of Hindus at the same time. But their whole position is ambiguous and for the present they may be left alone.) In the case of "interests," however, the overlapping is present at almost every turn. A lawyer may at the same time be a landlord. A doctor may be a tenant. An educationist may be, and under the scheme of vocational education is bound to be, a handicraftsman. Labourers are not all depressed classes people nor are the depressed classes all labourers. In point of numbers alone, in the case of three or four communities the scheme is weighted with over a dozen interests and we have no doubt that more of them will be coming forward to claim recognition.

There is no man living who has a more whole-hearted repugnance to communalism than Sir Akbar Hydari. In public and in private he has again and again expressed his determination to keep the communal evil out of his constitutional reforms at all costs. Obviously he has been obliged by circumstances beyond his control at the last moment to introduce by a side wind what he was determined should not disfigure the Hyderabad constitution. What those circumstances were can only be briefly indicated. The first was Gandhiji's declaration to the Muslims of Rajkot that he was agreeable to their having

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

separate electorates if they wanted them in that Indian State. The second is the sudden decision of the Congress and Congressmen to force Indian States, even those which had not the rudiments of organised administration, to introduce full responsible government at the risk of letting lose satyagrahis on them. Thirdly, pressure from above to do something that may be put before Parliament and the British public as a step towards constitutional reform. From an abstractand idealistic view, communal electorates represent a higher stage of evolution than interests-electorates.

The great struggle between the so-called democratic and the dictator regimes is for economic interests and economic interests alone. And it is to be borne in mind, in both regimes the nineteenth century figment of the economic man has been ruthlessly eliminated. This is the absorbing feature of the present struggle. The process is analysed and presented with great clarity and conviction in "The End of the Economic Man" by Mr. Peter F. Drucker, which was noticed in the *Reformer* of July 8. And there is this to consider. The honest communalist lives for something besides himself. The "economic man" has no interest but his own. With education and a widened outlook, there is always hope of a communal-minded person extending the range of his sympathies to his nation and to humanity. There is no such hope in the case of the man of economic interests.

The communal bitterness now pervading Indian politics is not due to separate electorates but to the weightages attached to them. In fact, without weightages communal electorates will lose much of their attraction. The Hyderabad scheme perpetuates the British Indian anomaly with the further complication of economic interests. We may observe in passing that conventions are more difficult to dislodge than statutory obligations, without giving rise to misunderstanding and resentment among the interests concerned. The equal representation provided for Hindus and Muslims whose population ratio in the Nizam's Dominion is 8 to 1, is sought to be justified by historical importance and the precedent of the weightage allowed to Europeans in the British Indian scheme. The Muslims had a great opportunity of welding India into a nation and establishing an empire on the broad basis of nationality. They failed to do so as did the Hindus before and after them, and failed just because they could not sustain the great traditions of Asoka and Akbar, which made no distinction between Hindu and Buddhist, and Muslim and Hindu, regarding both as equal members of the Empire. The significance of historical importance is thus a negative one. Apart from that, there is wisdom in the Shakespearian precept, "Let not virtue seek remuneration for the thing it was." As for the Englishman's franchise in British India, it is admittedly inequitable and is bound to disappear when India takes over full responsibility for her Defence and Foreign affairs. We fully realise that Muslim sentiment in Hyderabad is largely opposed to any change in the present system and that even the equal representation provided for Muslims has not mollified it. It is plain that the Government is not in a position to establish representat ve Government in which Muslims will be a minority community. In the circumstances, it would be better to shift the line of reform to other lines than those of parliamentary democracy, in which our own faith is not unlimited as the best form of Government for India.

We have discussed above the basic principles of the Hyderabad scheme of reforms on more or less theoretical considerations. Theory, however, is distilled experience and any scheme which contravenes it, is prima facie unsatisfactory. We are glad nevertheless that Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha which has been conducting a satyagraha campaign, while conscious of the defects of the scheme, has expressed himself satisfied with it and has conveyed his congratulations to his Exalted Highness and his Government. We commend the spirit which has prompted his prompt action. It shows that he has full faith in the justice of the Hindu cause and in the good will and the desire of the Hyderabad Government to do justice to the largest section of the subjects of His Exalted Highness. The Arya Samaj leaders who profess to be interested only in religious freedom, have not been able to make up their minds. Their conception of religious liberty is extravagant and impracticable, only less so than that of the Shankaracharya of Jyotir Math who wants that the Hindus should be free to iudnlge in the obscene slogans which they are acustomed to shout during the Holi festival. There has been a strong movement in British India which has largely succeeded in putting down this degrading custom and in making Holi a holy season. Hyderabad can not be allowed to wallow in this mire because it has accumulated during several centuries.

Mr. Chamberlain Persists:—The tenacity with which Mr. Chamberlain persists in his peace-at-any-price policy must compel admiration even from his bitterest political opponents. It is this loyalty which has to some extent hindered the negotiations with Soviet Russia. Even at the moment when an Anglo-Soviet Pact seemed very near, the British Premier had not altogether given up hopes of stopping aggression by buying off the aggressors. In Britain's dealings with Japan, there was an added difficulty. As the *Spectator* frankly put it," the exultation of German and Italian propagandists at our difficulties in China matter little, but the damage to our prestige in India and other parts of Asia matters much. "Of all the reasons for resisting and resenting Japanese indignities, this is about the worst the British could hit upon.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

COCHIN.

Cochin has many points in common with Travancore. It has had a common history with that State and it shares the advantages of the same social system. In area Travancore with 7,600 square miles is more than five times the size of Cochin; and its population is 50 lakhs as against Cochin's 12 lakhs. In matters of administration Cochin like Travancore has maintained a high standard. It is interesting to note, in the Administration Report for 1937-38, the pecular characteristics of Cochin which distinguish it from its great neighbour. In the sphere of Education, there is little to choose between Cochin and Travancore, both of whom have made rapid strides particularly in the education of women. The significance of the fact that women's education in Cochin is as far advanced as in her sister State lies in this that Cochin has adopted the policy of separate schools for girls even in the primary classes. The general progress of education among women in both these States, therefore, must be ascribed to the matriarchal system which is common to them both. In religious matters as well Cochin has followed a more conservative policy; the State resisted great pressure, after the Travancore Temple Entry Proclamation, from outside its territories for similar legislation. Yet in the education of the backward communities the Government of Cochin has taken a special interest; the Government helped all depressed class students in secondary schools till recently. But, says the Administration Report, "so rapid has been the increase in the number of pupils that the Government have limited the number of depressed class stipendiaries.....they are exempted from the payment of fees." There is an interesting sidelight on Government's educational policy thrown by the following sentence, "A few backward communities, such as the Kudumi Chettis, Tholkollans and Perumkollans, Kumbarans, Kusavans, Boyans and Velaans, were classed as depressed classes for purposes of educational concessions during the year under report." Cochin State, it is implied both by the reduction of concessions to the depressed classes and by the enlargement of the words "depressed classes", watches the trend of education in different sections of its people and adjusts educational facilities to provide for equal opportunities for all subjects. Other facilities extended to the depressed classes are the provision of house sites, the setting up of colonies, the provision of adequate water supply, co-operative societies, etc.

In opening the Budget Session of the Cochin Legislative Assembly, the Dewan Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty delivered a notable address (July 18th). The financial position of Cochin as shown in the Budget figures is an enviable one. The coming year will be the third surplus year in succession. Only strict economy has been able to achieve this without curtailing—on the other hand, actually increasing—expenditure on nation-building departments and without increasing taxation. The "Palace" expenditure is less than 7 per cent of the total revenues. Sir Shanmukham compares the year 1939 with 1929 and observes that there is now an increase of nearly Rs. 12 lakhas in the State's expenditure on the nation-building departments, the only additional burden on the taxpayer being the income and super tax which is expected to yield Rs. 6·5 lakhs. The Port of Cochin has been a veritable gold mine to the State and Sir Shanmukham remarked on the increase in the trade of the port during the year. All work on the Harbour will be completed by January 1940. The reclaimed area which was in dispute, was 775 acres, of which the Cochin State has sold 675 to the Port authorities leased to them the remaining 100 acres. The of 150 acres during the year, reduced the borrowing from the Government of India by Rs. lakhs. The increase in importance of Cochin port in the next few years will obviate the need fresh taxation. The extra financial needs of the will be to a great extent met by the duties paid imported goods, which in the long run fall on consumer.

Sir Shanmukham after a reference to financial position of the State, turned to the work of the Staff Selection Board set up three years for recruitment to the public services; a committee of four non-officials with the Dewan Peishkar, been appointed to look into the work of the Board. The Staff Selection Board, as the Administration Report for 1937-38 shows, aims at satisfying "legitimate demands" of all the communities in State without impairing the efficiency of the service. The Report says:

> Analysed according to communities 103 appointments were secured by Ezhuvas, 70 by other Hindus (backward or depressed), 61 by Romo-Syrians, 41 by Latin Catholics, 32 by other Christians, 82 by Nayars, 52 by other Hindus, 29 by Muslims, 21 by Tiyyas, Brahmins, 10 by Jews, Anglo-Indians, etc., and 15 by Pulayas. Pulayas alone could not derive the benefit of the percentage of appointments assured them because of the want of qualified applicants in their community.

Sir Shanmukham told his Council that that was the official policy. He further took the opportunity to reiterate his faith in the principle of communal justice in questions of representation in the legislatures and in the public services. He said:

> I am clear in my mind that the ideal of nationality in India could be strongly implanted only by a fearless recognition of the principle of communal representation which is an inevitable corollary to the existing social order in India. It is the refusal to accept this inexorable fact of our political life that has led to communal bickerings and strife. The principle of communal representation in India is in no sense an antithesis to nationalism. Amidst the diversities of communities in India, national unity can be achieved only by creating a sense of security and confidence in the mind of all the important communities. This confidence can be created in an effective manner only when all the communities feel that their political and civic liberties are adequately safeguarded in a manner consistent with the existing social order.

To this policy Sir Shanmukham went on to say the State owed the peace and harmony that has prevailed, during the last three years. This bold claim specially since Cochin, before the acceptance of this policy, was particularly known for its communal squabbles. To the casual observer it might appear that Sir Shanmukham's attitude to communal representation stressed an aspect which might conceivably lead to inefficiency. But the extract which we have given above from the Administration Report, leaves no room for such misunderstanding. There is, however, a world of difference between recognising communalism and being obsessed by it. Both Sir Shanmukham and the Cochin State might well consider themselves fortunate in having no minorities which seek representation beyond their proportionate share in the legislatures and in the services, as in British India and in some Indian States.

A large part of the Diwan's speech was devoted to the working of the Constitutional Reforms inaugurated by His Highness on June 17, 1938. Sir Shanmukham remarked that though a third of the Budget was not votable by the Council, the greater part of it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was "obligatory expenditure" and would have to be voted by any Council. The really non-votable part was, he said, less than ten per cent of the Budget. In view of the general powers of sanction and veto vested in His Highness, the expedient of withholding even items of "obligatory expenditure" from the vote of the elected legislature is difficult to justify. In referring in his speech announcing the reforms to the example of the British constitutional ruler, His Highness held out hopes that, as the people of Cochin gained experience, the system of diarchy would give place to complete responsibility. That was the most effective defence of the system introduced in the State—that it was transitional. The Minister who was appointed in the first year, was the leader of the popular party in the Legislature, and the Diwan announced that there had been no reason for the exercise of the reserve powers, either of the Maharaja or of the Diwan. Unlike other Indian States, Cochin by the introduction of the 1938 Constitution has deliberately accepted as its ideal the British Indian system of popular government and in the near future the State will approximate to the British Indian provinces in administration. Sir Shanmukham referred with justifiable pride to Cochin's independent judiciary and to the absence of repressive laws and Star Chamber methods in the State. Along with the new Reforms, a High Court presided over by a Chief Justice and two judges was established in 1938 in Cochin.

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE TEXT-BOOKS.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

It is a happy sign of national awakening that the need for reform in the educational system and conditions prevailing in the country is being increasingly realised. Education is not yielding satisfactory results; the money and years spent on it are far from commensurate with its economic and material achievements in later life; it does not develop self-confidence and the spirit of courageous enterprise —these and such other complaints are heard more and more. The swelling bulk of educated unemployed is, moreover, adding discontent to the above mere critical complaint.

As a solution some people have proposed that academic education should be supplemented by some vocational education. Going deeper into the matter, Gandhiji has conceived the idea of reforming and extending the primary stage of education, and his conception has developed into a comprehensive scheme, that is popularly known as the Wardha Scheme.

While thus complaints are made about the failure of the prevailing system of education to fit youngsters for the economic struggle in later life and suggestions for remedying the apparent defects are being offered, the cultural, the character-building and the outlook-forming aspect of education is, however, being rather overlooked. An important object of education is, no doubt, the development of faculties, which are needed in establishing oneself in life, but it has also to aim at building character; forming high and pure ideals and imparting knowledge uncoloured by prejudice and undistorted through wrong perspective. For such purpose the selection of good text-books is of great importance. But unfortunately the selection of text-books is left to committees the members of which are often uninterested in and ill-informed of the subject in which they prescribe books. Canvasing, open and underhand, by text-book writers makes matters still worse. Over and above, the policy of the Government has been unhelpful, if not something more, in good text-book selection. Mrs. Annie Besant once said in a lecture that, while reading a school history book, she found it stated about the second Sikh War that the battle had ended in a draw, while she knew that the truth was that it had resulted in a defeat of the English. Surprised at the misstatement, she said she turned to the title-page of the book where it was written that the book was meant for Indian schools. She smiled and added that on reading that she understood why the misstatement about the battle having ended in a draw instead of an English defeat, was made in the book. Indian boys should grow up under the impression that the English were unbeatable, that a few hundreds of the English could repulse and defeat thousands of Indian soldiers, that they were superior to Indians in every way. How could Indians educated and brought up under such education from their early boyhood, develop self-confidence and a sense of equality, not to say of superiority as against their present rulers? Mrs. Besant very pertinently asked, and she went on to give the picture of the English schools, where boys were given to read the life stories of the English heroes, in which the bravery and achievements of those heroes were greatly exaggerated, brilliantly coloured. They read of Nelson's skill and bravery; they were taught that Wellington was the victor of Napoleon (of course, they did not read what an English lady writer, Hamilton, had written about the great Duke, namely, that "to talk of Wellington as the victor of Napoleon is to insult the intelligence of man"). Such reading inspired them with confidence in themselves and in their race, pointed out Mrs. Besant, for they felt that the race-blood that had flowed in the veins of Nelson and Wellington flowed in their veins too. What wonder then, that when an English boy and an Indian boy met, they met on most unequal terms and under greatly different advantages of education, the one inspired by individual and race confidence and the other cowed down by knowledge of race inferiority. This inferiority complex continues beyond boyhood and persists throughout the life of most of the Indians. I once saw an English boy giving chase to about half a dozen Indian boys of his age none of whom had the courage to turn back and challenge the attacker. The fact that in a quarrel between an Indian and an Englishman the former seldom gets justice and gets instead a sever punishment, leads also to nervousness and hesitation in the former and courage and confidence in the latter, but, as pointed out above, the different education which they receive, has also very great effect on their mentality.

It is indeed a pity that what Mrs. Annie Besant realised and thought about text-books does not strike the educationists and the political leaders of the country, most of whom, even today, accept as gospel-truth what European historians have written about India. Even gross misrepresentation, whether intentional or unintentional, of ideas, manners, customs and traditions by western writers, has left deep and very often indelible impressions on the Indian mind, with the result that educated Indians fail to appreciate the loftiest and purest idealism underlying Indian culture and the deepest and clearest thinking on which that culture rests. They only look upon it from the wrong angle and with prejudiced vision. The Brahmins, for instance, have almost invariably been represented by European scholars as selfish people, who made and promulgated laws and devised ceremonial rites for others with a view only to benefit themselves, and such representation is taken as correct by Indians, who forget that for their own selves the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Brahmins had prescribed only a life of austerity and renunciation. If world affairs were to be conducted under the guidance of people truly inspired by the Brahmanical idealism there could not be all this vice, bitterness, quarrels, and unhappiness.

I have referred to the misrepresentation of Brahmins only by the way, just to show that not only in history but in other subjects also, legal, social, cultural, etc., facts and their significance have been distorted and coloured by unappreciative prejudice. Educated Indians have so much been crushed under the influence of such propagandist education that if one were to tell them anything to the contrary they would at once refer to European scholars and jurists like Maine and others. No wonder that Dr. A. K. Coomarswamy sorrowfully observes, "Speak to the ordinary graduate of an Indian University or a student from Ceylon, he will hasten to display his knowledge of Shakespeare; talk to him of religious philosophy, you will find that he is an atheist of the crude type common in Europe a generation ago, and that not only has he no religion but he is as lacking in philosophy as the average Englishman; talk to him of Indian music he will produce a gramaphone or a harmonium and inflict upon you one or both; talk to him of Indian dress, jewellery, he will tell you that they are uncivilized and barbaric; talk to him about Indian art, it is news to him that such a thing exists; ask him to translate for you a letter written in his own mother tongue, he does not know it. He is indeed a stranger in his own land."

With her children thus become strangers how can India come to her own? How can she get up from her fall and attain her natural height? How can she stand confidently face to face with other countries?

I urge all national leaders to consider that deeply in the quietness of their off-time. Mere vociferous political propaganda will not vitalise the nation so long as the underlying causes of estrangement and denationalisation are not systematically removed by rationalising and giving earnest thoughts to education of children. During the last war the German Kaiser had once said that, if Germany lost the war on account of England's intervention, he would infuse such bitterness in the mind of German children through a suitably devised system of education that when they would grow up they would become deadly enemies of the English. The Kaiser understood the efficacy of education in forming a nation's outlook. But such understanding is still wanting in Indian leaders and educationists, othrwise they would have paid more attention to the curriculum of schools and colleges. With the Congress coming in control of education in so many provinces, it should have devoted its first attention to the matter of revising the school syllabus and reselecting the text-books. It should also have encouraged the writing of true Indian history. While the available history of pre-British period is lacking in valuable information and particulars and abounds in distortions, that of the post-British era is vitiated by suppressed truth and propagandist zeal of writers. Even Indian writers on the latter period have generally either fallen to the temptation of paraphrasing the European historians or have felt nervous (not without reason) to unravel the truth of the country's history, particularly political, economic and industrial. The expositions, for instance, in the Minority Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, no Indian historian could think of referring to in his book. Such defects and handicaps must be removed and Indian boys must be taught the true history of their country. The boys should also be more interested in the physical, economic and political geography of India than of European countries as at present. Greater and more appreciative interest in the classics and literature and in their country's arts and traditions must also be developed in them.

For all that a thoughtful selection of text-books and a judicious replacement of many an undesirable book are very necessary. For that purpose again well informed and very thoughtful people are required to constitute the selection committees. The Congress, the Universities, the different educational institutions and in fact all educationists and thinkers, whatever be their political inclinations, can well collaborate in this vital matter of supreme national importance. As the leading political organisation, let the Congress give a lead, and immediately, by inviting suitable men to serve on a committee to give shape and a push to it.

DIVORCE AND DISSOLUTION OF MARRIAGE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

My attention has been drawn to two paragraphs in *The Indian Social Reformer* of 22nd July which comment on some report of a speech I made at Palamcottah. I am disappointed that even *The Indian Social Reformer* which I have always believed to maintain a very high standard of accuracy in its statements and fairness in its comments does not seem to have had a correct report of my remarks on the Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Bill, as its comments, which I regret are not quite fair, indicate.

I do not know what *The Reformer* means by the expression, "violently denounced" the Bill. I am never "violent" nor do I ever "denounce" anything in my speeches even though I may be opposed to it. It is a principle with me never to use strong language and expressions which might be considered violent or bitter and cause misunderstanding or ill-feeling. The subject of my speech in Palamcottah was "Women's Problems." I made a reference to this Bill in the course of my speech as it deals with an important problem relating to women in particular. I repeated the opinion which I have already expressed that I was not in favour of the Bill becoming law in its present form and that this view was held by a very large body of women all over our country. I mentioned among other points that:

This Bill proposes to confer the right of divorce only on women. This is neither fair nor just. Women have always demanded equal rights and status and never claimed any rights which are denied to men. The fact that men are permitted to marry more than one wife is no justification for legislating that only women should have the right of divorce. Suppose a man has scraples about marrying a second wife when his first wife is living and even though it is impossible to live with the latter. Why should he not have the right of divorce when a woman in a similar position has it?

The proposal to demand that women alone should have the right of divorce might cause the wrong impression that modern education introduces western ideas of divorce, etc., among women and thus increases the prejudice against education of girls and also make it harder for women to participate in public life, who are now doing it under serious difficulties and much suspicion. There is also a strong feeling among some of our people that it is not advisable to let our girls grow up with the feeling that women have too many grievances against men and they alone

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

should have certain rights with regard to marriage. They feel that it is dangerous to let their young undeveloped minds imbibe new ideas such as divorce, since they are still being married before they are able to understand fully the responsibilities of marriage. They remark that already instances are increasing where our young girls even with the little modern education they have, are becoming rather difficult wives and daughters-in-law, imagining grievances which really do not exist, and getting discontented and bitter especially where the attractions of fashionable society are strong. Hindu Society should be more advanced with regard to education and age of marriage of girls and monogamy before a law of this kind conferring right of divorce only on women is introduced.

The chief and urgent aim of our women is to prevent polygamy as it is detrimental to domestic peace and happiness and causes much suffering to the discarded wives and their children. Women are anxious to promote a higher and purer standard of life in Indian homes and the idea of divorce is associated more with disruption than with union and happiness. Women are strongly of opinion that it is absolutely necessary not merely in the interests of women but also for the good of society at large to legislate for monogamy before or along with divorce. The mere right of claiming divorce "to women under certain circumstances" does not achieve these objects nor does it help materially in raising the status of women.

This Bill gives no relief to women who are ill-treated or discarded by their husbands but who will not or cannot sue for divorce:—

(a) They might not have facilities for going to Court, especially if they are uneducated and have not friends to help or to advise them or they might not have the financial means to meet the expenses.

(b) They might be too sensitive and shrink from the publicity that divorce gives the parties concerned or their relations might prevent them from taking that step.

(c) They might find themselves in a more difficult position after securing divorce especially if they have no means of livelihood and are unable to stand on their own feet, and they have had no education and training or experience of the world. Remarriage will be an extremely difficult problem particularly if there are children when there still exists in this country a strong prejudice against the remarriage of even young widows.

(d) The fear of separation from her children might prevent a wife from contemplating divorce, however unhappy she be.

(e) The possibility of an unkind or unscrupulous husband bringing forward counter-charges which are absolutely untrue which nevertheless will throw mud on her or which due to his power, influence or wealth he might succeed by unfair methods in proving to be true, will also restrain a wife from contemplating divorce and she will have no other means of redress of grievances.

These are some of the reasons which make one feel that this Bill when it becomes Law, will hardly be any help to women in general. It will concede to women a right merely on paper, which might not be of real benefit in practice and might even cause them harm. It will not prevent polygamy, and other evils, such as having a concubine in the house, which are the main causes of the intense misery and physical and mental suffering that several women are undergoing and of the acute unhappiness in their homes. It will only provide the modern educated woman who marries a man who has a wife living, a defence against the charge that she has done a a wrong to another woman as she will be able to state that the first wife can get a divorce. It is possible that this Bill will therefore be a help to those who are commonly known as 'husband-snatchers' and thereby be a means for causing much injury to good and innocent wives.

Divorce is a difficult problem all the world over and divorce laws have not helped to promote happiness in homes in Western countries where they exist. The present tendency there is to make these laws more strict as the last Divorce Act in England has attempted to do. I agree to a great extent with the view that it is all the more important in India especially at this transitional stage to introduce this legislation only after much deliberation. Legislative measures for social reform should aim to make a proper adjustment between the needs of the day and the prevailing social conceptions. If legislation is hastily introduced, it may fail to make this adjustment and may cause much pain and suffering. *The Indian Social Reformer* itself has sometimes pointed out the grave consequences of such legislation. The happiness and discipline in homes which are the foundations of Society can only be maintained by the two partners showing equal weight of responsibility and an appreciation of mutual claims, rights and privileges. It is, therefore, necessary that certain restraints should be applied where laxity has caused much harm and vice versa. This, as I said before, is a very difficult task and requires much thought. Above all legislation for social reform should benefit not merely the wealthy and educated classes, who still form only a narrow fringe of our vast population, but also the many millions that live in villages where tradition dies hard and social life is governed by ancient usages, customs and laws which cannot be easily changed.

These briefly, are some of my remarks during my speech to which you refer. Unfortunately your criticisms overlook these points and is based on an incorrect and incomplete report and gives an erroneous and even misleading impression of my speech. I certainly understand that there is no difference between divorce and dissolution of marriage and that as both mean the same thing both might have the same consequences. The difficulties I touched upon in my speech relate not to the general question of divorce or dissolution of marriages but to this particular Bill. Laws for marriage reform should not let married life get more complicated and then provide a solution by severing the bond. It should aim to reduce the causes of disruption to a minimum and to achieve the maximum of happiness.

Madras,
July 24, 1939. } Yours etc.
K. RADHABAI SUBBAROYAN.

[Our answer to Mrs. Subbaroyan is the following report from the *Hindu* of July 14, on which our comment was based:

"Mrs. Subbaroyan referred to the problem of divorce and to the Hindu Women's Right to Divorce Bill of Dr. Deshmukh that had now been circulated by the Assembly for eleciting public opinion. Since she was addressing her constituency, she wanted to say what she thought of the Bill. She was definitely not in favour of the Bill. She strongly felt that a bill of this kind, permitting divorce to women when there was no law to enforce monogamy, would do more harm to women than good. This was an instance of hasty social reform legislation, which would result in consequences not now envisaged by the sponsor of the Bill. For one thing, Mrs. Subbaroyan

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

said that the title itself was offensive. It implied that there was something wrong with Hindu women and Hindu society. She believed that what the Hindu women wanted was not the right to divorce, but changes in certain laws that would give them security and happiness. Constituted as the Hindu society was at present, it was very dangerous to plant the idea of divorce into it. Education, she went on to say, instead of elevating some of their women to the true glory of Indian womanhood, had only filled them with wrong ideas of rights and liberties. They could not plant this new germ of divorce among their girls before they had realised the sacred implications of marriage. After referring to the clauses of the Bill, Mrs. Subbaroyan asked what was the use of divorce for a woman who had some children? And then there was the possiblity of the husband making false counter charges, with the result that she might have to lead the rest of her life in infamy, without the ability to meet those charges and prove them to be false. Her home would be wrecked and her hapiness would be blighted. If easy divorce was provided for, pretexts could be found by the second wife, especially if she happened to be an educated woman, who could say that she was a better intellectual companion to her husband. Frankly, she was against the Bill; not that she did not recognise that it might give relief in a few heart-rending cases, but this benefit was nothing compared to the great harm the Bill would cause to the womanhood of India. She hoped sincerely that the Bill would be withdrawn."

The *Hindu* has a reputation second to none for the accuracy of its reporting. As for her arguments against divorce which Mrs. Subbaroyan accepts as meaning the same as dissolution of marriage, surely then they should apply equally to her own Bill.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

MR. BOSE ON PROHIBITION.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has suggested one method for adoption to make the Prohibition Programme successful from an economic point of view. He suggests that "the foreign liquor consumed by Europeans should be heavily taxed. That could relieve the people from the burden of taxation without hindering the programme of prohibition."

I wonder whether Mr. Subhas Babu has any idea of the European population in Bombay or for the matter of that, in Bombay Presidency. He has put down the loss of revenue at rupees four crores. Is his method likely to fetch to the Bombay Government revenue enough to make up this loss?

A little imagination, if not hard facts and self-evident statistics, would show that the entire revenue can never be made up by merely heavily taxing foreign liquor entirely.

I wish, therefore, that Mr. Bose may not advocate methods which cannot stand even an ordinary test. He may, if he chooses, run down the Bombay Ministry and its Prohibition Programme, but let his arguments and the methods proposed by him, be such as to appeal to all intelligent people.

Bombay,
July 18, 1939.

Yours etc.,
DHIRAJLAL C. MODI.

ARYAS IN HYDERABAD.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Bombay.

Sir,

I have read with great interest the letter by Mr. Ram Prasad under the caption "The Aryas in Hyderabad" which appeared in your issue of 15th July and your caustic editorial comment there on. Regard for relevancy or for truth has never been a strong point with the Aryan publicists. They avail of any opportunity they can get to indulge in their irresponsible diatribes against the Nizam and his Government. The Satyagraha, as you have rightly analysed it is, "nothing but organised hooliganism." I have no interest in the question of propriety or otherwise of the Provincial Governments placing restrictions on the hate-breeding activities of the Arya Satygraha promoters, though I entirely agree with the considered opinion expressed in your leader of the 1st July on the matter. The incongruity of Congress Goverments is one beyond ordinary comprehension. I should like, however, to make a few comments on Mr. Ram Prasad's letter.

He avers that the Arya Samaj Satyagraha was not started in a "spirit of light-heartedness." I agree, because it was undoubtedly started in a spirit of wicked heartedness. The talk of constitutional representations spread over six years to arrive at an amicable settlement is all eyewash. Every time representations were made they were in a dictatorial and threatening spirit which no Government worthy of its name would tolerate. Legitimate grievances were investigated and remedied from time to time by the Government but nothing could be done in regard to numerous allegations which on investigation were proved false. For example only in the solitary instance of an Arya temple in Kalyani was the flying of the Ohm flag prohibited by some officer. The action of the local officials was disapproved by the Government and departmental action taken. The Ohm flag has not been prohibited and is not now prohibited yet Ram Prasad makes one believe that home flags have been forcibly removed. They can today be seen flying everywhere. At the request of Mr. Ghanashyam Gupta who desired that the enquiries should be conducted in some matters by Mr. Hollins, Director General of Police, Sir Akbar Hydari ordered enquiry into the allegations. Mr. Hollins investigated the charges and found them false but this did not satisfy the Arya propagandists, out to create trouble, who at once started mud-slining at Mr. Hollins and stated that his findings were biassed. Against such irresponsible behaviour there is no constitutional remedy.

Mr. Ram Prasad on your incontrovertible asertion that, "if 150 Arya samajes were allowed to exist and carry on their usual functions they could not be suffering from any serious restrictions on religious propaganda," states that "the Arya Samajes are not of one day's making, but the restrictions are recent and galling." If census statistics are correct, three decades ago the Arya Samajists barely existed in Hyderabad and there was only one Arya Mandir. Today there are 45 for a small population returned at the last census as 3,700. The restrictions under reference relating to the permission for erecting new temples and repairing old ones were issued some 40 years ago when the general rule was laid down, to prevent any breach of the public peace, that any religious building (such as mosque, church and other place of worship) should not be constructed without previous permission. It is clear that this is no recent attack on Arya religious freedom.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The insinuation that the Arya Samajists are groaning under oppression of a prejudiced Ecclesiastical Department is false. Such regulations as are existing in Hyderabad are common to all religions and are framed on the principle of safeguarding public tranquility, without discrimination. As stated in a recent communique by Government it has yet to learn that any application for opening of an Arya Samaj Mandir has ever been refused by it. Over 150 Hindu temples were constructed, mostly with Government aid, in the past ten years.

Mr. Ram Prasad refers to Arya Samaj preachers being prohibited entry in the State. This was due to the fact that records showed that a number of them were making statements offensive to other communities, and this restriction was only a temporary measure applied to all communities owing to the existing communal tension. Mr. Prasad refers to Pandit Ram Chandar of Delhi who was externed from the State in 1933. His externment was based on a lecture delivered at Halikhed which was found to be objectionable and offensive to another community.

Ramkote,
July 23, 1939. } Your etc.,
P. V. RATNAM.

THE KING IN THE U. S. A.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Your (issue of June 17th) remarks on the Royal visit to the United States, will give an impression very unfair to the U. S. A. people. And especially to the President's wife, who is credited by implication, with feeling a satisfaction that she had an opportunity of showing slights to their Majesties—as, "The President's wife has stated in her syndicated articles that she left the entertaining of the King and Queen to the household staff at White House, and she even narrates with evident enjoyment one or two minor mishaps which attended the service at dinner and tea at her mother-in-law's." There is a Press in America, as in all countries, which makes its capital out of ill nature and calumny, and it is a pity that its vapourings should be thought worthy of reproduction, and even more regrettable that the visit of our King and Queen to the United State, in its aspect of a first class Historic Event, from which a vast amount of good will emanate, is not noticed at all.

It is pleasant to turn to the American Ambassador's speech at the Independence Day Dinner at the American Society in London, July, 4th, at which he said his correspondents were unanimous in their praise of the King and Queen; there was not one dissenting voice. One letter was from a blunt New York business man, a man who was not given to tossing his hat in the air for anybody or anything. It was so typical that he would like to read a few sentences from it:

"There is only one topic of conversation round here nowadays, and it's not the weather, although that's been hot enough to call for many fervent adjectives. Washington certainly threw a great party. The King and Queen stood it well, but scores of Americans broke down before it was half over. Of course the King and Queen had a big advantage in such ordeals, they had had a month's training. Nonetheless when a man and wife can change their clothes five times in one day—in a city as hot as Washington was—and still keep smiling, it's indisputable proof of character and stamina..... Yes! It's a cinch that the King and Queen have made more friends for England in America than ever anybody else ever made in the history of the two nations. They've been gracious, patient, and lovely, all through it. I doubt if there are two other people on the face of the earth who would undergo it calmly and smilingly, never once sending out a call for help, or threatening to resign if the punishment continued. I guess though that the King and Queen would have begged America for "appeasement" if they'd been here another day. Goodwill as we understand it, seems to be something akin to football, it's not properly expressed if the guests are still conscious at the finish. Anyhow in our blunt way we tried to show 'em that we liked 'em. We sure do."—(*Times*, July 5th.)

Cambridge.
July, 8th, 1939. } Yours faithfully,
I. J. PITT.

[We do not understand what is meant by saying the visit was a great success. Of course, there were large crowds to see the royal procession. So for as the relations between Britain and the U. S. A. go, the King's visit has not certainly improved them. We still think that their Majesties made themselves cheap for nothing.—Ed., *I.S.R.*]

MR. JOAD ON THE GOSPELS.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I presume that several replies would be published in the *Spectator* in answer to Mr. Joad's article. If there is any reply from an eminent scholar like Dean Inge, I hope that it would be republished by you for the information of your readers.

Possibly there might be letters to you from eminent theologians in India; but I hope that space could be found for my letter also, although I am not a theologian.

I may say at once that all thoughtful persons, who are not committed to any particular creed, do find that some of the sayings and some of the acts of Jesus, if they have been reported correctly, are difficult to understand. Mr. Joad has mentioned a few; but there are others also such as the barren fig tree and the Gadarene Swine incidents, the agony in Gethsamane, the triumphal procession, etc.

The points which I wish to make, however, are somewhat different and are given below.

(1) It is impossible for any person, however scholarly, to understand the sayings and doings of any great mystic and psychic, unless the scholar himself has some mystic or psychic gifts. From Mr. Joad's writings, it is clear that he is not a mystic or a psychic, and perhaps he does not even believe in any such gift. The utmost scholarly attainments cannot of themselves supply this gift.

(2) Mr. Joad apparently does not distinguish between words as used by a rationalist philosopher or a grammarian, and words used by a person who wishes to say things that should be remembered. The meaning of Jesus's words about hating the father, etc., could easily be understood, for instance, by any follower of Gandhiji, who goes into jail or fasts against the wishes of his father and the tears of his mother. 'Hate' manifestly does not possess its literal meaning.

(3) Similarly, several difficulties of Mr. Joad seem to be resolvable on the assumption that Jesus frequently spoke of the God within and Himself as the same. This is because He knew or felt that His was as the perfect or right-angle-relationship to God. There are several approximations to the right angle, but only one possible right angle. Mr. Joad's difficulties about bribe and blackmail are probably understandable on this basis.

(4) Mr. Joad's assertion that the life of Jesus does not entirely support His gospel of love, seems to be due entirely to lack of sympathetic understanding.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I trust that Indians who usually possess intuition will not endorse this view. There are still various difficulties left over, for instance, eternal fire, seeming over-sensitiveness, etc., but I wish to say here that Hindus in Travancore seem to feel no difficulties; and many of them who are not professing Christians, have written with complete faith in the divinity of Christ. This was a revelation to me after I came to reside in this place a few years ago. I do not believe that the same is true to the same extent elsewhere. I have witnessed a drama on the life of Jesus composed by a Hindu and put on the stage by Hindus. There are poems on Mary Magdalene and on other Gospel stories which are composed by the most eminent Malayalam scholars. There is such a poetry text-book in which the great majority of poems are the composition of Hindus. None of them seems to feel difficulties about Jesus. In all lectures Hindus use the expression "Sree Yesu Bhagavan." I recollect a couple of lines in one of the well known poems which means "He who, by a wink of His eyes could create or destroy worlds....." The poet was contrasting this with the crown of thorns. There are many similar passages.

I am glad to testify that what you say about the relationship between Hindus and Moslems in British India is equally true in Travancore concerning Hindus and Christians, in spite of the politicians. Even the politicians are friendly socially.

Kottayyam, July 11, 1939. } Yours etc. K. CHANDY.

LORD SINHA'S PEERAGE.

The Lord Chancellor, announcing the decision of the Lords Committee of Privileges on Lord Sinha's application for a writ of summons, said: "I have formed the opinion, in which I believe your Lordships concur, that the petitioner, on the facts stated, has established that he is 'the heir male of the body of the late Lord Sinha, lawfully begotten.'"

The Lord Chancellor said:

The petitioner was beyond doubt the eldest son of the late Lord Sinha by his only wife, and equally beyond doubt he was lawfully begotten according to the laws in India applicable to Hindu parents. Having regard to the domicile of the parties at marriage at the date when it was solemnised, the marriage would be properly treated as valid in this country for all purposes, except perhaps inheritage of real estate before the Law of Property Act, 1925, or devolution of entailed interests as equitable interests before or since that date and some other exceptional cases.

The Lord Chancellor proceeded: The present question related to the descent of dignity conferred by the Crown on a subject resident and domiciled in India, who, according to his religion at the date of the patent, was prohibited from forming a polygamous union. The case was without precedent in the Peerage Law, and in the absence of authority must be decided in the light of its special facts.

The Lord Chancellor said that the petition was presented to the King in December 1936, and was referred to the House of Peers. The Attorney General, having reported to the King that he was then in doubt whether the evidence produced to him, if accepted, would establish a marriage entitling the petitioner to make pedigree and establish his descent in the Peerage Law from the first Lord Sinha, "there was now no dispute in relation to any of the facts stated in the petition."

The late Baron Sinha, on May 15, 1880, married Gobinda Mohini Sinha, according to the formalities prescribed by Hindu Law and usage. He and his wife were at all times domiciled in the Presidency of Bengal, and were members of the Hindu community at the date of the marriage, which took place in the Presidency. Hindu Law did not forbid plurality of wives, but the marriage in fact remained a unit between the late Lord Sinha and his wife to the exclusion of any other spouses. It was a monogamous marriage.

The Lord Chancellor proceeded that in 19 before the birth of the petitioner, the Sinhas joined the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj of which they remained members throughout their whole married life. One of the tenets of the sect was monogamy, and Indian courts would not recognise the validity of a second marriage while he continued to be a member of the sect and the first wife was alive. The petitioner was born in Calcutta on August 22, 1887, and was the eldest son of the marriage. The question was whether the petitioner, within the meaning of the Patent, was heir male of the body of the late Lord Sinha, lawfully begotten.

The Lord Chancellor said that nothing in their decision of the petition was intended to apply to a case where the petitioner was claiming as the son of a parent who had in fact married two wives. It was apparent that great difficulties might arise in questions relating to descent of dignity where marriage from which heirship was alleged to result, was of a polygamous character. If sons were born to more than one of the wives, it might be difficult to reconcile one of these sons with English ideas of "heirship" which must be involved in the words contained in the Patent granted by the King in the well-known form and dealing with British dignity, which entitled the holder to sit and vote in the House of Lords.

The Lord Chancellor said that if there were several wives the son of the second or third wife might claim the dignity to the exclusion of a later born son of the first wife. Our law as regards heirship had provided no means of settling such questions as these. These difficulties, however, did not arise in the present case.

The decision of the Committee will be reported to House.—*Reuter.*

HINDU MAHASABHA AND HYDERABAD

"I welcome the announcement of the Reforms by the Nizam's Government as a wise move betokening on their part change of heart for the better," says Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha in the course of a statement on the Hyderabad reforms.

Mr. Savarkar adds in spite of the fact that the reforms assume that Muslims, though forming 10 per cent minority, are to be politically recognised on equal basis with Hindus and reserve 50 per cent seats in the Legislature for Muslims as Muslims, he still feels no hesitation in saying that even these reforms "halting as they are," do constitute a substantial advance over the old order of things and open out a constitutional channel which, if the Nizam Government would only help the Hindus in all sincerity to work out, may lead to future expansion and fuller freedom.

Mr. Savarkar reciprocates the hope expressed by the Nizam in a "spirit of accomodation and response" for which he pleads.

To review and reconsider the attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha in future towards this question Mr. Savarkar says he has called a meeting of the Mahasabha as well as a meeting of the All India Nizam Civil Resistance Committee on July 31 at Poona.

Mr. Savarkar concludes that the announcement of reforms is bound to relieve to a great extent keen tension and if only the Nizam's Government orders immediately graceful release of all civil resisters of the Hindu Sabha and Arya Samaj before the meeting at Poona, such chivalrous act on the part of the Nizam cannot fail to restore peaceful and friendly atmosphere.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank. Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „)
Nandurbar („ „)
Shirpur („ „)
Shahada („ „)
Sakri („ „)
Sindkheda („ „)
Taloda („ „)
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „)
Kalwan („ „)
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara R.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings betwe... Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticor... Colombo and other coast po... according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Ag...

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

2-26



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to;—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—MAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 22, 1939. No. 47

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Temple Entry by Harijans.
What is Discipline?
Government House and Prohibition.
Dissolution and Divorce.
Present-day Hindu Society.
Europeans, Foreign and Domiciled.
South African Indians and the Mother Country.
Colour Bar in U. S. A.
Communalism.
Hyderabad Constitutional Reforms.
Prohibition Rules.
South Africa and the League Council.
Mr. Bose Explains.
A Tell-Tale Contradiction.
Ministers' Emoluments.
Financing Prohibition.
The Leftists and Mass Organisation.
Chinese Students and the War.
Congress and Corruption.
Anti-Segregation in the U. S. A.
The Hindu Muslim Problem.
Bombay Governor and Prohibition.
Mr. Joad on the Gospels.

NOTES.

Temple Entry by Harijans :—On the 4th July the trustees of the Minakshi Temple at Madura, one of the three or four great shrines of the Tamil country, admitted a party of the scheduled castes hitherto excluded from Hindu temples, headed by some workers in the Harijan movement. A few months back the Government of Madras introduced in the Legislature a measure for enabling trustees of temples in Malabar to admit Harijans if the worshippers by a majority accorded their sanction. The Prime Minister explained that the Bill was limited to Malabar as it adjoined Travancore where three years ago the Maharaja had thrown open state temples to Harijans and Hindu opinion may be expected to be prepared for the reform. The admission of Harijans to the Madura temple which is in the heart of the Tamil country, therefore, was unexpected. The orthodox section of the Hindus of Madura promptly instituted proceedings in the local courts against the trustees for breach of old custom and applied for an injunction against their repeating their offence. The Madras Government promptly published an indemnity Bill to save the trustees and others concerned and, as the Legislature is not in session, had it promulgated as a Governor's Ordinance on Monday. The Ordinance-making power of the Governor-General and Governors was opposed on constitutional grounds by the Indian public when they were employed to put down the Civil Disobedience movement. Their use for the purpose of stopping pending litigation in a matter involving neither the peace nor the safety of the State, and that by and on the advice of a Congress Government, is, to say the least, surprising. Soon after the incident at the Madura temple another temple in a village some miles away from Madura was reported to have admitted Harijans. The hereditary Trustee of the Tanjore devastanam temples, numbering some ninety, has declared his intention to throw open these temples to Harijan. They were admitted to one of these, the famous Tanjore Big Temple on the 16th. The Trustee is a scion of the royal family of Tanjore which was one of the States annexed by Lord Dalhousie. The commotion caused by these events has led to temples in places visited by Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, President of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, who is now touring the Tamil country, being locked up by the persons in charge during Mrs. Nehru's visit. There is no doubt an awakening in this matter in Tamil land. A number of Tamil saints have for centuries inveighed against the rigours of caste. Some of them have been canonised like Nanda the Pariah whose image is to be seen right in the middle of the sixty-three Saiva saints enshrined in one of the galleries of the Chidambaram temple famous for its image of Nataraja. Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar speaking at a public meeting in Madras welcomed this movement, especially, he said, as the Harijans of the Tamil country were devout people with real faith in Hinduism. The suddenness of the events seems to have alarmed some Congress leaders. Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammaya, Chairman of the Andhra Congress Committee and also a member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress, and the Chairman of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, have jointly issued a statement deprecating the extension of the movement to temples in other places before the excitement of the Madura incident has had time to cool down.

What is Discipline?—Our Congress (Rightist) friends have out of date notions of soldiers' discipline. In the days when soldiers were recruited by means of press gangs mostly from the riff-raff of society, illiterate, ignorant, criminally disposed, discipline had to be maintained by brutal methods. Blind unquestioning obedience was exacted from them, any deviation from orders was punished with flogging. In fact, the soldier's life under this dispensation was not different from that of a slave or prisoner undergoing penal servitude. The phrase 'soldier's discipline' has long ceased to have this meaning. The discipline in modern citizen armies is altogether different. One of the first British officers entrusted with the duties of registering recruits for the Militia, Major R. T.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Reynolds, describing his experiences in the *Spectator* mentions incidentally: "It is laid down that the man should understand what he is doing and why he is doing it." In the same article he tells of a lad who begged to be posted somewhere "where he would not be asked to stick a bayonet into anybody." Conscientious objectors are now recognised and given exemption from bearing arms in civilised countries. But they have to belong to certain religious sects which hold the creed of non-violence. A New Zealander who did not belong to any such sect but had conscientious objections to associate himself with any kind of army work, even to the wearing of a uniform, on humanitarian grounds, tells the story of his experiences in a book, "We Will Not Cease," described on the dust-cover as the autobiography of a conscientious objector. If anyone wants to know how the principle of non-resistance works in practice and not merely in talk, he should read this book.

Government House and Prohibition:—By declaring that all public entertaining at Government House will be dry, the Governor of Bombay has taken up an attitude which is scrupulously correct. Official entertaining will be dry; private entertaining at which guests not eligible for permits are present, will be dry as well, as, in the words of His Excellency, "I shall prefer to make no distinction among my guests." It would in any case have been extremely difficult to make a distinction between permit-holders and those who are not eligible for permits, even at private parties. Even at the exclusive parties of eligibles at which liquor will be served, there will be many difficulties. Is eligibility for a permit to be the criterion or must it be the actual holding of a permit which will admit one to these exclusive parties? Every addict who has a medical certificate is an eligible until his application for a permit is rejected by the Commissioner. In the same way, every European is eligible until and unless the Commissioner decides that he has an Indian domicile or will settle permanently in India. This problem can be solved by restricting admission to the exclusive parties to members of the European Association after it has been purged of its Domiciled members. On the other hand, a European who is eligible may not have exercised his privilege of getting a permit. As the inclusion of one non-eligible by mistake will change the party into a mixed one, the greatest care will have to be exercised to restrict admission ultimately not to the eligibles but to actual permit-holders, who will be required carry their permits along with them for inspection. We had expected a more definite lead from Government House. What His Excellency has announced is no more than a declaration to abide by the law of the province. Less than this he could not, as the head of the Government, have done.

Dissolution and Divorce:—Speaking at a public meeting at Palamcottah a few days back, Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan violently denounced Dr. Deshmukh's Bill for proposing to give the right of divorce to Hindu women. She th... that the Bill would do more harm than good ... there was no law to enforce monogamy. ... knows that there are numerous cases in wh... the husband has married a second wife w... a first wife was alive. The lot of the latte... either to lead a life of humiliating servi... in what was once her own home if allowed ... do so, or to return to the parental roof if th... is one, or live by herself on the pittance wh... her husband may or may not allow h... She can not marry again as there is no means ... dissolving the first marriage and a seco... marriage will bring on her the penalties ... bigamy. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill is intended ... give relief to such wives among others ... more or less the same predicament. Mr... Subbarayan herself has found it necessary to a... a clause in her own Bill for dissolution of ma... riage for nearly the same reasons as those pro... ded in Dr. Deshmukh's Bill, as she found that h... first draft in which there was no such provis... met with opposition on the ground that ... virtually amounted to licensing polyandry.

Present-day Hindu Society:—"Constitu... as Hindu society was at present," she sa... 'it was very dangerous to plant this id... of divorce in it. They could not plant th... new germ of divorce among their girls before th... had realised the sacred implications of marriag... We are surprised at Mrs. Subbarayan's ... conception of present-day Hindu society. S... herself has broken one of its most pragma... rules and it has not been thereby destroy... beyond redemption. Harijans are admitted ... temples, and Hindu society manages to ... along. Girls are kept unmarried until they a... many years past the age of puberty. Th... become professors, doctors, lawyers, legisla... councillors, cinema stars—Hindu society remai... unperturbed. We do not think that the introdu... tion of a permissive divorce law will make a ... difference to it. We have ourselves receiv... letters from parents of girls deserted ... their husbands asking us to suggest a way ... getting them remarried. One parent wrote th... the husband had given in writing an instrume... releasing his daughter from wifehood and decla... ing that she was free to marry again. But t... husband's writ is of no account. It at most ca... protect another man who marries her fro... prosecution for bigamy. Of even this we a... not sure. But the children of such marriage... would be illegitimate and must bear the brand o... bastardy all their lives. It will not stop there. ... will affect the rights of their children and the... children unto the third and fourth generation... Having herself accepted the necessity of ... a provision for dissolution of marriage ... in such cases, we do not understand why ... she stands aghast at the word 'Divorce.' ... What is the difference between dissolution of ... marriage and divorce? All the difficulties which ... she envisaged as likely to flow from divorce ... may flow from dissolution of marriage also.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Europeans, Foreign and Domiciled:—Mr. Marklew whose forefather settled in India two centuries ago has in a letter to the President of the Calcutta European Association from which he resigned recently, intimated his intention to start a separate Association of Domiciled Europeans. Sir Henry Gidney who is President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association has intervened in the controversy and rebuked Mr. Marklew for thinking that he has any interests different from the Anglo-Indian. Sir Henry Gidney is wrong. Domiciled Europeans, that is to say, Europeans who have made their homes in India, are as a rule, considerable contributors to the material advancement of the country. They exercise a good influence on their surroundings, they interest themselves in their surroundings, often take a leading part in the civic life and are generally held in respect by all communities. They are not supercilious towards their fellow Indians and in several cases they have sought to help the latter in advancing common interests. In a word they are an asset not a liability. We should like to see a large number of retired civilians and other officers settle down in India and give the country the benefit of their experience of administration which is now totally lost by their retirement to England.

South African Indians and the Mother Country:—*Indian Views* published in Durban calls attention to the small number of South African Indians who sought repatriation last year. According to the Report of the Commissioner of Immigration and Asiatic Affairs, the number was about two hundred, and of these most were Indian-born. *Indian Views* comments thereon thus:

> The South African born Indian feels that he is a South African. South Africa is the only country he knows; its customs and conditions are to him the very tang of his home. If instead of prejudicing these people, the Europeans in this country were to advance the hand of friendship and co-operation, our talents and all that we have would be contributed lavishly to the advancement of this country. But if we are made to feel that we are aliens then there is nothing for us to do but to try to get all we can out of the land and contribute nothing in return.

Under the Cape Town Agreement, it was agreed that South African Indians should adopt the western standard of life. Only superficial observers will take the western standard to mean no more than eating and drinking, wearing trousers and hats. There is an inner core of spirituality in the western as in eastern ideas of a good life. Broadly speaking, it is the same in both. In people who have absorbed the spiritual significance of civilisation, the question of food, drink and clothes is of secondary importance. They will, if only not to mark themselves out as distinct from their fellows, adopt in their outer everyday life the modes and customs prevalent in the country of their domicile. But they will be more intent on making themselves serviceable to the land they live in, by setting a high example in their personal lives. Even if this does not find immediate response it is sure to tell in the long run.

Colour Bar in U. S. A.:—We call attention to the extracts which we publish elsewhere from a letter of the Washington correspondent of the *Madras Mail*. He reports that New York State has passed drastic legislation against discrimination on the ground of race, colour or religion by hotels and places of public resort under severe penalties. This is a very important step in social legislation in the States. We are surprised that it did not strike Reuter's Agency as being worthy of inclusion in its daily budget of news to this country. The *Madras Mail* correspondent goes on to say that this beneficent measure of reform has been brought about not by agitation on the part of American Negroes but by their quiet persistence in improving their cultural standard, which has made it impossible for the colour bar to be maintained in a community so educated and progressive as New York. Six years ago not even the porters in New York hotels were Negroes as they often were in Chicago. Today no New York Hotel can deny admission to a Negro guest at the risk of heavy fines and even imprisonment. That is about the best piece of news that has come from America for some years.

Communalism:—With the introduction of provincial autonomy, the communal issue has become acute. Not separate electorates but weightages accorded to minorities in certain provinces have proved to be the aggravating factor. Mr. H. L. Mehta of Lahore in his article which we printed last week, argues at length on the sufferings of the Hindu minority in the Punjab as contrasted with the position of Muslim minorities in the Congress Provinces. On the other hand, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Punjab Premier, has of late done publicity work for himself by holding up his treatment of minorities as an example to Congress ministries, and the Muslim League talks of "atrocities" against Muslim minorities in Congress provinces. It is obvious, however, that it would be impossible to satisfy the Muslim League in Congress provinces or Hindu politicians in Muslim provinces without violating every principle of administration and injuring not only the majority and lesser minority communities but the interests of the provinces as a whole. We do not see why the acid test of a good administration should be the number of appointments which fall to the principal minority community. Why should a civil engineer, a doctor or a teacher be regarded as more fitted for a post in a secular Government because he happened to be born—for a continuing faith is not required—in a particular community? Nobody pretends that a Hindu or a Muslim appointed to satisfy quota requirements, is chosen because he is a Hindu or a good Muslim. Everybody suspects that he is a bad engineer, a bad doctor or an indifferent teacher.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, July 22, 1939.

HYDERABAD CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS.

The Committee appointed two years ago by the Nizam's Government to make recommendations for necessary and suitable constitutional reforms, made its report in August last year. This along with the amendments suggested by the Council of Ministers and His Exalted Highness' final orders thereon, were issued to the Press this week. The principal recommendations of the Committee fall under several heads: the improvement of methods of recruitment for the Public Services so as to obviate nepotism; the extension of civil liberties; the appointment of a Commission to investigate religious grievances; the expansion of the present Legislative Council; the creation of statutory Advisory Committees to assist Ministers in charge of nation-building departments; the reconstitution of local self-government institutions; the establishment of Panchayats; and the holding of annual conferences in all the districts to ascertain the needs and desires of the people. The central feature of the Committee's recommendations which will attract most attention is the expansion of the Legislative Council. Other States which have adopted constitutional reforms, have followed on the lines of British India and formed electorates on the basis of population, property and education. They have moved on the lines of parliamentary democracy with adult suffrage as the ultimate aim. The States have not followed British India in adopting communal electorates, relying on nominations to redress inadequate representation of any section or group of the population.

The Hyderabad scheme has adopted a line of its own. It makes economic interests the basis of its electorates. The Aiyangar Committee frankly admits that it has borrowed this feature from the Corporative State. "The Corporative State" is associated in the public mind with Fascism. On that account alone Hyderabad will start with a heavy weight of prejudice against the Committee's scheme. But except for the adoption of "economic interests" as the basis of its electoral system, the Committee follows the main lines of parliamentary democracy. In the Corporative State only members of the Fascist party are eligible to be voters or candidates. There is no equivalent of the Fascist party in Hyderabad at present and there is no obligation on the part of voters and candidates to subscribe to any particular political creed. Again, all initiative, whether in legislation or in administration, in the Corporative State is in the hands of the Party Executive. In the Hyderabad scheme the initiative in several subjects is left with the members of the Legislature, of whom nearly one-half will be elected by the "interests." The Hyderabad scheme may, therefore, be said to be a combination of the corporative and the parliamentary democratic ideas. The weight of political opinion at present in the democratic as well as Fascist countries, is that the two are like oil and water and cannot mix. The Hyderabad experiment has thus an interest to students of politics.

Though the "economic interests" are meant to divert the elector's mind from communal to economic ends, it does not altogether succeed in doing this. And no wonder. Communities represent the bed-rock of Indian life. Communal instincts rests in the minds of millions override economic interests. The villager, Hindu, Muslim or Christian, will spend several years' earnings on a communal function without a thought of the hardship which the extravagance will entail on him for perhaps the rest of his life-time. He lives, thinks and acts in terms of communal life. The communal interest in fact is the only interest he cares for. Though the Hyderabad scheme is based on "economic interests" it will, we are sure, be transformed in the communal consciousness of the masses into communal ones. His Exalted Highness's firman itself bears evidence of this inescapable tendency. "I agree," says His Exalted Highness, "with the proposals made by my Executive Council as regards the representation of the Muslims and of the different communities in the Assembly." His Exalted Highness's object in referring specifically to the representation provided for his Muslim subjects was, no doubt, to remove the apprehensions that may be entertained by them as regards their future under the reformed regime. Nevertheless one can not but feel that the sentence is not very congruous in a royal decree promulgating a new constitution for the better government of the State and the greater happiness of all its subjects. The general complaint now is that the Hindu population is not having equal opportunities with the Muslim minority in the political and administrative spheres. The success of the scheme will to a large extent depend on its effectiveness in removing legitimate causes for this complaint. In this connection, the Committee's recommendation for the appointment of a Commission to investigate communal grievances, seems to be preferable to the Government's suggestion of a permanent Commission for the purpose. A permanent commission need be instituted only to deal with perennial problems. The communal grievances now existing or alleged, it may be hoped, will be redressed and measures adopted to prevent their recurrence. A permanent Committee having no work to do will, like individuals and institutions which have outlived their usefulness, be driven by the instinct of self-preservation to foment new differences to make work for itself.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Reformer has all along maintained that communalism in itself is not the unmitigated evil that it is generally thought to be. The people of India are a nation of communities. From early times Indian policy has been to leave each community to live its own independent, separate and distinctive life. Though there was no intermarriage and interdining, there has nevertheless subsisted a good deal of neighbourly feeling and good fellowship among the communities. This is the case even today in the countryside where political propaganda has not yet penetrated. Scores and hundreds of instances can be cited of intimate friendship between Hindus and Muslims and Parsis. Every one who knows something of Indian social life can easily find many instances in his own experience. We repeat, therefore, that the existence of different communities among us, is not necessarily an evil. In any case, it is part of India's ineradicable heritage. The British Government for nearly a hundred years tried to rule India without recognising the existence of communities. They had to give it up thirty years ago when they introduced the first stages of representative government. It is possible that there were political motives. But motives are the media through which historical forces seek to fulfil themselves. The Indian National Congress after a few years of protest accepted the situation and adopted its own Pact which formed the basis of the electorates under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Since then the leaders of the Congress have tried concession after concession to secure what is called Hindu-Muslim unity, meaning thereby no more than joint electorates, and have not yet given up trying.

The arguments used by the Aiyangar Committee to show that "economic interests" are the means by which communal differences can be reconciled, are far-fetched and unconvincing. We can not indeed help thinking that the members were themselves only half convinced of the efficacy of their prescription. They have carefully avoided even mentioning the terms "Hindu" and "Muslim" in their report. The reader unacquainted with Hyderabad would conclude that these terms do not have any significance in Hyderabad politics while in actual fact they underlie the most urgent problems confronting Hyderabad statesmanship. There is a superstition, wrote Bacon, in avoiding superstition. There is a communalism in avoiding communalism. Communal quarrels are, to our mind, preferable to economic class wars. We are unable to think that substituting economic classes or interests will lead to any more harmony in the country than communal differences. So long as it is not possible to do without distinction in electorates, it is better to retain the familiar communal to the novel one of interests. The bitterness in British Indian politics is not due to communal electorates and will not cease with their abolition. It is due to preferences in the shape of weightages given to one or some sections of the electors as against and at the expense of others. A privileged class is an anachronism in a modern State whether corporative, democratic or bureaucratic. Democracy, Communism, Fascism, Nazism are one on this point. The requirements of a common citizenship and the existence of different communities in the population, constitute a difficult problem. We have a solution which we should like to see tried. Hyderabad offers a favourable field for its trial. It is a large enough State to have a two-chamber legislature. The single chamber proposed in the Reforms scheme is a defect. Even in a small country like Eire, Mr. De Valera who had intended to do without a second chamber, finally found it necessary to retain it. A lower house elected on the population basis and an upper house with equal representation for every community irrespective of size, on the model of the American Senate to which each of the States, large and small, sends two representatives, holds, we think, the promise of a fairly satisfactory arrangement in the conditions of Hyderabad.

PROHIBITION RULES.

The Government of Bombay published last week detailed rules for the application of their Prohibition policy. There is one rule among them which is altogether unexpected and which constitutes a radical change in the policy as outlined in previous official pronouncements. It provides that "a permit for the use or consumption of foreign liquor may be granted to any person who is not a minor, if the Commissioner or such Excise officer as may be authorised by him in this behalf, is satisfied that such person shall (will) be seriously and permanently affected, if such person is not permitted to use or consume such liquor." This is not a permit for the medical use of alcohol which is covered by a separate clause and which applies to minors as well as to adults. Nor is this intended only for addicts, old and infirm persons who cannot change the habits of a life-time. The rule as it stands extends the right to secure a permit to any one who is not a minor and who can satisfy the Commissioner that his health will suffer if he is obliged to abstain from drinking. Even a man who has been a total abstainer as a minor is not excluded from eligibility for a permit. The authority to be satisfied under the rule quoted above is the Commissioner or other officer authorised by the Commissioner, who will ordinarily be a non-medical person. Government state that they will issue further orders regarding the manner in which this and other rules are to be given effect to. For the present it appears that if any person, Hindu, Muslim or Parsi, goes to the Commissioner or his deputy and represents that, unless he is allowed the use of foreign liquor, his health will seriously and permanently suffer, the officer will have to give him the permit. If the Commissioner or other official is himself habituated to the use of liquor and feels uncomfortable without it, he will be

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

naturally inclined to sympathise with the applicant and would shrink from taking the responsibility of refusing him a permit. Unless Government have made a rule departmentally that no one who is not himself a total abstainer will be employed to enforce total abstinence on others, this extension of the circle of persons eligible to get permits, will practically operate as a general concession to all who care to take the trouble of waiting on the Commissioner with woe-begone faces and a petition for a permit supported by a medical certificate. In view of the many difficulties internal and external, with which they are faced and with which we deal in another article, Government probably had no option but to relax their original intentions. The new rule must satisfy the Parsis who objected to the distinction made between Asiatics and non-Asiatics. The distinction now is between adults who feel that their health will be affected and those who do not feel so. If a man—and still more if a woman—feels that his or her health will be affected without a daily dose of liquor, it will be rash for a Commissioner to say that it will not be affected, with the possibility of legal proceedings if from any cause the person refused a permit, happens to fall ill at any time thereafter. It is also difficult to distinguish what is serious illness and what is only a passing ailment. In our experience what doctors diagnosed as a simple fever has turned out to be typhoid or tuberculosis. In other cases where the doctors took a serious view, patients have got cured without much medicating. In one of the largest hospitals in the United States, post-mortem examination showed that 60 per cent of the cases were wrongly diagnosed and treated for diseases other than those from which the deceased were actually suffering. If this is the case with doctors' diagnoses, a lay officer like the Commissioner of Excise would be taking a heavy responsibility on himself if he decided that an applicant for a permit will not suffer seriously and permanently in health, when the man himself avers he will, if not allowed to drink the desired liquor. The force of auto-suggestion is now recognised and a man can make himself seriously ill by constantly thinking that he will be so. The Commissioner should be a psycho-therapist in order to avert the catastrophe. This rule certainly marks a fundamental departure from the ground on which alone Prohibition can be justified, namely, that abstinence from drink ensures better health than non-abstinence and that no one suffers injury to health, serious or slight, permanent or temporay, by abstaining from drink.

Two other classes are allowed permits under the Bombay Prohibition rules. To the first belong a sovereign of a foreign State, a ruler of an Indian State, an ambassador, a diplomatic envoy, a consul of a foreign State and their wives, who will be granted free a permit for the use of foreign liquor, presumably without any restrictions as to quantity. Foreigners—the proposal to restrict the concession to Europeans has been given up—will be eligible for permits on proving that the person applying was born and brought up or domiciled in any country outside India where such liquor is being generally consumed and that he is only residing temporarily in India with a "fixed settled purpose of making his sole and permanent home in any country outside India." This clause is loosely constructed. Generally an applicant will have to convince the Commissioner that he proposes to settle permanently not "in any country outside India" but in that country in which he was born and brought up or domiciled. The Commissioner's office will have a hard time examining the birth certificates, school certificates, domicile papers, etc., to decide whether applicants are eligible for foreigners' permits. More than office will have to consider the possibilities of those who announce their intention of settling abroad permanently, being able to realise their ambition. For we presume that the "fixed settled purpose" relates to an economically realisable ambition rather than an abstract wish. Whether for reasons of health or nationality, all eligibles are entitled to the same quantity of liquor in the month. A permit-holder is entitled to have in his possession a monthly quota of seven units. A unit, according to the rules, shall consist of "one quart bottle of 23 ounces of spirits of liquor, or three quart bottles of wine or vermouth, or nine bottles of foreign fermented foreign liquor, or a combination of smaller quantities of the above in proportion, *e.g.*, one-third bottle of whisky, one bottle of champagne, and three bottles of beer." This generous concession to Europeans is understandable if one realises the fact that Europeans were from the very beginning regarded as outside the Bombay Government's Prohibition law. But for the dangers of Europeans making a business of selling liquor illegally to the non-permitted, each applicant might well have been asked to state his needs which could have been fully satisfied. But it is amazing that the addict-eligible is also allowed the same number of units. We should have thought that the same authority which certifies an applicant's dependance on alcohol, would have been asked to specify the amount of alcohol necessary as well. All that one can infer from the Bombay Government's rules is that nobody will require for the maintenance of his health more than seven permit units. Even the Bombay Government does see some limit to the health value of alcoholic drinks.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE LEAGUE COUNCIL.

A message was published a few days ago that the South African Union had intimated to the General Secretary of the League of Nations her intention to put up a candidate for a vacant seat in the League Council. We took it to be a mild propaganda intended to show the world that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the League is not dead nor dying but sufficiently strong to make membership of her Council an object of aspiration to a prosperous State like South Africa. As General Smuts is one of the reputed parents of the League, this way of giving it a leg-up might have been an inspiration of that soldier-statesman-philosopher-opportunist. He might have also intended it as a subtle hint to the British Cabinet, the other Dominions and the world at large, that the South African Union does not approve of the attempts to form a Peace Front in Europe outside the League of Nations and in derogation of it. However that may be, the idea that India should, by way of retaliation for the adverse discrimination shown against Indians in South Africa, oppose the latter's candidature, is based on a narrow and short-sighted view. We are not concerned here with the probability of Indian opposition finding sufficient support to throw out South Africa or with the competence of the Indian delegate to vote independently of the British delegation. We have in view only the efficacy of the "retaliation" method as a means of improving the position of South African Indians, assuming that it is successful in keeping South Africa out of the Council. It must be obvious that the feelings of the South African Europeans will be embittered by such a result. That would not increase the chances of the Indian case getting a more favourable hearing from Government which will naturally regard such opposition on an international platform as an open declaration of hostility to the Union. South African Indians declare that they are an integral part of the Union population and claim to be treated as equals with the rest under the Cape Town Agreement. Opposition of India to South Africa's candidature, will be a virtual relinquishment of this claim. After that, there can be no parleying between the two countries about the treatment of Indians in the Union. The question must be approached from a different standpoint. The South African Whites are, like others of the Dominions Whites, at present extremely self-centred. They have no vision beyond their own particular interests and whatever seems to be against those interests, is sought to be suppressed by force without regard to consequences. The cure for this type of mind is to be placed in contact with world problems which are ever so much more complicated and more far-reaching in their ramifications than the problems of any single country, much more than those of South Africa which, whatever it may think of itself, is still a nation in the making. As a member of the governing Council of a League which, in name at least, is one of all nations without regard to differences of colour or race, South Africa can not for very shame long continue to cherish the prejudices which inspire her present policy towards coloured people. It is therefore in the interests of South Africa and of Indians there who are an integral part of her population, that the Union's aspiration to figure on the Council of the League, should not be opposed, that it should, on the hand, be furthered by India.

Mr. Bose Explains :—Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose has explained that he is himself a Prohibitionist and total abstainer and that his criticisms of the Bombay scheme were meant only as suggestions to ensure its complete success. His assurance will, of course, be accepted. But he must acknowledge that his criticisms were ill-timed and were bound to embarrass the Ministery. He knew that there is an active and influential agitation to discredit and defeat Prohibition and that the criticisms of an ex-President of the Congress would be made use of, as they have been, by anti-Prohibitionists. There is, of course, not much common ground between people who fight for the liquor trade under the Union Jack, and one who wants to give six months' notice to the Union Jack to make way for the Charka flag. But political necessity makes strange bedfellows. The Bombay Prohibition policy has had to contend not only against the opposition of anti-Prohibitionists but also, against the interpretations of its avowed sponsors. Confusion was caused by the sudden emergance of nira, or niro, as a desirable substitute which will keep the tappers of toddy trees in employment. Opinion was divided as to what exactly nira was. It was affirmed that it contained a larger percentage of alcohol than beer. Confusion was worse confounded when Gandhiji declared that Prohibition was a misnomer to apply to the Congress policy, for which the responsibility was his; that what was prohibited was merely the sale of liquor by shops for which Government hitherto had issued licenses.

A Tell-Tale Contradiction :—An official or semi-official contradiction was published last week of a rumour that Dr. M. D. Gilder, Minister of Excise in the Bombay Cabinet, was resigning. Gandhiji's embarrassing interpretations of his policy totally without reference to his explicit assurances in the Legislative Assembly and to the public, must have made him uncomfortable and might have given rise to the rumour that the harassed Minister was leaving on a long sea-voyage early next month. The explanation issued last Saturday is that the only possible basis for the rumour was the renewing of his passport which expires on the 22nd July by Dr. Gilder, in order, it is naively explained, to avoid formalities. The only formality that would have been needed is to send round his chaprassi with the application for renewal to the Passport Officer in the next room in the Secretariat. A passport can be renewed by paying a rupee for every year covered by the renewal whereas a fresh passport has to be obtained by paying five rupees. It is hardly likely that Dr. Gilder wanted to save two or three rupees by renewing his passport on the eve of the introduction of the most important

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

scheme of his ministerial career. If the author of the contradiction was not deceiving himself, one can see his tongue protruding into his cheek when he composed this screed.

MINISTERS' EMOLUMENTS.

A local daily called attention a few days ago to the violation by Congress Ministers of the rule laid down by the High Command that they should always travel by the lowest class available in trains. It affirmed that Congress Ministers often travel second class and that too in a compartment reserved for their exclusive use. That is to say, the provincial revenues have to pay the price of four or six second class tickets, which is equivalent to three first class ones. The rule regarding the lowest class cannot, of course, apply to means of transportation in which accommodation is not divided into economic classes. When travelling by them Ministers and Congress leaders are free to choose the best available. If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru travelled by train to Ceylon he would have been expected to travel third or at most second class. Hiring a special aeroplane is another matter. There are no classes as yet in aeroplanes. The special plane is explained as being necessitated by the grave world situation which does not permit of the Pandit's being away from India except for the shortest possible period. When the Shukla Ministry succeeded Dr. Khare's in the Central Provinces, its first announcement was that, while its predecessors drew eight or nine annas a mile when they travelled by road, its members would be content with five annas only. Gandhiji, of course, always travels third class but the actual conditions in which he travels are not available to many first class passengers. The Bombay paper is not right in saying that Congress Ministers never travelled third class. They certainly tried it in the early days of office but found that the other passengers—the compartment became overcrowded by persons having grievances — would not allow them a moment's rest. The same thing happened in the second class. Reservation of their compartments was the only way of escape from this incessant and embarrassing attention of follow-passengers who took literally the slogan that Ministers were the servants of the people. All this only shows that the rule of the bureaucracy assigning a compartment to a Minister was not an act of wilful extravagance but dictated by pressing necessity. In other directions too Ministers are finding that their predecessors were not so wicked as they thought them to be. It may be recalled that the salaries of civil servants in India were levelled up by Clive in order to put down the corruption which was rampant among them. Congress leaders are many of them above reproach but already one hears more often than is pleasant of this or that leader having departed from the strict path of rectitude. The labourer is worthy of his hire. Bismarck used to say that he was prepared to devote himself body and soul to his country but he expected his country to keep him and his family well-fed and well-provided for. Bismark, it is true, was a frank philistine and never an aspirant to sainthood. But he knew his business as Minister. Inadequate salaries have ever implied an unlimited freedom to add to it by extra-legal gains. It is several months since we recommended the raising of Ministers' salaries to more adequate levels. This would enable the doing away with allowances which at present amount to indeterminate figures. It will also diminish the ardour of some Ministers to acquaint themselves personally with matters in the districts which are best left [to] settled by the local authorities. Corruption is [in]able when great responsibilities are [as]with insufficient emoluments. Saints and [as]who have renounced the world do not often [as]administer the Finance or the Public works of [a]ces. And it is a wise saying that [per]authority should not only be above corruption must be known and believed by the people [to] incorruptible. Poorly-paid Ministers are more [li]to be suspected of being corrupt than well-[p]officials though as a matter of fact the [diffe]may only be that, while the former is pleased [w]small *baksheesh*, the latter has to be propitiated [by]much larger one, if they are not men of [princi]Nevertheless if an official is naturally honest, [h]chances both of his remaining honest and of [his]known to be so, are greater if he has a [suffi]salary than if he had an insufficient one. In [the]latter case much of his energy will be [taxed]resisting temptations which in the former case [will]not arise. We are speaking, of course, [of]average man, and not of the exceptional individual.

FINANCING PROHIBITION.

We point out on another page that Mr. [Subhas]Bose's criticism of the Bombay Prohibition plan [is]ill-timed though well-meant. It has, [however]certainly not led to more confusion than Gandhi[ji's]*nira* campaign and repudiation of Prohibition as [the]right name for the modest measure undertaken [by]Congress Government. The present disposition [of]the Congress High Command to brush aside [any]criticism of their actions as proceeding from [enemies]of the Congress, can not impress any intelligent [man]as rational. Even if a critic was an enemy, it is [the]duty of leaders to examine his criticism and [rectify]any mistakes that there may be in their [plans]Not only Mr. Subhas Bose but also Dr. [Dr.]B. R. Ambedkar who knows that Prohibition [is]indispensable for the uplift of the depressed classes [has]has pointed out the defects in the financial [provisions]provisions tacked on to the Government scheme. [Even]Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, an ex-President of the [All-India]National Congress and an ardent supporter of [Prohibition]Prohibition which he described in a recent speech [at]in Madras as the outstanding achievement of Congress [Ministries]gress Ministries, suggested that the financial [expedients]expedients adopted by them were not the best possible [and]ble and that in the circumstances Prohibition could [have]have been adopted with greater acceptance by the [public]public, if it had been associated with a better [considered]considered scheme for financing it. The fact has [got]got to be faced that there is not to-day the same [feeling]feeling that Prohibition as a means of ensuring [total]total abstinence, is a pressing need, as [there]there was a generation ago. We have [ourselves]ourselves been surprised at the indifference shown [towards]towards Prohibition in quarters where we should [have]have expected much enthusiasm. The adverse [comments]comments, for example of the *Subodh Patrika*, the [organ]organ of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, [pained]pained and surprised us. There seems [to]be a general feeling that the danger [of]intemperance through intoxicating drinks, which [was]was serious a generation ago, has been [to]a great extent countered by the influence of [social]social and religious reform movements as well as by [the]the recognition all over the world of the harmful [nature]nature and functions of alcohol in the human system. [It]It is the fact that large classes among educated [people]people who thirty years ago were dangerously prone [to]to acquire the drink habit, are at present immune [to]to it owing to these causes. But appearances are [deceptive]deceptive and the country can never be secure

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

until the nefarious business is completely eradicated. Such a long view does not readily appeal to the man in the street, and when he is asked to pay for protection against a temptation against which he is steeled by habit and conviction, he feels that the sacrifice demanded of him must not cripple his resources for meeting the immediate and urgent needs of himself and his family. One of the canons of taxation is that it should not bear with disproportionate incidence on the taxpayer. The Indian equivalent of this principle, as stated picturesquely in the classics, is that the ruler should gather his taxes as the bee does the honey from the flower without hurting it. Most of the criticism of the Bombay scheme from people who are personally total abstainers and are supporters of Prohibition, is that not enough consideration has been bestowed on the incidence on the taxpayer. This everybody knows is due to Gandhiji's demand that Prohibition must be introduced in three years. Other provinces have not seen their way to accept this time-limit but the Bombay Government has evidently done so. Hence it has had no time to evolve a more rational scheme of taxation to meet the deficit. It has laid hands on the Bombay property owner as he is at hand and could not evade the tax. But it should remember that it has accepted a no-tax campaign as a legitimate means of protest and has even consecrated it by legislating for the return of lands confiscated for non-payment of revenue in pursuance of the Civil Disobedience movement to the defaulters. We say all this not as a reason for giving up the Prohibition policy. Government can not do that and it should not be done. They must now go with redoubled vigour and in order to do so they should readjust at the end of the financial year the scheme of taxation so as to fall more evenly on willing shoulders. They should welcome criticism and not get irritated by it even though in all cases it may not be unalloyed by party motives. Not the motives but the substance of criticism, is the essential thing to consider. Congress governments are handicapped by the absence of effective criticism. Any one who supplies this deficiency, should be regarded as a friend. In the circumstances, indeed, an enemy may prove to be the best friend.

THE LEFTISTS AND MASS ORGANISATION.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

One hears often today of our leaders' evincing interest in the masses. The masses must be politically educated; they should be told what their rights are and how they remain deprived of them; and they must be organised and trained so that they may give necessary backing to the national movement for political emancipation;—thus say the national leaders. The Congress Left-wing leaders are, in particular, referring to the masses of late, and as against the insipidity inherent in red-taped constitutionalism adopted by the Rightists, they affirm that the infusion of a spirit of revolutionism in the masses is what is needed to dispel the present lull and accelerate the progress towards the Congress goal.

What they say is not without truth. Mere constitutionalism with all its virtues has some drawbacks also, specially when applied to people, who, having remained in abject political inactivity and subjection for many centuries, have lost all fight in them, and have been reduced to a state of resignation at whatever comes their way. To revive their vitality for self-assertiveness, to rebuild their power of resistance, and to re-kindle their enthusiasm for organising for ameliorating their condition, it is no doubt true that greater stimulation should be put into them than what comes through uninspiring constitutionalism. For a nation on the run constitutionalism has added merit and revolutionism, which may cause dangerous and unexamined diversions, may have to be guarded against; but a nation lying for ages in a state of stupor and cowardly despondency has to be stirred up and its mentality revolutionised.

If, therefore, the Leftists would hurl that argument at the Rightists they would not be without footing on some reasons; but the point that concerns me in this article is to what extent the former are themselves translating that argument into practice with regard to the masses. Does it not seem that their own contact with the masses is only remote and far between? What they do is generally to travel from city to city, addressing institutions and associations, to win support for their view-points, leaving the actual work of stimulating the masses forgotten and neglected. It is the intelligentsia which they address, and seldom the masses. Gandhiji's phenomenal success in India has been due to the fact that he closely identified himself with the masses in all manner and approached and spoke to them direct. The Socialists and left-wingers, on the contrary, while realising the necessity of having the masses with them, and while professing doctrines which directly relate to them, are apparently not temperamentally suited to move with the masses and work among them. But that disqualification they have to remove if they really want to organise the masses for a successful struggle for freedom. Popularising their views with the intelligentsia is of course necessary, but to confine oneself to that alone is for a mass leader not to mean business.

Is that not, however, what they are practically doing, the anti-Reformists, the anti-Constitutionalists, the Socialists, the Radicals and others. Newspapers publish their speeches in extenso, audiences give them applause: But go into the country and you will find that the masses have heard little of them, and have understood less what they actually mean to do and what they expect them to do. It is indeed unfortunate that those enthusiastic leaders, who have a lot of energy and inspiration in them, should not think of coming down from theory into actual work, by rolling up their sleeves and going direct to the masses to organise them for the fighting line. The intelligentsia can be influenced through the press, but the illiterate masses have to be personally approached. What a pitiable state of inaction and helplessness they are in today! Even in small things directly affecting their domestic and local life they seldom think of organising for effecting improvements, whether it be in respect of local sanitation or drainage, or whether in the matter of co-operating for stocking, grading, rate-fixing and marketing their field produce. It is all the same. The blood-sucking *bania* comes and deals with them by turn, advancing some money and binding them rigidly under irredeemable conditions. The foreign piece-goods dealer goes and sells to them at uncontested prices, robbing them of their vital savings, if any, and killing whatever cottage weaving industry may have been left at places. Commercial adventurers penetrate into the country to introduce current tastes, e. g. cigarette-smoking, tea-drinking. In every manner, in fact, the country is being exploited, but its masses have neither the thought nor the organisational ability to resist.

Such being the condition, if the masses have to be aroused into sufficient self-consciousness for joining in the national struggle for political freedom, it is more than necessary for the leaders to pass at least most of their time with them and spend

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

all their energy in educating and organising them. The educated town people can well comprehend the comparative significance of constitutionalism and radicalism bordering on revolutionism; but such mere comprehension, though that may affect party strength, will not materially advance the political cause of the country so long as the masses are not forthcoming to give their intelligent and concerted weight from behind. For the absence of such mass support the Sepoy Mutiny failed, and the Civil Disobedience movement has not succeeded.

The leaders, no doubt, realise all that, but they do not seem to be taking up the necessary task in right earnest and are frittering away their energies in lecturing to gain supremacy in the Congress. What hope would there be if such self-seeking mentality were to influence them? If one group comes into power, cannot the other groups think of doing anything else than going about preaching and collecting votes for themselves? Why can they not look at the situation from a broad, national point of view and work in their own way to supplement the work of others, so as to achieve the goal that is admittedly common to them? The Right, the Left, the Socialists, the Radicals and all agree unreservedly on political independence as the goal of their aspirations. They also agree that mass consciousness and mass assertiveness are essential for success. Why not then go out into the country to move and organise the masses, jointly and co-operatively, if you please, inspite of your varying theories, and party denominations, or separately if that be inspiring to you? The Rightists are in power. You may think that had you been in power you could have done this better, you could have done that better. You may be right; but, never mind; till then, you may very well go on working in the country and organising the people there. As Soialists, work out their economic improvement, and make them economically self-dependent. Remove their illiteracy and explain to them how their country's political freedom will benefit them. Teach them how to improve their local conditions by joint effort without depending on Government help. Tell them what irresistable power they can wield over their Government only if they would be combined and determined. Show them the evil results to which communalism leads. Help them to manage their own affairs.

In such primary mass work will the Rightists, who are governing the Congress Provinces, obstruct? Surely not. Rather they would give patronage and protection. Let those, therefore, who are dissatisfied with the Rightists show good spirit and their sincerity and earnestness to serve the masses and work for the common goal. The idea of a parallel government has been advanced by some of them. Let them prove the practicability of it by making the masses self-sufficient and self-dependent, managing their own affairs by village unions, panchayats, etc. But that work would require patience and perseverance. Impatience will not do. You cannot make millions of people, who have lost their vitality and confidence under long political subjection, revolutionaries over-night by short-cut methods, avoiding intensive organisational work among them. The fact none should overlook, if the national goal is not to be allowed to recede in the horizon.

CHINESE STUDENTS AND THE WAR.

(By Walter Brooks Foley, Manila.)

There is a deliberate effort on the part of the Japanese to try to fraternize with the Chinese people through the Japanese sponsored societies and even Christian pastors, and also to bestow small favours upon the ignorant and the poor. But in the "occupied" areas the best people have moved away. The Japanese exercise complete control over finances and education. In the North the Japanese have tried to manipulate the currency by issuing notes through the so-called Federal Reserve Bank and to monopolize the market by dumping Japanese goods. Text-books have to be examined and the objectionable passages deleted or distorted. Students are forced to join victory parades. There is also a prevalence of vices such as opium dens, brothels and gambling houses. The "badlands" in the western district of Shanghai are hot-beds of terroristic activities of all kinds. In short, the "New Order" means really "disorder", exploitation of Chinese resources, degeneration of her people and elimination of third party interests.

There has been a vast destruction of Chinese schools and universities by Japanese artillery fire and extensive aerial bombing. It is estimated that at least 52 colleges and universities have been disabled or put out of commission since the outbreak of the war. As a matter of fact, with the exception of four universities in Peking, only the very few universities and colleges located in free China, can operate on their own campuses. The deliberate bombing and burning of Nankai University, Tung Chi University, Great China University, and Kwang Hua University in Shanghai, the Central University in Nanking, Hunan University in Changsha, the National Sun Yat-sen University in Canton and Amoy University in Amoy, lead us to believe that the destruction of Chinese cultural and educational institutions is the result of the careful plans of the Japanese military. Universities which have not thus suffered, have been occupied by the Japanese soldiers as barracks or even as stables.

This destruction has resulted in an unprecedented student migration towards the interior. A number of universities and schools have moved thousands of miles into Szechuan, Kweichow and Yunnan. There are epic tales of these migrations, such as the long march of the Temporary University from Changsha to Kumming, and the continuous moving of National Chekiang University from Hangchow to Yishan, Kwangsi. Cities like Kumming in Yunnan, and Kweiyang have suddenly sprung up as important cultural centres. Two years ago Kumming could boast of only one struggling provincial university with about 200 students. Now this Yunnan University has an enrolment of 600 students and besides, there are the National Southwestern University, combining the original Peking, Tsing Hua and Nankai Universities, the National Chung Cheng Medical College, the National Tung Chi University, the National College of Physical Education, the National Sun Yat-sen University, Tangshan Engineering College of Chiao Tung University, and Hua Chung College. Kweiyang is now the medical centre of interior China. It has three medical colleges, namely, the brand-new National Kweiyang Medical College, Hunan-Yale Medical College and the Kiangsu Provincial Medical College. Then there is the Great China University which has moved there from Shanghai. There is also another direction of migration. That is towards the foreign areas of Hongkong, Kowloon, Kulangsu and the International Settlement of Shanghai. Shanghai has now become practically the largest university centre in the whole of the country. It has about one-fifth of the total college and middle school population of the whole country.

The government policy is to encourage the universities and colleges to carry on as far as possible. The Ministry of Education has assisted the moving of the universities and students into the interior. More than 20,000 college students have been on government

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

relief. Besides establishing the two National Associated Universities, one in the Northwest and the other in the Southwest, the Ministry of Education has also established five new colleges and universities. There are also nine new governmental middle schools which have a combined enrolment of over 10,000 students and cost the government about a million dollars a month. A system for "guest students" so as to enable the refugee students to study in other universities has been established. People in other countries may ask why the government should encourage the universities to go on under war conditions. The answer is simply that China has only a small number of college students. In normal times the total number of college students is about 45,000. The number may have been reduced to 30,000. If we set this against the total population of 450,000,000 the college students constitute a very precious group for the reconstruction of China. And, there are sufficient armies to carry on the present war of resistance.

Students are of three kinds. The first are those who are determined to continue their studies, especially those who are comparatively wealthy, and those who are nearing their graduation. The second are those who hesitate to continue their education, and want to do some work that is related to the war of resistance. Many of these have gone to Yenan, others have joined the troops, and still others render services among the wounded soldiers, civilian refugees and the country masses. The third are those who are refugeeing in the different cities. They are stranded because their financial resources are cut off and their families are scattered or killed. The Ministry of Education, the International Student Service Committee, and the National Student Relief Committees of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. are each doing their part in giving relief to the refugee students.

On the whole, the Christian students have a favourable attitude towards the war of resistance. They realize the importance of supporting the united front in the present political struggle, although they may not understand very clearly what is to be their unique contribution or the relationship of Christianity to national salvation. There are still some Christians who hesitate to use violence. They feel that non-violence is a Christian ideal, but under the present conditions the Chinese people can hardly put it into practice. Others feel that China's resistance is justified in the fact that the Chinese are fighting for justice and peace. They feel that while the Christian Church is not a political movement, it is highly desirable that Christian individuals, in the face of gross injustice and the cruelty of suffering, should take some political action. The emphasis on the unity and fellowship of a World Christian Community leads the Chinese Christians to re-examine the whole idea of reconciliation between Japan and China. They believe unity and fellowship between Christians of two hostile countries are unreal if they are not based on equality, common recognition of injustices and absolute freedom from political manipulation and that there can be no neutrality or equivocation on the issue between right and wrong. Christians, they say, must stand out clearly against aggression in international relationships and uphold the sanctity of the pledged word. "Let love be without hypocrisy" is their basis for any Christian reconciliation. China is clearly and increasingly developing a system and ideology which will make for a secure base both of Christian and democratic principles in the Orient. She is losing her old life forms, but is adding to her spiritual, economic, political, and social resources. She is on the side of right which has a habit of ultimate victory.

CONGRESS AND CORRUPTION.

The Editor,

The *Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir,

Anent your comments on my article on "The Congress and Corruption" in the *Reformer* of the 1st July, it seems I have not been correctly understood. It was far from me to suggest, nor do I really think, that "before the Gandhian epoch, all Indian politicians were crooked." Rather I believe that there were many sincere and high-moraled leaders then as now. My point is that in those days honesty of purpose and moral virtue were not emphasised as necessary qualifications for political leadership as was directly and indirectly done by Gandhiji. And, therefore, those who modelled their lives on pure ideals did so of their own accord and not out of their innate convictions in ethical principles developed in them through good environmental education and upbringing. Under Gandhian influence, however, leaders had to accept those principles as a policy of the Congress, resorting to hypocrisy when their practical application in their own lives did not suit their nature, temperament and outlook. I give credit to Gandhiji for having realised the necessity of moral force in national workers, and having, therefore, insisted on their having a high normal standard; but my complaint is that while stressing on the same he has been slack in its enforcement.

As to your concluding remarks, I do not mean that Gandhiji should constitute himself into an Investigation Committee examining the character-sheets of all Congressmen. I only hold that it is necessary for him and for the Congress to be at least sure of the top leaders. And it does not seem to me that it will be either very long or too difficult to know the antecedents and present tendencies of those handful of men, about whom the lay public also know much. Need I repeat that it is hardly possible to maintain any standard in public morality, if public leaders care to have none?

Yours etc.,

J. M. GANGULI.

Calcutta,
4th July, 1939.

ANTI-SEGREGATION IN THE U. S. A.

The *Servant of India* calls attention to a movement in the U. S. A., which is in striking contrast with the policies advocated and imposed in South Africa. The Washington correspondent of the *Madras Mail* reported as follows:

"No more significant social charge has taken place in the United States since the Civil War of three-quarters of a century ago than that now being promoted by legislation in many of the most populous States. The most radical of all has just passed the New York legislature and comes in force on July 25. It imposes a penalty of both fine and imprisonment for failure to give equal rights to all persons, of whatever colour or race, in hotels, show houses, privately operated buildings for business or residential purposes, restaurants or any enterprise open to the public. With similar but less far-reaching statutes recently enacted in several of the more important States, a profound forward step has been taken to ensure social freedom for the Negroes, who form one out of every nine persons in the nation. The United States constitution long has provided equal status for all citizens, following Lincoln's Gettysburg address, but the Congress never implemented the two amendments by legislation, letting each commonwealth devise its own methods of enforcement. This change has no relation to the prowess of coloured men as college champions in track athletics or in football,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their current dominance in three major classes of prize fighting, the fact that a negro woman is the leading mezzo-soprano concert singer of the country, or the successes of eloquent Negro preachers, lawyers, playwrights, actors and musicians.

"The credit for this social advance must be ascribed largely to the coloured people themselves. In their great emigration from the South to the North in the last twenty years they have not sought to edge themselves in where they were not wanted. They accepted patiently the advice of their more gifted leaders that culture should precede demands for their civil rights. So it was that when New York City started two huge residential enterprises for coloured people, equal in every respect to the non-slum homes for low salaried white persons, there was no protest of race discrimination even in districts which elect Negroes to the State legislature, minor judges and members of the City Council. They did not intrude into white public schools where adequate educational facilities were provided in districts predominantly occupied by the black race. The more fortunate in a financial sense avoided the fashionable night clubs, general hotels, high class restaurants and similarly took modest seats in theatres, symphony concerts and other public performances. They challenged no race question. They mingled promiscuously with their white neighbours only in the transit conveyances, the public parks and the seaside beaches. They provided their own doctors, dentists, hairdressers, laundries, garages and incidental business outlets. The fact that members of their race passed brilliantly in the West Point examinations for the army and at Annapolis for the navy, insuring them an officer's rank, brought no racial rush for equal recognition, nor did their high rating for many positions in the civil service."

THE HINDU MUSLIM PROBLEM.*

Mr. B. K. Mallik's thought-provoking book entitled "The Individual and the Group" is well worth reading by all interested in India and her problems. It is based on discussions which took place at Calcutta, during the summer of 1936 when a group of earnest Bengali men met to find, if possible, a solution for the Hindu-Muslim Problem which threatens to destroy India.

Beginning with the Muslim conquest, Mr. Mallik shows that the Mohammedan social structure in India took on a Hindu pattern, and for centuries the conquerors and the conquered lived peaceably together in their joint life in the village community. Islam became a section or caste of Hinduism. The Muslims altered neither the Hindu social system nor its laws. Nor did they set up a new system as a rival or as a model.

What then, asks the author, caused the Muslims to resent the Hindus? Why did the Indian Muslim ally himself with the British Government in the name of Islam? Why did he oppose Nationalism which grew out of the creed adopted by his co-religionists in Turkey, Egypt and Persia? Has the Indian Muslim forgotten that it was from his forefathers the British wrested all power and influence—for the Moghuls were the sovereign rulers of the country then—and gave it to the Hindus by creating them landlords and holding them responsible for the raising of the revenue? Thus the British sowed seeds of resentment in the minds of the Muslims. That the trouble is not religious but political and economic, was the opinion of this group of thinkers, for with the disappearance of the Indian village and its joint community life, [illegible] the spectre of the Hindu-Muslim Problem.

The author leaves his reader with food for thought by stating that the Indian problem is distinct [illegible] the Hindu-Mohammedan problem, and by asking whether the human race can survive if the only known systems of society, the Individual and the Group, break down.

A. A. V.

* "The Individual and the Group" by B. K. Mallik; Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, 6s.

BOMBAY GOVERNOR AND PROHIBITION.

The following *communique* has been issued by the Bombay Government:

In response to inquiries, His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to issue the following statement on the steps which he has decided to take at Government House in Bombay when Prohibition comes into operation:

"All entertaining of an official nature will be dry. This will mean that all large functions will be dry. I have made this decision for the reason that I consider that entertaining of this kind should be wholly in line with the main purpose of the policy of Government.

"For entertaining of a private nature at which guests not eligible for permits are present, I shall prefer to make no distinction among my guests, and on these occasions, therefore, no alcoholic drinks will be served.

"For ordinary use of myself and my staff at Government House, and for private entertaining when only those eligible for permits are present, I shall make arrangements in accordance with the facilities provided for permit holders."

MR. JOAD ON THE GOSPELS.

II.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your last issue you reproduced an article which Professor Joad contributed to the *Spectator*, on "The Gospels Re-Read" and you referred appreciatively to it. I do not wish to enter into controversy on the subject, but I have been told that if no reply is made some may understand that no reply is possible. Many replies have already been made and some of them have been printed in the *Spectator*, but some of your readers may not have access to it. I would only say, firstly, that the impression that a reading of the Gospels made on Professor Joad is not the impression which it has made on the minds of most earnest students, whether Christian or non-Christian, and secondly, that some of the statements which Professor Joad makes are demonstrably incorrect.

I shall say no more, but I would express the hope that with that impartiality for which the *Reformer* has ever been famed, you will find space to reprint the other articles on the Gospels in the series which Professor Joad has inaugurated.

Wilson College,
Bombay,
July 12, 1939.

Yours etc.,
JOHN MCKENZIE.

We gave the gist of the replies to Prof. Joad's letter last week. Ed, *I. S. R.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank, Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District ...).
Dhulia (District ...).
Dondaicha („ ... Khandesh).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District ...).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Shirur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Koshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar and Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengalee Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co., Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

卐

Fortnightly sailings betwe Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast port according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Agents

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

9-26

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 15, 1939. No. 46

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Indians Overseas.
Snobbery in Excelsis.
Defence of India.
Mr. Subhas Bose on Prohibition.
Sino-Japanese Affairs.
Rejoinders to Professor Joad.
Democracy and Dictatorship.
Mr. Chamberlain on the Polish Situation.
Dominions and British Foreign Policy.
Travancore Administration.
China: The Awakened Giant.
Minorities in the Punjab.
The Aryas in Hyderabad.
The Jews in the U. S. A.

NOTES.

Indians Overseas :—It is high time that the Indian public made up its mind regarding the policy which has to be followed in dealing with the problems of Indians overseas. Until Gandhiji began his campaign in South Africa, very little was known or heard of the existence of Indians overseas. Returned emigrants from Zanzibar, and East Africa, Ceylon, Singapore and Mauritius were generally more prosperous than their neighbours and there was a general impression that much money could be more easily made abroad than at home. The plight of the indentured labourers in South Africa, Fiji, Guiana and other places, was not known. After the awakening caused by the Passive Resistance movement in South Africa, the position of Indians there and in other parts of the world, began to attract public attention. The indentured system was abolished. Indians everywhere are now free workers. They fall into two classes: the descendants of indentured labourers who were mostly born in the several colonies and have never been and have no prospect of visiting India; and traders, merchants, mechanics and officials who have migrated to make their fortunes, have kept up connections with the mother country, and, generally speaking, expect to spend the evening of their lives in the mother country. The best thing that could happen to the first class is to become assimilated wherever possible to the rest of the local population, as there is no prospect of India adopting the Fascist and Nazi policy of bringing all persons of Italian and German descent under Italian and German political and economic control. India's policy towards this class should be such as to facilitate this process. If this is unacceptable, India will have to do much more than she is doing to establish closer cultural, social and spiritual relations between herself and Indians born and brought up in the colonies. To the merchants and professional classes who maintain their connections with India, India's responsibility amounts only to ensuring just and fair treatment in the colonies. For both these purposes, it is essential that India should define exactly what her position is to be in the British Empire. If her goal is separation from the Empire, her way of dealing with the problem must be different from what it should be if it is to function as a Free State within the Empire.

Snobbery in Excelsis :—In the division of communities for the electoral franchise under the Reforms, Christians were divided into three separate groups: Indian Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians. As popularly understood, a European is one both of whose parents are Europeans. But the Government of India Act defines the term as meaning one whose father or any of whose male progenitors is or was of European descent. The term Anglo-Indian bears the same meaning. The difference between the two turns on the fact whether a person is or is not a "Native of India" this term including any person born and domiciled in India or Burma "of parents habitually resident in either country and not established there for temporary purposes only." Thus a person both of whose parents are Europeans, and a person of mixed parentage are both Anglo-Indians under the Act, if the former was born of parents habitually resident in India. This has led to an interesting controversy. A number of Europeans in the popular sense of the term, have made their homes in India. These were known in ordinary parlance as "domiciled Europeans" and were distinguished from Anglo-Indians who had only a male European progenitor. Although these "domiciled Europeans" were regarded as somewhat inferior to the imported European in social intercourse, they were for most other purposes treated as equals. The European Association of Calcutta recently intimated to a domiciled European who had been long one of its members, that he should resign and join the local Association of Anglo-Indians, as his community was grouped with the latter for electoral purposes. The controversy has extended to Bombay. Communal distinctions tend to be less clear-cut here than in Calcutta. The attitude of the Calcutta European Association is not quite to the taste of the Bombay Association.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But there is the hard fact that the domiciled European is for election purposes grouped statutionly with the Anglo-Indian. In a rather amusing attempt to find a *via media*, the President of the Bombay European Association advances the astounding proposition that an Anglo-Indian has only to declare that he intends when he retires to settle not in India but in Europe, and that he forthwith becomes under the law a European and is eligible to be put on the European electoral roll. That is to say what is enfranchised by the Government of India Act is not the fact that a man has always had his home in India but the intention that at some future time he intends to settle down somewhere North of Suez!

Defence of India :—Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Prime Minister of the Punjab, was in Bombay a few days in connection with the meetings of the Working Committee of the Moslem League of which he is a prominent member. He spoke at a meeting of what is known as the Indian Progressive Party on the Indian situation. We commented last week on his plan for a new Indian Federation based on what he described as seven regional divisions, of which the main feature would be that the centre can be dominated by the circumference. He devoted some remarks to the question of India's Defence. The Muslim League has declared, following the Indian National Congress, that the goal which it aims at achieving is Independence. But as we observed last week, Sir Sikandar often forgets that he is a leader of the League and should not say anything publicly which is opposed to its aims and objects. As a soldier, he said, he realised the difficulty of defending a country with such a long coastline as India. That India has a long coastline is apparent even to a civilian. It is a geographical fact. A few days after the Punjab Premier's speech it was announced that there was to be a conference at Simla between representatives of the Burma and Indian Governments with a view to concerted action for the defence of the two countries. It was incidentally mentioned in the message containing the announcement that Singapore was the first line and Burma the second line of Indian defence. If this is the case, the coastline of India does not count in the least as the enemy would be presumably smashed before he emerges from the Malaya Straits or at any rate before he enters the Bay of Bengal. The implications of this new theory of defence of India take one's breath away. The late Lord Salisbury when he was Secretary of State for India in the seventies of the last century warned Lord Lytton, then Viceroy of India, to beware of Army experts. They will not be satisfied, he said, until they have extended your frontiers to the moon. Indian leaders should be on their guard to prevent the country being committed to fabulous expenditure to defend India at Singapore!

Mr. Subhas Bose on Prohibition :—There [illegible] many people who are not interested primarily [illegible] politics, who think that the way in which [illegible] Congress High Command handled [illegible] situation arising out of the election of [illegible] Subhas Chandra Bose to the Presidentship of [illegible] Congress, was wanting not only in magnanimity [illegible] which counts even in politics, but verged [illegible] on the vindictive; and who appreciate [illegible] courageous stand he is making against [illegible] assumption of arbitrary authority by what [illegible] called the Right Wing. He would have done well if he had concentrated his efforts on the question of principle involved in the claim of the High Command to Mr. Bose's abject and unquestioning obedience to their dictates, a claim which strikes at the root of Indian politics as a movement for greater freedom. Unfortunately he has not been able to resist the temptation to win the support of anti-Prohibitionists by denouncing the Prohibition policy of the Bombay Government which he had, according to Mr. K. M. Munshi, welcomed when it was announced last year as President of the Congress. Partial Prohibition which he favours, would not to any extent achieve the end in view of weaning the poorest and most depressed classes from the curse of drink. So long as the well-to-do classes drink, the masses can not be prevented from doing likewise. As experience shows, the masses always follow the example of their betters. By attacking Prohibition, Mr. Bose has descended from the high ground of political principle to the low level of political partisanship. He has thrown away, in order to secure a small temporary access to his following, the great advantage which he possessed so long as he stood for a broad principle. His views on Prohibition are shallow and have been proved, wherever partial prohibition has been tried, to be ineffectual. Nobody thinks that the Bombay Government's scheme of taxation for meeting the Prohibition deficit is an ideal one. They had apparently not much time to think out a more equitable plan which would distribute the incidence of taxation equitably so that a few thousand householders in Bombay City and suburbs had not to bear the full brunt of a policy meant for the whole province. Collection of the new tax could have been made less burdensome by providing for its realisation in two or three instalments. But all this only shows that Government have not had time to consider administrative details. But details must not be allowed to overshadow the great purpose of the measure which has been launched. The general public, we believe, quite realise this and there will be many who will find it impossible to continue to think of Mr. Bose's revolt as wholly one of high principle.

Sino-Japanese Affairs:—The position in China at the moment seems to show little sign of improvement. The Chinese after realising the hopelessness of expecting help from the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

democracies either through the League of Nations or otherwise, have evidently been disappointed in another expectation, that Japanese aggressiveness towards the international settlements would embroil Japan with the European Powers. Britain has decided to negotiate with the aggressor. The *Times of India* which seeks to reflect British opinion, attempted a propaganda to make action against Japan acceptable to Indians on ideological grounds. "We in this country," it wrote on June 19, "must remember that a stand is not being "made for the Foreign Concessions but for something bigger. The issue is this: are the peace powers to support an aggressor nation against one which for thousands of years has never once invaded another's territory but has consistently pursued a policy of peace without parallel in the history of the world?" Not even the most rabid pro-Chinese could have stated the issue more clearly. But unfortunately or fortunately, Britain opened negotiations with Japan and the *Times of India* promptly wrote (July 7) :

> On the eve of the British-Japanese talks on the Tientsin blockade, it is encouraging to reflect that conditions in the British Concession are much improved. Thanks to the stand taken by the British Foreign Office, the Japanese are honouring their promise to put an end to stripping, searching and "similar incidents." In fact a relaxation in the atmosphere at Tientsin has been noticeable ever since it was known that a discussion was to take place at Tokio. British subjects are reported to be returning to the Concession, and it appears that British residents are not going short of necessary foodstuffs. A factor largely contributing to the easing of tension was the British Municipal Council's proclamation warning the Chinese public in the British Concession that all offenders would in future be either handed over to the Japanese or deported. This represented an abandonment of the internment policy, which was unpopular in Japanese eyes because it was considered to have helped terrorism. Opinions and publications contrary to the policy of the Japanese-appointed Peiping Government are also being suppressed.

Obviously the attitude of Western Powers to the Sino-Japanese dispute is to be based on the position of the international settlements. If Japan is ready to tolerate them, then Japan is to be favoured. If China is more likely to bear with the settlements, then all the good qualities of the Chinese and the moral issues of the conflict are brought out. Even Dr. Foley whose genuine sympathy with the Chinese is beyond question, does not hesitate in his article this week to use the tempting bait of "third party interests" to induce democratic support to China. If the democratic powers are really in favour of China, they could take no more effective step than to declare their intention to give up international settlements which have no moral or international justification for existing. In any case whichever way the present war ends, we do not see how the settlements can be kept up. A report from Tokio and Peiping says that the Japanese contemplate a kind of Federation for the Japanese occupied part of China, with Mr. Wang Ching-Wei as the head. Unlike Dr. Foley, Mr. Ching Wei seems to regard resistance as futile and favours an early settlement with Japan. Probably he was led to this view by the example of the British Government who hope to settle the Tientsein dispute by negotiation. Mr. Ching Wei, at any rate, does not regard the Japanese terms as ruinous to China.

Rejoinders to Professor Joad:—Professor Joad's article "The Gospels Re read" which we reprinted from the *Spectator* last week has provoked a number of rejoinders. We say "provoked" but in most of the replies we are struck by the almost total absence of resentment at the candid opinions expressed by the Professor. Except for one letter in which the writer says he was deeply shocked to read such an article in the *Spectator*, nearly all the other writers display a spirit of tolerance which would have been rare in such controversies twenty years ago. The most important of the rejoinders is by Mr. H. G. Wood who suggests that erroneous translation is responsible for much misunderstanding. For instance, "Take no thought of the morrow" should be rendered "Be not anxious for the morrow." Jesus, Mr. Wood observes, has no philosophy of religion, no systematic ethics. He was no rabbi, no social reformer. Jesus' sayings and doings had only one inspiration; they reflect his absolute trust in God. "If he was mistaken in His confidence in God," continues Mr. Wood, "Jesus meant less to us than many other teachers. If He was justified, no other teacher can mean so much to us." Professor Joad had remarked with reference to Christ's faith in God's Providence that millions of Christians have starved and are starving. One of the correspondents avers that those who act on Christian principles will not generally suffer for want of food and drink. "During a long lifetime", declares Mr. Angus Watson, "I have never known such". One of the writers explains that Jesus meant some sayings which are perplexing, in an ironical sense. The saying about making friends with the mammon of unrighteousness, he says, was intended as a hit at Judas. The Rev. A. H. T. Clarke points out that Prof. Joad's defence of the Sermon on the Mount is based on a false premise. It was not spoken to or for the world but to and only for his disciples. The most striking comment on Professor Joad's article is that of Mr. Philip Leon who says that he read the Gospels for the first time with no Christian background at the age of twenty-four. "Mr. Joad's impression on re-reading the Gospels was rather like mine on first reading them," he writes.

> **The impression made on me by my first reading of the Gospels and on Mr. Joad by his second reading of them must, it seems to me, resemble exactly the impression produced by Jesus Himself on the Pharisees of His times, who were after all, good, idealistic, cultured people like Mr. Joad and myself. It is the impression which those who have reproduced the spirit of Jesus in the way called for by the spirit of their age, have always made on the Pharisees of that particular age.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, July 15, 1939.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP.

It is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The present conflict between Dictatorship and Democracy has forced the latter to look into itself. Introspection reveals the fact that the two are not necessarily antithetical. There is dictatorship within democracy. In fact, many people are beginning to question whether much of what passes for democracy is not merely veiled dictatorship. In the course of his opening remarks at the May session of the American Academy of Political Science, Professor Coudert of Columbia University let fall the parenthetical remark that he hated the word "democracy" because it was so vague and largely meaningless. The present conflict has forced democracy to define itself. The meaning which is most commonly attached to it is that it is synonymous with majority rule. But majority rule may be a tyranny quite as well as autocratic rule. That it is so and must be so, is the basis of the doctrine of minority rights which has become an integral part of post-war political philosophy. This doctrine has, indeed, been pushed so far as virtually to amount to the dogma that the majority has for its sole function to placate the minority, in practice the most vocal and most determined minority, at the expense often of smaller and less assertive minorities. In India this is illustrated by the slogan of Hindu-Muslim unity, to the exclusion of Christians, Jews, Parsis, who, it is assumed, will have no cause for complaint under a coalition of the majority with the largest minority community. This is in consonance with the Benthamite doctrine of the greatest good of the greatest number with its corollary of the devil take the hindmost. Even the majority which is supposed to rule, does not in fact rule. Once in five years or so constituencies are called upon to decide on one or two clear-cut issues placed before them by politicians who seek their suffrage. When the elections are over and the one or the other party is safely ensconced in office, these issues are forgotten or give place to other issues which were not considered by the electorates. A glaring case was the last British General Elections when Lord Baldwin was returned to power on the cry of collective security through the League of Nations. He resigned a year later. His successor and his colleagues threw collective security to the winds and Mr. Neville Chamberlain advised the League to give up its political pretensions and confine itself to social service. He has since returned to collective security but without the League of Nations, through a Peace Front to be formed by three League members, Britain, France and Russia, guaranteeing the security, in most cases without their consent, of some others also members of the League. The British people are assumed to have authorised the British Cabinet in all their contradictory acts during the last four years. The position of Government in the Hou... Commons has been greatly strengthened b... increased salary provided for Members and ... substantial stipend assigned to the Leade... the Opposition two years ago. No wonder ... in these hard times Members of Parliame... not care to assert their independence. The d... of Government would involve a disso... and the hazards of a General Election.

The classic definition of Democracy is L... coln's catching phrase "government of ... people, by the people, for the people." Ex... rience, even in the United States which ha... in view, shows that the only part that is cer... about democracy is that it is government of ... people. It can be called government by ... people, only in a conventional, not to say iron... sense. As for its being government for ... people, the odds are nearly the same as in ... case of an oligarchy or an autocracy. The... may even be said to be rather less. Thoughtf... men have come to feel that there should ... some other definition of Democracy in addi... to, or in substitution of, Lincoln's and ... have specified certain attributes without wh... even though popularly elected no Governme... can be called democratic. We quoted so... time back Lord Lothian's definition of democra... with the remark that it might stand ... well as one of Christianity. That is to s... democracy is distinguished from autocra... or dictatorship by certain moral qualit... which, however, are not necessarily incompati... with other forms of government. In fa... they are not inherent in democracy in ... sense that democracy can not dispense w... them. This is evident from the fact that t... great democracies of Europe, Great Britain a... France, have large colonial Empires, larger ... area and more populous than themselves, whi... they rule on totally non-democratic principle... Writing of the British Colonial Empire, ... *Spectator* observes: "Here in the colonia... and mandatory territories, democracy has ... to dictate while it educates, and in its rule ... extreme cases is only differentiated fro... dictatorship by the degree in which British publ... opinion, asserting itself on behalf of backwa... races, can influence the administration." This ... as is notorious, seldom happens. The British ... people are engrossed in their own struggle fo... existence which is becoming increasingly severe... every year. They are also frightened when ... they are told as they were by Lord Birkenhead ... that to lose India by giving her self-government ... would add to unemployment in Great Britain ... or by Lord Rothermere that five shillings ... in the pound of the income of every Britis... come from India and will be lost if India ... is not kept under the control of Whitehall. ... The scandalous breach of faith with Indians ... in South and East Africa evokes no protest ... or only a feeble, ineffectual one from the ... British public. The hardships of the Africans ... excite even less interest. Liberal opinion in ... England, reflected in weeklies like the *Economist*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and the *Spectator*, do not therefore attach the same importance to the cry that Dictator States can not deal justly with non-European subject races as professional politicians whose views find expression in the daily papers. It is the opinion of these journals that unless much more is done for the Colonies than is being done so far, it will be difficult to offer any moral objection to the claims of the Reich to have the pre-War German Colonies returned to it. British observers who have visited Libya, speak in terms of the highest appreciation of the reclamation work already achieved by Italy in that vast desert.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN ON THE POLISH SITUATION.

For several days past there have been persistent forecasts that the British Premier was about to make a pronouncement more uncompromising than any that he or Lord Halifax had so far made, warning Germany that Great Britain will use all her strength and resources to repel aggression on Poland. It is likely that this propaganda was intended as much to stiffen the Prime Minister's backbone as to prevent British public opinion from lapsing into its normal reluctance "to put British force behind the perpetuation of the Polish Corridor" in the words of King-Hall in his history, "Our Own Times." If so Mr. Chamberlain has refused to be hustled. The attempt to hustle him has, indeed, had the result of making him more cautious and careful to leave as many back-doors open as possible in his undertakings to Poland and his intentions against Germany. The speech is so carefully balanced, the pros and cons so meticulously presented, that it is difficult to decide to what side the weight of argument inclined in the mind of the speaker. Mr. Chamberlain can point to passages in his speech for any course that he may decide in future to take, whether he comes to Poland's help or advises Poland, as he did Czechoslovakia, to come to a settlement with Germany on the latter's own terms. To our mind the speech reads as if it was made to a brief by one whose personal convictions lay on the side of the party whom he was prosecuting. Mr. Chamberlain began by admitting—it can not be denied—that the overwhelming majority, 93 per cent, of the population of Danzig was German. In the case of Sudetenland, though the German predominance was less, the British and French Governments pressed President Benes to hand over the country to Herr Hitler. In the confusion which this created, Poland actively participated in the general loot. Czechoslovakia had a democratic Government. Her people were prosperous. She had a well-trained army and her frontier on the German side was strongly fortified. Nowithstanding these favourable factors, the British Government in collusion with the French Government which was bound by treaty to go to the defence of Czechoslovakia, compelled that country to surrender much of this to the Nazi Power. In all these respects, Poland is the antithesis of Czechoslovakia. She is not a democracy but a military dictatorship worse than the Nazi dictatorship. Her people are the poorest in Europe. Anti-Semitism is rampant and her three million Jews live under constant dread of pograms. She can not defend herself for a single month against Germany. British and French help will take time to reach her. The only country which can be of immediate assistance is Russia and it is significant that Russia was not included in the group mentioned by Mr. Chamberlain as ready to defend Poland. The reason given by the Prime Minister for ignoring the principle of self-determination in the case of Danzig, is that the port is the sole outlet for Poland on the Baltic. But surely there is Gdynia which Poland has been fast developing at the expense, as recently complained by Danzigers, of Danzig. In the Peace Treaty itself, provision was separately made for a Polish outlet "by the cession to Poland of a strip of territory roughly 100 miles long from north to south and 50 miles wide stretching from Gydnia to Bromberg." The Brtish Premier completely lost sight of this important fact. It is obvious that it is not Polish independence which the Western democracies are concerned primarily to defend but their own interests. If this can be done by sacrificing Poland, they will naturally prefer to do so.

Dominions and British Foreign Policy :—Speaking at the Canada Club dinner last week, Lord Lothian who is about to assume charge as British Ambassador at Washington, is reported to have said that the Dominions, if they cared to exercise it, could and did carry responsibility for Imperial policy. He cited as an example the non-renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, in deference, he suggested, to Canadian opposition, although Britain and Australia wished to renew it. As a matter of fact, Canada's part in the break-up of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, was a minor one. The principal influence in obliging Britain to relinquish the alliance was the United States which from the first was alarmed by the growth of Japan as an industrial and military Power. Canada is obliged by the conditions of her political and economic existence to follow the foreign policy of her great American neighbour, and she shares with the latter the fear of Japanese immigration. Incidentally, it may be mentioned though, of course, it had no influence in shaping British policy, that the Anglo-Japanese alliance was disliked in India as it was felt that the guarantee of the security of the British connection by a foreign Power was calculated to lower Britain's responsibility, such as it was, to the people of India. Though for the time, Australia's opposition did not count, it has never ceased to weigh with the British Government. It was owing to it that Britain refused to follow the American lead for vigorous action against Japan in connection with the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

latter's acquisition of Manchuria and that is also probably the reason why Britain is pursuing what appears to be an unduly acquiescent policy with reference to the present happenings in China. From the first, and especially since the Russo-Japanese War, there has been a kindly feeling between Britain and Japan, the former regarding the latter as her counterpart in Asia. This was reciprocated by Japan which liked to think of herself as the Britain of Asia. This accounts for the acute anti-British feeling manifested in Japan during the recent celebrations of the second anniversary of the commencement of the present war. Betrayal by one had come to be regarded as a friend occasions bitterness which is absent from the feelings towards one who was always a stranger or an open enemy. By the way, those who blame Japan for her activities in the Asiatic mainland, may remember that it was President Theodore Roosevelt who instigated her to seek expansion there rather than in the New World. This has also some thing to do with the fact which an American friend notes with regret in a personal letter received by the last mail. He writes: "One of the worst features is the continued sale of munitions and war materials by the United States to Japan, together with the purchase of 90 per cent of Japan's silk. The United States has been Japan's best friend through the two years of war." Even the amendments recommended by President Franklin Roosevelt in the Neutrality Act will leave the position where it was, so far as Japan is concerned.

TRAVANCORE ADMINISTRATION.

Travancore, the southernmost of the Indian States, is in many ways particularly fortunate. In literacy it leads not only other States but is far in advance of British India. It has allotted a steadily decreasing proportion of its revenues to its ruler—in the last five decades the civil list has come down from 8·76 per cent of the total revenues of the State to 3·68 in 1937-38, the period covered by the latest administration report just issued. Its population is a prosperous one and the land is generally fertile. Like other matriarchal States, the education of women is advanced. From the constitutional point of view Travancore has had the experience of working a legislature since 1888. In 1932 the State set up a bicameral legislature with non-official majorities in both the upper and lower houses. Local self-government has provided a useful ground for civic training for the subjects of the State. Special care has been taken in the administration of Hindu religious endowments and both the Maharaja and the Dewan received congratulations from beyond the State for their boldness in declaring by proclamation the right of Depressed Classes to worship in Hindu temples three years ago. In matters relating to Public Health, Travancore has requisitioned the help of the Rockfeller Foundation in setting up in the State an efficient welfare service. Travancore has much to congratulate itself upon and its administration report has a special value in these days of political turmoil when one is apt to forget that there are some Indian States which maintain a high level of administration.

In view of the widespread reactions of the Temple-Entry Proclamation one naturally expects to find in the administration report some mention of the working of this momentous reform. Unfortunately there is no information in the current year's report to guide the reader as to the success of the measure. There is just a hint in the section devoted to "New Churches and Mosques" which seems to indicate that the provisions of the Hindu Proclamation might with benefit be extended to other places of worship as well. The Report says:

During the year permission was granted for opening 26 churches and five mosques. It may be mentioned that one of these new churches was intended for the use of new converts to Christianity from backward classes who were not admitted freely into a Church that already existed close by.

In the section devoted to the measures for the uplift of the Backward Communities, there is little to show that the Proclamation has been operative in the State.

The most important event in the educational sphere during the year under report was the promulgation of the Travancore University Act in November 1937. The establishment of a university for Travancore had been under consideration since 1919. Travancore University has now been set up with a view to developing technical and technological education, as well as a centre for the promotion of Kerala art and culture. The senior classes in the existing colleges remained affiliated to Madras University during the year. Other notable educational institutions organised were the Oriental Manuscripts Library, and the Department of Fine Arts under Dr. Cousins.

Throughout the State, primary education is free and except for institutions for Muslim girls, co-education is the rule in the primary classes. Till 1930 girls were admitted to educational institutions at half the fees, but the concession was then modified to three-fourths the usual rate in the case of schools and completely abolished in the colleges. In the separate institutions which are provided for girls after the primary stage, there were during the year ending August 1938, 49,114 students (pages 197, 198 and 200),—or 44,290 girls (page 201)! An equal number, 49,177 girls, were reading in the institutions primarily intended for boys. The general adoption of co-education has led to a remarkable advance in women's education. Apart from the primary schools, the figures show that, while the State caters for 60 percent of the students educated in the Indian languages, private institutions take in 75 per cent of the English educated boys and girls. In contrast to this is the Government policy relating to the education of backward communities. Of the total expenditure incurred by the Government in scholarships and fee concessions, Rs. 85,181 was spent in English schools and Rs. 11,112 in Indian language schools. A little over 17 per cent of the total male population and 12·2 per cent of the women are under instruction. An interesting sidelight on education and crime is furnished by the remark under jail administration that all the eight women prisoners were illiterate, ranging from 16 to 60 years of age.

The Excise policy of the Travancore State is the old one of "maximum revenue and minimum consumption." About 10 per cent of the total revenue comes from the tax on liquor and drugs. It is difficult to maintain that the State pursues a consistent policy of reducing consumption when one reads that "the incidence was 1 anna country spirits per head of population was 1 anna 4 pies against 1 anna 4·42 pies in the previous year." There is a bare announcement about the abandonment of local option in respect of arrack shops which was "tried" at Attingal, which will not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

increase public confidence in the State policy. The adoption of partial Prohibition in Madras province has put the Travancore Government on the defensive. "When it is recognised," says the Report, "that sources of illicit supply are easily accessible in the State and that liquor can be had from almost any palm tree with no more skill than is required to make an incision and with no more apparatus than a knife and a toddy pot, it will be conceded that Government intervention only operates to regulate both the quality and the quantity of the liquor consumed." In foreign liquor, we have an increase, by one retail shop, in the number of licenses issued over the previous year, and an appreciable fall in the number of gallons imported into the State. The arguments advanced against the prohibition of alcoholic drinks have no validity in the matter of opium and ganga. "The opium required for the State," we are informed, "was purchased from the Madras Taluk Office while ganja was purchased from the British Indian Store House at Vettapalam, and both the articles were issued from the Central Stores at Trivandrum." But for the State the people of Travancore would not be able to get any supplies of opium or of ganja. There can be no two opinions on the State trade in these narcotics and an enlightened Government, like that of Travancore, should not hesitate to give it up entirely, except for medical purposes.

In agriculture and industry Travancore has followed a forward policy. Investigations into the control of insect pests, the experiment of an agricultural colony, poultry farming and agriculture, soil analysis and soil survey, and consideration of marketing problems, all these the Agricultural Department carried out. Industrial education and the progress of industries formed as in recent years the special care of the State. An Economic Development Board was constituted for purposes of departmental co-ordination, two-thirds of its personnel being non-officials. Co-operative societies have been losing their attraction for Travancoreans, membership having fallen steadily since 1933. The Report notes, however, that more women are taking to co-operation.

CHINA: THE AWAKENED GIANT.

(By Walter Brooks Foley)

Since April, 1937, before the Japanese war in China started, it has been my privilege to be in direct contact and correspondence with Chinese leaders. The only comparable group faced with extreme difficulties in their national life with which I have been familiar is in India. The indomitable spirit of genuine optimism and assurance of advance so obvious among Chinese, is amazing to those of us who have witnessed it during two terrible years of war.

After many conferences and conversations and considerable correspondence I wish to record my view of awakened China willing to suffer and expectant of victory.

As a background, Japan claims to occupy 11 provinces containing 941 districts. Of these 941 districts it seem to be true that Japanese actually control entirely only 55. In all the other districts the Chinese Central Government still has a greater or lesser measure of control, including the collection of taxes. Of the 55 districts a majority are in North China where Japan had a preponderance of influence before the war began. The Chinese go so far as to say that "Japan has really won no great victory yet. Our cities along the coast and some on the rivers have been captured, but ours is an agricultural country which is not greatly disturbed by the loss of cities."

China is now entering the second stage of military resistance. It is a stage when positional warfare has become less and less important. Mobile guerilla tactics are being used throughout the country. It is true that the Japanese have penetrated far and wide into China and seem to occupy a huge piece of territory. But, the Japanese military occupation is only confined to the main communication lines and some of the main cities. Even these "lines" and "points" under the Japanese have often been raided and harassed by the Chinese guerilla units. The estimate is, as I stated, that of the nine provinces occupied, less than seven per cent of the territory is actually under Japanese military control. China's war of resistance will be only slightly handicapped even if the connection through French Indo-China is entirely blockaded by the Japanese. China still has her backdoors open to Soviet Russia in the Northwest and to Burma in the Southwest. So far as military supplies are concerned, China can manufacture enough rifles and hand-grenades essential in guerilla warfare. Since China is an agricultural country, her economic life has not been greatly disrupted. Furthermore, the vast economic resources of the Southwest and the inexhaustibility of man-power will sustain China's resistance for an indefinite period.

Since the fall of Canton and Hankow there has been a new confidence and a new determination among the Chinese people. If we try to analyze the present mentality of the people, the following convictions seem to be quite universal. The people are convinced that this is going to be a prolonged war of attrition and that there is no room for any talk of peace or compromise. The people believe that if the Government will carry on this war of resistance to the end, the ultimate victory will be on the Chinese side, and the only way to attain this ultimate victory is for the various political parties to unite and for the Government and people to stand together. Such convictions are not based on wishful thinking. Recent statements by General Chiang Kai-Shek, and Mao Tse Tung, analyzing the present war of resistance, are both scientific and thrilling. These leaders are not labouring under any illusion. They believe that there are three stages in this war against Japan. The first is that of "advance and retreat." The Japanese in this first stage seemed to have the upper hand, whereas the task of the Chinese troops is to exhaust the Japanese and to avoid any decisive battle with the enemy. The second stage is that of "see-saw" warfare. Militarily China has entered this second stage. The task of the Chinese is to stem the further advance of the Japanese and to try to hold their positions. Guerilla tactics behind the Japanese lines constitute the main feature of this second stage of warfare. This is also a stage when the Chinese will take their time to reorganize and strengthen their military forces in the rear. The third stage will mark the beginning of a counter offensive on the part of the Chinese, and that will be the stage when the Chinese hope to drive out the enemy from their territory.

We must not forget that China is undertaking a double task of resistance and reconstruction. Last year (1938) the Kuomintang approved of a "Programme of resistance and national reconstruction." These two tasks are interrelated. To resist the Japanese agression effectively, it is essential to establish a strong base, politically and economically. If a strong base is to be built it is necessery to ward off the enemy's aggression. This explains the view of General Chiang Kai-Shek that during the war of resistance

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

military operation is less important than political and economic progress. It also explains the expansive programme of reconstruction in the country. The unprecedented migration of factories, technicians and cultural institutions has rapidly developed the industries, communications, education and finances of China's vast interior. The stimulus of the so-called "down river" people arriving among the local people also works toward China's progress. The elimination of corrupt officials and mental weaklings is very good evidence of advance. The rapid growth of mobile industrial cooperative units gives point to the changing base of the economy of all China.

Political unity has become a fact since the outbreak of hostilities. The "united front" applies both to political parties and to government and people in "occupied" areas and "free" territories. The whole country is now united under one ideal, one government and one leadership. All the political parties, including the Communists, espouse Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles as the highest ideal of national liberation. The National Government in Chungking now has control not only in areas directly under the Kuomintang influence but also in the Northwest formerly under the Communist domination. The National Government likewise appoints administrative officials in the vast territory behind the Japanese lines and has even appointed officials for the four North-eastern Provinces, known as Manchuria. Most important of all, China is fortunate in the undisputed leadership of General Ching Kai-Shek due to his policy of resistance against Japanese aggression. Strange as it may seem, there has been an increasing measure of democracy even in the midst of war conditions. The organization of the "People's Political Council" is another step toward a democratic government. It is a symbol of the unity of the Chinese people and an expression of the desire of the government to seek the counsel of the leaders of the country in its conduct of military and political affairs. General Chiang has been recently made chairman of this Council. The tendency towards democracy is also seen in the "guerilla areas" in the North, where the local government is practically elected by the people.

The masses are now really awakened to China's crisis. The terrible shake-up of the war and the atrocities committed by the Japanese soldiers in the "occupied" areas have made the masses of the Chinese people fully aware of the utterly destructive consequences of Japanese invasion. The wanton destruction of Chinese cultural institutions and the extensive air raids have made the experiences quite vivid to the rural and city residents alike. At least 50,000,000 people have been forced to flee from their own homes. Among these refugees there is a universal hatred towards the Japanese, but it should be pointed out that the Chinese make a clear distinction between the Japanese militarists and the Japanese people. They realize that Japan is under the rule of militarists, and that the invasion of the Japanese military in China brings hardships on the Japanese people. The Chinese use the slogan of "Down with the Japanese militarists" and not "Down with the Japanese people." They also understand that this war of resistance is a part of the unfinished process of the Chinese revolution which will mean the unity and liberation of the people. Furthermore, the Chinese people also believe that they are fighting not only for China's own liberation but also for the vindication of international justice and the sanctity of international treaties.

Chinese youth are taking a very important part in the present struggle for China's existence. There are many Chinese students who have given up their studies to join the troops or to render their service to the wounded soldiers in the front and to civilian refugees in the rear. Thousands of students have gone to Yenan, the ex-Communist Capital, to enter the "Resist Japan University" or the "North Shen Academy" for training related to the war of resistance. The Kuomintang has also organized the San Min Chu I Youth Corps to enlist youth to render useful service to the country. Other students have organized themselves into small groups to go to the country districts to do propaganda work through the use of mass singing, dramatics and cartoons. But the greatest contribution of the Chinese youth in this war of resistance is what-is-called "political work" of which there are several phases. One phase is to raise the morale of the masses. The second phase is to spread political education among the soldiers. The third phase is to try to convert the Japanese soldiers captured in the fighting lines. The government leaders now realize that "political advance" through political work is even more important than military advance or military operations. Since the outbreak of the present hostilities there has been a mushroom growth of training institutes for political workers. About 100,000 Chinese youths have been enlisted to render this kind of service throughout the country. The attitude towards Christianity has become much more favourable. The government leaders are grateful for what the Christians and missionaries have done in the "occupied" area, especially at the time of Japanese occupation. The lift in the ban on Christian education in primary schools is a concrete expression of their gratitude.

There has been a change of the international situation in favour of China. The most depressing period was after the Munich Agreement. Talk of mediation was very much in the air at the time. Some government leaders were weakening in their determination to carry on a long term resistance. That was culminated by Mr. Wang Ching-wei's leaving Chungking and his declaration in support of Prince Konoye's peace terms. But the international situation is changing. The democratic countries like Britain, France and America, are more firm in their attitude against the Japanese encroachment of third power interests in China, and also more pronounced in their continued support of the Nine Power Treaty. Britain and America granted their credit loans to the Chinese Government in December, 1938. The amount was quite small, but the psychological effect has been tremendous. The policy of America on rearmament and the gradual turning away from the dotrine of isolationism is especially encouraging. It is believed that if China carries on the war of resistance indefinitely, the international situation will become more and more favourable to China's side. China does not expect other powers to fight against Japan, but she hopes and expects to receive more help by way of financial credits and war supplies and to see economic sanctions applied against the aggressor. If international treaties are still to hold an important place in international relationships, China has a right to expect the other Powers to help her in such manner. On the other hand, the Axis powers can lend little or no assistance to Japan.

Japan's talk of the "New Order" in the Far East is simply hypocriticical and not supported by actual facts. Occupied areas are nominally under the various Puppet Regimes, but the real power is in the Japanese hands. The Chinese people therein are subdued by fear and live actually in a "mental prison." There is a strict censorship of the news.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

MINORITIES IN THE PUNJAB.

(By H. L. Mehta, Lahore.)

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan has on more than one occasion boasted both outside and inside the Punjab, that he has meted out to the minorities in his province a very generous treatment and that they are perfectly contented. And the proof of his fairmindedness and their consequent contentment according to him, is the absence of any violent agitation by them as also of communal riots in the province. And further on he traces the communal disorders in the Congress provinces to the "atrocities" committed by the Congress governments on the Muslims. As there is no counter-propaganda on behalf of the Hindus of the Punjab to expose these pretensions, an impression is likely to gain ground not only among non-Hindus but even among Hindus in Congress provinces, that Sir Sikandar must be right. But a close study of the situation will disillusion even those who regard Sir Sikandar as an embodiment of justice. So far as the representation in services is concerned, it is regulated on a religious basis and not on the basis of efficiency. And for that purpose, he has fixed percentages for the various communities—*viz.*-50% for Muslims, 20% for Sikhs and 30% for others. Thus to the Sikhs whose population is about 11% he has given a weightage of 9% evidently to retain their sympathies. So far as the Hindus are concerned instead of getting any weightage to which they are entitled as a minority, they get about 25% representation in services, which is below that to which they are entitled on a population basis, their population being according to the 1931 census figures about 26·32%, which figure itself is wrong. And in the police, veterinary and co-operative departments even this percentage is not adhered to, in the recruitment of Hindus, whereas the Muslims in Congress provinces are given heavy weightage—*viz.* 25% to 40% in various services, as against a population of 5% in the C. P., 33% to 60% as against a population of 14% in the U. P., and 25% to 33% as against a population of 7% in Madras, and so on and so forth. Promotions are also affected by communalism. Hindu seniors are being superceded by their Muslim juniors. Hindus with superior qualifications are ignored, while Muslims with inferior qualifications are taken in order to make up the percentages. In the education department, Hindus with superior qualifications are appointed as headmasters of schools, while Muslims with inferior qualifications are appointed as principals of colleges.

The admission to medical, training and other educational institutions is also made on a communal basis, and in this process also, the Hindus are the worst sufferers. Urdu as a medium of instruction for boys up to the secondary stage continues to be forced down the throat of the Hindus on the pretext of its being the would-be lingua franca of India, whereas in Congress provinces education for the Muslims is demanded in Urdu in order to safeguard their cultural interests. Thus the same cultural safeguard is denied to the Hindus here. The Congress Governments have allotted lump sums of money to advance the study of Urdu, while here in the Punjab, no such grant is given to advance the cause of Hindi. In Congress provinces the Governments maintain both for boys and girls Urdu schools, while here in the Punjab, no such schools are maintained for teaching Hindi, and the very few Hindi schools for girls that exist, being maintained by the municipalities, are being closed down under the orders of the Minister for Education, and the protest of the Hindus against the teaching of Urdu to their girls remain unheeded. The only alternative for them is not to send their girls to such institutions, where Urdu is taught. In the U. P. Urdu continues to be the court language along with Hindi, but here in the Punjab, the Indian court language is solely Urdu.

From the economic point of view, the position is this, that, except in the Ambala division, in all the other four division the agriculturists are mainly Muslims. The creditors are all Hindus while the debtors are mostly Muslims. In 1901 the Land Alienation Act was enacted, which stopped the mortgaging of lands of agriculturists to the non-agriculturists. By this measure the gainers were mostly Muslims while the losers were all Hindus. From 1901 onward the land transactions continued between the agriculturists only, *viz.* between big Muslim landlords and Muslim holders of small holdings in the four divisions, and between rich Hindu agriculturists and the poor Hindu agriculturists in the Ambala division. The Restitution of Mortgaged Lands Bill recently passed by the Punjab Assembly restores lands mortgaged before 1901 through which again the gainers are mostly Muslims and the losers are all Hindus. An interesting but discriminatory feature of the Act is, that it is silent on the point of restoring lands mortgaged after the year 1901 as that mostly affects the Muslim landlords, who constitute a majority in the ministerial party, and who if their pockets are touched (in this case the peoples to be benefitted also would be mostly poor Muslim agriculturists) would run away from the party, thus endangering the ministry. This Act alone has caused to the Hindus a loss somewhere in the vicinity of Rs. 15 crores.

The other economic measures enacted recently in the teeth of terrible opposition have completed the process of the financial ruin of the Hindus. Thus these measures, which outwardly appear to protect the agriculturists from the moneyed classes, were designed to crush the Hindus and have achieved the desired end. Even so able and impartial an economist as Prof. Brij Narain (by the way he is a rationalist and does not feel much sympathy for the Hindus as such) has condemned these measures in unmistakable terms on economic and discriminatory grounds.

In regard to the freedom of the press and platform, recently the violent speeches of the Muslim League deputationists who toured the province, have been appearing in the Muslim papers. But, so far as the Hindu papers are concerned, even a recital of the Hindu grievances is sufficient to demand security from them and the securities are forfeited on trivial excuses. Similarly there is no check on the violent speeches of Muslim speakers.

The Punjab Premier is present at all depressed class meetings, openly encouraging a section among them to ask for separation from the Hindus in all spheres of administration. They are even being asked to demand that they should be separately classified in the coming census. They are already being separately shown in the annual statement. Strenuous attempts are being made to provide separate electorates for them, in the proposed Lahore Corporation, against which proposal, a storm is brewing. It is again an interesting feature, that though the majority among the depressed classes are labourers and petty agriculturists they are not given the benefit of the Land Alienation Act, inspite of their vehement protests. These people have also been agitating against the recent economic measures, which have hit them also very hard. Instances are not lacking, when the Premier has tried to set the depressed classes against the caste 'Hindus' and has thereby alienated the sympathies of even the moderate Hindus. In the words of the depressed class leaders themselves in the Assembly, who were until recently with the Premier, the Government has done nothing as compared

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with the Congress governments, to improve their lot. In spite of the fact, that the Sikhs occupy a better position (19% representation in the legislature aginst a population of 11%) as compared with the Hindus, they are also up against the ministry. In 1937 there were 31 out of 48 Hindus (7 out of 8 Harijans) and 17 out of 33 Sikhs with the ministry in the assembly; and now 20 out of 49 Hindus (4 out of 8 Harijans) and 14 out of 33 Sikhs are with the ministry. The above figures show beyond doubt, the amount of confidence of the minorities which the Punjab Premier enjoys. The explanation for these defections given by the ministerial party is, that the deserters are the representatives of the moneyed classes who could not reconcile themselves to the "anti-bania laws," passed by the Assembly. But what is their explanation for the Sikhs and Harijan deserters, who are not the representatives of the commercial classes, but represent the agriculturist classes?

He has chosen a novel and unintelligible way of rooting out communalism while he allows the whole administration to be run on communal lines: he does not answer questions relating to communal grievances in the Assembly. The government being predominantly Muslim, the Muslims have no grievances to voice, and thus they do not suffer by this method. Thus this device is intended, on the pretext of ending communalism, to deny to the Hindus, a major outlet to voice their feelings against the government measures.

Such are in brief the utterances and actions of our Premier, who is noted for his sobriety in speech and action in circles outside the Punjab, who have not studied him at close quarters. As regards his contention, that because the minorities are quiet, they are contented, the fact of the matter is that they are not quiet. The economic measures of the ministry have met with violent opposition. There have been held dozens of conferences protesting against these laws. Article after article by one eminent person or the other exposing the pretensions of the Premier regarding his much trumpeted solicitude for the minorities is appearing in the local press. Glaring instances of oppression and injustice in one field or the other are being reported in the press every now and then. Even so moderate and impartial a paper as the *Tribune* has frequently protested against the communal policy of the Premier. Last year Master Tara Singh, the veteran Sikh leader, levelled against the Premier a number of most serious charges accusing him of conspiring with some of the leading Muslim divines in the province for crushing the minorites. These charges found publication in almost all the papers but remain uncontradicted up to this day. Of course there has been no virulent campaign, urging opposition to the government measures in the press or on the platform; while the former is due to the existence of dicriminatory restrictions on speech and writings as also to their indifference to protect even their just rights the latter is due to the inherently peace-loving mentality of the Hindus.

THE ARYAS IN HYDERABAD.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

You have been pleased to write a scathing note against the Satyagraha movement in the Hyderabad State in your renowned journal of 1st July. As the reflections contained in this note are based either on ignorance or wrong judgment, I am taking the liberty of sending to you what I consider the correct interpretation of the whole affair and trust that you will extend to us the hospitality of your columns as journalistic etiquette requires.

It is now a little over 6 months that the Arya Samaj started Satyagraha in the Hyderabad State for the removal of certain religious restrictions and disabilities. The step was taken neither in haste nor in a spirit of light-heartedness. On the contrary it took the Arya Samaj six long years to try to negotiate with the authorities to come to an amicable settlement. But when all constitutional methods of personal approach, representation and appeal failed, a big Arya Conference was held at Sholapur during last Christmas week. It was here that 11 demands covering our grievances were made. Their perusal will without doubt convince every reasonable and unbiassed mind that they should have been allowed without a moment's hesitation, for the mere asking of them, in these days of enlightenment by a big State like Hyderabad which is applauded, in season and out of season, by its supporters as the best administered and most advanced State in India. Not only this but with a view to make the way for settlement easy these demands were, at a later stage, reduced to only three—*i.e.* full freedom of worship, freedom of preaching, consistent of course with due regard for the feelings of the followers of other religions, and the erection of new mandirs, the repair of old ones and the hoisting of "Om" flag on mandirs. But the administration has not so far seen its way to concede even these demands. So the struggle continues with ever increasing grim determination. The result is that over 11 thousand Arya satyagrahis from all parts of India have been incarcerated and 12 deaths some under very suspicious and tragic circumstances have already occurred in the State jails.

Though a flood of light has been thrown from Press and platform on what the Arya Samajists are out to seek, yet it is surprising and painful to find the colossal ignorance in this respect, not only of men of light and leading but even of some of the most forem most journals like the *Indian Social Reformer*. For instance, it has been said in its issue of 1st July that the Madras and Punjab Governments have prohibited agitation in connection with the satyagraha in Hyderabad in their respective provinces under the Princes Protection Act. The Madras Government only banned two meetings one after the other at a particular place in the town of Madras and one at Bezwada under Section 144 as a matter of precaution against attacks and not that there was anything to be apprehended from the Arya Samajists and has, after that, practically removed even this hindrance, and meetings are now being freely held. The Punjab Government, no doubt, in its overzeal to serve a neighbouring state, if a state situated at a distance of more than one thousand miles could be called neighbouring, has applied the Princes Protection Act; but this action of the Punjab Government has been universally condemned as utterly unjustified. Even the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, a reactionary Anglo-Indian daily, has condemned the Punjab Government for it, in unequivocal terms. Speaking of the religious demands of the Arya Samaj the paper says:

> The Punjab Government would not contest the right of the Arya Samaj or of any religious body, to make this demand for their rights. It is, in fact, difficult to justify on ethical grounds repressive action against an organisation which is working for this end. Moreover, grave doubt is cast on the neighbourliness [illegible] of the Punjab Government's attitude towards the Muslim League deputation which recently toured the Province with the express purpose of stirring up hatred and contempt of Congress Governments in other provinces. Neighbourliness then had no part in the Punjab

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Government's policy, why has the virtue suddenly blossomed?

The Punjab Government sought justification for the application of the Princes Protection Act to the Punjab in the disturbance that took place in Rohtak some time ago and recently at Kaithal. In both these places the Aryas, even unconcerned Hindu wayfarers, were set upon without any provocation which is fully demonstrated by the unqualified apologies by the Mahommadans concerned in both these places. So the Princes Protection Act was never applied by the Madras Government while it was absolutely unwarranted in the case of the Punjab.

The Bombay Government never stood in need of any help from the Arya Samajists to maintain peace. If some of the Arya Samajists in a talk with the Minister responsible for Law and Order told him that as far as the Arya Samajists were concerned they were as anxious to maintain peace as the Minister himself was, surely it did not mean that he could not maintain peace without the help of the Arya Samajists or for the matter of that without the help of any outside agency.

The attitude of the Bombay Government has always been to allow liberty of action for the redress of wrongs even against itself, provided the agitators remained within the bounds of law and did not in any way disturb peace. The Congressmen who are now holding the reins of Government, will be false to themselves if they stood in the way of those who were legitimately and peacefully fighting for their rights. It is really amusing for the *Social Reformer* to ask if the Bombay Government would extend similar hospitality to the Muslims if they led jathas to Sholapur through the Hyderabad State and defied the Bombay Government as the Aryas are *defying* the Nizam's Government. The reply is simple and straight. In this case the question of hospitality does not arise. The jathas would be, as they should be, straightaway clapped in jail and treated, if it were possible for the Bombay Government to do so, with as much callousness as the Aryas are being treated in the Nizam's jails.

A still more grotesque assertion has been made. And it is this that, if 150 Arya Samajes were allowed to exist and carry on their usual functions, "they could not be suffering from any serious restrictions on its religious propaganda." It is on the face of it a very wrong assumption. The mere existence of 150 Arya Samajes does not prove that there are no religious restrictions or disabilities imposed upon them. The Arya Samajes are not of one day's making, but the restrictions are recent and galling. Those who are members of these Samajes have been groaning under them. Havan Kunds have been prohibited, "Om" flags have been forcibly removed from the Samaj Mandirs, Arya Samajes are asked to get permission from the Ecclesiastic Department, a department controlled by orthodox Muslims, for the erection of new mandirs and the repair of old ones. It is a notorious fact that such permissions are either not accorded or delayed which frustrate the very object for which permission is sought. Arya Samajist preachers, like the renowned Pandit Ramchand of Delhi whose lectures were attended by thousands of Muslims also and were highly appreciated, were ordered to quit the State or criminal cases were instituted against them. Surely this can not be called a happy and equitable state of things under which any church could live happily and thrive. The untold hardships which the Arya Samajists are bearing is an ample proof of the fact that there is something seriously wrong in the state of Hyderabad otherwise no sensible man would willingly offer himself for incarceration which means so much suffering, even death.

Delhi,
July 6, 1939.

Yours etc.,
RAM PRASAD.
Publicity Department,
International Aryan League.

[This letter has but a casual relevancy to the editorial note in the *Reformer* on which it professes to be a comment. That note was a criticism of the Press Note of the Bombay Government (which was quoted in full) which took official cognisance of the Arya Samaj's activities in connection with the satyagraha in Hyderabad State and removed the ban which it had earlier imposed on the organisation of these activities from its territories on the Aryas undertaking to help assist the Bombay Government to maintain peace in Sholapur. We criticised this action as short-sighted as it was bound to recoil on itself. We expressly stated that we were not discussing the merits of the Arya Samaj satyagraha and mentioned, only incidentally, that a sect which, with scarcely 5000 declared members out of a population of over 12 millions, had 150 centres in the State, can not be subject to serious hardships. (The figure is incorrect though our correspondent accepts it. They have only about 50 mandirs.) As, however, our correspondent has sought to justify the satyagraha, we are obliged to say that satyagraha as it has come to be understood is nothing but organised hooliganism, and is absolutely incompatible with the propagation of religion. We may deal with this point more at length on a subsequent occasion. But here we may note the incongruity of Congress suspending its Satyagraha and a Congress Government ostentatiously affording facilities for the Arya Samaj Satyagraha.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

THE JEWS IN THE U.S.A.*

Social scientists recognize that anti-Semitism has been expressed in various ways over long periods. There is the social anti-Semitism that excludes Jews from summer hotels, clubs, etc. There is the anti-Semitism in the universities and colleges of the country, also of long standing. A distinguished committee of Harvard professors, of which Ralph Barton Perry was chairman, in submitting a report on "Some Problems of Personnel in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences" on March 25, 1939, made important findings on "sectional, racial and religious discrimination" in that university. The committee stated that it was difficult to assess the extent of anti-Semitic bias in the making of faculty appointments, but that "those who raised the issue seemed in agreement, to use the words of one of them that 'racial prejudice is so throughly ingrained and taken for granted that no one takes much notice of it except in particularly flagrant cases'." The professors went on to state: "In any case it is the committee's view that the university should regard as a part of its educational function the liberation of its students from racial or religious prejudice.....Conscious or unconscious anti-Semitism would be a betrayal of the best traditions of the university." Educators also sometimes refer to unwritten rules in regard to quotas of Jewish students in well-known colleges and universities of the nation.

There is evidence that anti-Semitism increased in times of economic stress and depression. In times of crisis, insecure people look for scapegoats and simple explanations of their difficulties. For example, in the readjustments immediately after the World War, a noted industrialist encouraged anti-Semitic

* Information Service.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

propaganda. In the early 1920's the Ku Klux Klan was reborn and flourished for a brief period on a program me aimed at Jews, Catholics and Negroes. But during the more prosperous years of 1926-30 these movements seemed to have relatively little significance. During the economic depression much more has been heard about anti-Semitism than during the fortunate years.

There is an important political aspect to current organised anti-Semitism. Many promoters of it were very active in the 1936 presidential campaign. The burden of their propaganda was that "The New Deal is a Jew Deal," and the personnel of the Roosevelt Administration was the object of attack. The overwhelming victory of President Roosevelt in the 1936 compaign almost silenced these professional promoters for a brief period. Now with the 1940 campaign already under way, those who wish to make political capital out of anti-Semitism are again opening up for business and claiming renewed public attention.

What are the facts about Jewish influence on American economic and social life? The most extensive collection of reliable materials on this point was made by the editors of *Fortune* magazine in 1936.....Nothing like it has been issued since that time and the general situation is believed by competent students to be about what the editors declared it to be then. The material appearing in that report is summarized below.

The survey considered the factual ground for expressed fears of Jewish domination in American life. The Jewish birth rate, like the birth rates of most other groups, has fallen. One report for Jews in New York in 1932 gives their birth rate at 17·5 per 1000 population, as compared with 16·5 for non-Jews, this slight difference being probably explained by the fact that about half the Jews living in the city were still first generation immigrants who have a higher birth-rate than is general in the population. The number of Jews, it is true, has increased in the United States at a very rapid rate if one considers 1800 as compared with 1930. One reason for this rapid increase was the fall in the death rate, chiefly the infant death rate. Since immigration into the United States is now greatly restricted, and since the Jewish birth rate is about the same as that found in most other groups, there would appear to be no ground for anti-Semitic propaganda base dupon any increase in numbers.

The next question, more fundamental, is whether there are facts to support the charge that Jews are monopolizing or are likely to monopolize economic opportunity in the United States. Do Jews dominate industry and banking, as is sometimes alleged?

In this connection an important point, not stressed in the *Fortune* survey should be noted. The survey refers solely to the participation of Jewish individuals in American busines. What the survey does not make explicit is that Jewish individuals have diverse opinions on many of the great economic and community issues, in the same way as, let us say, American Protestants. Every informed person knows that the American Jewish community, far from being united on most issues is actually divided on them. There are, for example, three branches of the organized Judaism.

There are about 4,500,000 American Jews. The great mass of these people like the great mass of non-Jews, is made up of workers in trade and industry. Nevertheless, it is a common observation that Jews are concentrated in the cities. Nearly half the Jews in the United States are in New York, where about 30 per cent of the population is Jewish. It may be very definitely stated that the Jews do not run banking in the United States.....Of 1,375 members of the New York Stock Exchange, [illegible] 18 per cent are Jewish.....The clothing business [illegible] the spectacularly outstanding exception to [illegible] generalization that Jewish industrial interests [illegible] the minority.

But what about Jewish control of agencies [illegible] opinion such as newspapers magazines, radio, [illegible] motion picture, the theatre?.....There are [illegible] four important Jewish newspaper publishing [illegible] which own chains of papers. In magazine ownership [illegible] they are even less important. Of about 200 [illegible] advertising agencies only six are Jewish.

In the New York theatre about half the producers [illegible] are non-Jewish. Of the two large broadcasting [illegible] chains, one is under control of Jews. Considering [illegible] radio stations outside of New York, the [illegible] majority are non-Jewish. *Fortune* writes:—

> The movies, however, are the chief point of anti-Semitic reliance and there a persuasive case may be made. The Jews were the first exhibitors of movies because the early movie theatres could be operated on little capital: They were commonly empty stores with folding chairs for seats and a derelict piano. Large returns in such centres tempted them into production. That certain of the Jewish producers were men without influence upon the popular taste was unfortunate, no one, and least of all the cultivated Jew, will deny. Today Jewish control of the great moving picture companies is less than monopolistic. Three of the eight principal companies are owned and controlled by Jews. Two are probably controlled and owned by non-Jews and of three the management and ownership are divided. But though Jews do not monopolise the Industry moneywise they do nevertheless exert great complete control over the production of picture.....Of 85 names engaged in production either as executives in production, producers or associate producers (including independents) 53 are Jews. And the Jewish advantage holds in prestige as well as in numbers.

What about the professions, particularly law and medicine? The anti-Semitics claim that Jews are crowding out the rest of the population in these two professions. Here the situation in New York must be considered separately from the rest of the country. At least one-third of the doctors in New York are Jews and about one-third to one-half of the lawyers. But one third of the population in New York is Jewish. The most important office law business are in the hands of non-Jewish firms. Jewish legal activity is found most commonly in the bankruptcy courts, real estate law, negligence, divorce, collections and litigation in general. In other words, Jews are to be found in those branches of the law that generally do not interest non-Jewish lawyers, or on the branches related to commercial activity such as real estate, textiles, where Jews are very active. Thus the importance of Jews in trial work becomes significant. They are found in the courts trying cases more frequently than non-Jewish lawyers. One reason for this condition is that non-Jewish lawyers prefer the routine of office practice.

In medicine, in spite of the large number of Jewish doctors, hospital medical boards in New York are apt to be controlled by non-Jewish doctors, and Jews and non-Jews are frequently found as colleagues on those boards. Nevertheless, the editors of *Fortune* report that the feeling between Jews and non-Jews is much stronger in medicine than in the law. This appears to be due to competition between Jews and non-Jews to enter medical schools. It is stated that about 14,000 men and women attempt annually to enter 76 medical schools of the highest standing in the United States. Of those applying about 50 per cent are Jews. Of those admitted about 17 per cent are Jews.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank. Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...8 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Shiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District ...).
Dhulia (District ...).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District ...).
Satara („ „).
Kaiwan („ „).
Dohad („ „).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	,, 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	,, 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	,, 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	,, 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B.A., M.S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings be... Bombay, Karachi and Ca... Burma calling at Galle Tuti... Colombo and other coast po... according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Ag...

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
2-26 Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.
For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:—K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 8, 1939. No. 45

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

The Indian National Congress.
Non-Congressmen and the Forward Bloc.
Satyagraha by Permission.
"Civil Liberty."
Socialist Dissensions.
Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan at the Rotary Club.
Professor Joad on the Bible.
Ceylon Unemployment Scheme.
Indians in Burma.
Politics and Reform.
Halifax Alternatives.
The Origins of Fascism.
Aryas and Hindus in the Nizam's Dominions.
Dr. Einstein on Religion and Science.
Gandhiji and Corruption.
The Gospels Re-Read.
Prohibition and Bombay's Coast.
India and the World.
Prohibition in the Central Provinces.
News of the Week.

NOTES.

The Indian National Congress :—We welcome the recent decisions of the Congress authorities regarding the singing of Bande Mataram and the hoisting of the Congress flag. They are to the effect that the song is not to be sung nor the flag hoisted even if a single voice is raised in deprecation. The greatest need of the country is reconciliation and harmonising of all interests, sentiments and communities, subject only to the dictates of the moral law. Even to secure this paramount need, nothing that is unjust, unfair and injurious even to the smallest minorities should be countenanced. Subject to this condition, every other consideration must be subordinated to the active promotion of peace, friendly understanding and harmony in Indian life. The National Congress in its inception was actuated by this ideal. It accepted the existing social and political order and sought by well-considered reforms to bring it in harmony with the advancing ideas and aspirations of the time. The non-co-operation movement was a violent and revolutionary departure but, right or wrong, it is too late and altogether purposeless now to speculate whether without it things today would have been very different from what they are. The decisions in regard to the song and the flag, and even Gandhiji's invocation of the aid of the Viceroy in the Rajkot affairs, are steps calculated to bring the Congress back to its orginal moorings, and we are heartily glad of them. The movement in the Congress represented by them does not come a day too soon. Notwithstanding its professed objects, the Gandhian era has not succeeded in bridging the differences between communities and interests. This is the plain fact which he who runs may read. It is bad strategy, to put it at the lowest, for the vanguard to push too far ahead of the main body. The process of consolidation must be completed even if it necessitates a temporary retreat in the advance towards swaraj.

Non-Congressmen and the Forward Bloc :—Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose was almost cold-shouldered by official Congressmen during his recent stay in Bombay. In the Congress Socialist Party his activities have brought about dissension. It is in the relations which he and his colleagues of the Forward Bloc have sought to establish with non-Congressmen that there has been a noteworthy departure from latter-day Congress policies. Mr. Bose himself had interviews with Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the veteran President of the Muslim League, and with Dr. B. R. Ambedkar of the Independant Labour Party, in Bombay. Both these political leaders have been drawing farther away from the Congress since the introduction of provincial autonomy. Equally notable was Mr. M. N. Roy's visit to Poona as the guest of the Servants of India Society. If the Forward Bloc is to have a future in the country, it is a wise step to seek a wider basis than that of the Indian National Congress. We have always felt it a grave defect of that great organisation that it deliberately rejected the co-operation of distinguished leaders by its insistence on political irrelevancies. Mr. Bose would have rendered great service to the Congress had he undertaken his negotiations during his presidentship. Apparently the interests that had grown up round the Congress, prevented his taking the initiative then. It is not too late, however. The formation of a national party with politicians of all shades of opinions working side by side will serve two useful objects: It will bring into national politics several veterans who are now out of it and it will provide much-needed ballast to the Leftist groups.

Satyagraha by Permission :—Among the resolutions passed by the All India Congress Committee last week was one directing that no Congressman should undertake satyagraha (which includes fasting, picketing and otherwise making oneself a nuisance to everybody else) without the permission of the Working Committee. Mr. Subhas Bose's apt comment on this is that it is kicking down the ladder by which Congress rose to power. Nothing can show more clearly that the term has come to have a conventional meaning entirely opposed to its etymological one. Satyagraha means action by a person under the constraining pressure of Truth. It is absurd to ask a man under such a pressure to ask leave of a Committee. We have shown

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

more than once that satyagraha as it has come to be understood, has inhering in it the condition of its own destruction. Right conduct is conduct which can be universally practised without injury to any one. It will be absurd to lay down that a Congressman should not tell the truth without the previous permission of the Working Committee. Yet the resolution on satyagraha is not very different from that. It must be patent to the onlooker that the Congress has passed its idealistic and formative stage and that its activities at present are concerned chiefly with maintaining its position against forces which it itself has let loose and which threaten to overwhelm it.

"Civil Liberty":—One of the first things Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru did after regaining his freedom, was to establish a Society for the protection of civil rights and liberties. This Society still exists but it has had the unexpected fate of having to record breaches of these rights and liberties by Congress Governments. What is more, the Pandit himself in his capacity of President of the Planning Committee for the industrial development of the country, took exception to the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Kamath, who resigned from the Indian Civil Service some time back to join the Congress, joining the Forward Bloc of Mr. Subhas Bose. Mr. Kamath pointed out that there was no condition attached to his acceptance of the Secretaryship. "The conditions laid down at present," he added, "are not far different from those I had to labour under while I was in the Indian Civil Service." This home-thrust stung Pandit to the quick. He expressed his astonishment that it should have been made but could not show that it was unjustified. He admitted that no conditions were made when Mr. Kamath accepted the Secretaryship, "but certain things are supposed to be understood." We see Mr. K. T. Shah has been appointed General Secretary. We wonder if these conditions are 'understood' in his case also and whether he agreed to abide by them. Civil liberty evidently means liberty to harass a non-Congress Government for acts which are to be accepted as "understood" when done by Congress leaders themselves.

Socialist Dissensions:—In the course of the correspondence which passed between Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhiji after the Tripuri Congress, Mr. Bose hinted at a split in the Congress Socialist Party. The split has occurred but the party continues to function without loss of members though under a changed leadership. Four of the Congress Socialist leaders have resigned from the Party Executive. In a statement to the press, they reveal that their main reason for doing so is their disapproval of the Forward Bloc or the "left consolidation." Such a step, they say, will result in the extinction of the Congress Socialist party and the strengthening of the more well-knit and better financed Communist parties. They also feel it inadvisable to divide the parent organisation, the Indian National Congress, into exclusive blocs. The second objection is a most surprising one coming from Socialists who might surely have thought of the dangers of division when they founded the Congress Socialist group as a within the Congress. As for the threat the Communists, this seems to us a baseless If the Communists seek to form a bloc the Socialists, it can only mean that by selves they are unable to push forward their programme. Since the Communist bel in destroying the present order and the Cong Socialist in building upon it, such an alli between the two should necessarily a victory for the more moderate party. fact that the four dissenting members felt it duty to resign from the executive, seems indicate that the party as a whole does not sh their fears. A fifth leader, Mr. Narendra D has appealed for greater party discipline. W he is less specific than the four who ha resigned, in pointing out the dangers to the par he too regards the menace from the extrem as the most immediate. Like Pandit Jawah Nehru, many Congress Socialists are reluct to take sides in the dispute between Mr. B and the right-wing leaders. We shall not surprised if, like the Pandit, they find themselv drawn on to the side of the Congress right-wing for all practical purposes. The Congres Socialist Party has, by its decision favouring th Forward Bloc, repaid Mr. Bose for extending his patronage and almost identifying himself with it in his presidential address to the Haripur Congress.

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan at the Rotary Club:—One of the tragedies of contemporary Indian public life is the conversion of the Punjab Premier from an open-minded statesman into one of the principal exponents of the Muslim League. That he is not very comfortable in the communal role is evident from the fact that he readily relapses into his natural role whenever the opportunity offers. Sir Sikandar was on a visit to Bombay in connection with a meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League among the resolutions passed by which is one condemning the Congress Provincial Governments and calling upon the Secretary of State to institute an enquiry in their administration by a Royal Commission. Almost directly from Mr. Jinnah's home on Mount Pleasant Road Sir Sikandar made his way to the Taj Mahal Hotel where the Rotary luncheon was served. In his address at the function he cited the success of all the eleven Provincial Governments, Congress and non-Congress, as proof of the capacity of Indians to administer their own affairs. Referring to the rejection of the Federation scheme by the Congress, the Muslim League and the Princes (for totally different reasons) the Punjab Premier outlined an alternative scheme which would reduce the Federal centre to complete impotence. The short experience of Provincial autonomy has shown that the Central Government finds considerable difficulty in controlling the provinces in essential

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

all-India matters. Sir Sikandar's plan will make its position still worse. He is afraid of the Federal Government developing into a unitary Government if its powers are not severely restricted. If the Punjab Premier follows the trend of events in countries where the rights of the component units are being rigorously safeguarded, he will find that their constitutions are strained to breaking-point in order to meet the pressure of the world forces induced largely by the scientific means of communication in modern times. The history of India shows beyond doubt that the country had prosperity within and security from foreign invasion, only when she had a strong central Government and that when it weakened or allowed the provinces to grow stronger than itself, the country was plunged in anarchy. The crowning mistake of the Hoare scheme was the break-up of British India into autonomous provinces. All the powers they now possess and more should have been given to them but by devolution from the Centre. The rejection of the Federation by the Princes—we are afraid it is only a gesture—affords a God-sent opportunity to retrieve this grievous mistake.

Professor Joad on the Bible :—We reprint today a remarkable article headed "The Gospels Re-Read" from the *Spectator*. It is remarkable because Professor Joad's observations are just those which might occur to a non-Christian student of the Bible. It is quite as remarkable as appearing in the conservative, not to say conventional, *Spectator*. In the *New Statesman* it would have excited no surprise. This shows that British intellectuals are able to take a detached view of the Bible. Priestley in his "Midnight in the Desert" and Aldous Huxley in his "Ends and Means" display the same detachment. Aldous Huxley, indeed, shows a competent and sympathetic familiarity with the Bhagavad Gita and Buddhism. The Calcutta University has invited him to deliver a course of lectures on Comparative Religion. They are sure to be illuminating. They will also, like Sir Radhakrishnan's lectures at Oxford, help in establishing intellectual contact between India and Britain, which is of more abiding importance than trade pacts and political conventions.

Ceylon Unemployment Scheme :—According to a press message the *Times of Ceylon* published the forecast that the Ceylon Government's scheme for repatriating Indians has been modified. Daily-paid non-Ceylonese in Government service who have no homes in India to return to, will be retained in service as special cases. Persons who abuse this proviso by false declarations, will, if discovered, be summarily dismissed and sent away without gratuity. Those Indians who have married Sinhalese women, will also be permitted to remain. A later report states that the Ceylon Government is understood to have given, at the request of the Indians, more time to those who have been asked to leave, in order that they might settle their affairs. If the Ceylon *Times*' information is correct, Government are to be congratulated on the reasonableness of their attitude. The two concessions go a long way to meet Indian objections and the sting has been to a large extent taken out of the repatriation scheme. No responsible Indian publicist can object to the Ceylon Government pursuing within these limits the policy of helping its nationals to greater economic security. The ready response of the Ceylon Government to Indian representations which were sent in from every quarter with the utmost moderation, furnishes fresh evidence of the ties that bind the two peoples together.

Indians in Burma :—Dr. Ba Maw who is the leader of the Opposition in the Burma Legislative Assembly, told a meeting of the Kerala Association in Rangoon that all the troubles of Indians settled in Burma would vanish if they thought "horizontally instead of vertically." Dr. Maw went on to explain that no such division as Indian and Burma should really count and that there were only two groups, the exploiters and the exploited. It is a familiar feature of Socialist argument that all other differences must evaporate in the face of class wars. Dr. Maw is not in the Government today and we do not know how far other Burmans accept his solution of treating those Indians already in Burma well, if further immigration is controlled. Dr. Maw, however, in advising Indians not to ask for compensation for losses sustained in riots, drew on a wrong analogy, that of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. It is not unknown in India for a penalty to be levied from a community which is held to be the cause of the disturbance and in political agitation it is a common feature. That, however, does not make the method a sound one. Every community in the State should be made to bear the expense of reconstruction as the destruction of property is a loss common to all in a country. Marking out some communities as the beneficiaries of a fine levied on a different group of people, is not calculated to promote the best relations between the two sections.

Politics and Reform :—In his article this week, Mr. Ganguli returns to the charge against the Congress. From his remarks it is obvious that a general distrust of the Congress heirarchy prevails. In a speech to the merchants at Madras, Mr. Rajagopalacharya also referred to public suspicions but, unlike Mr. Ganguli, he felt that if more trust was shown in the good faith of those who held office, the country would gain by the result. Too much is expected of Gandhiji in matters relating to the Congress. It is generally forgotten that the responsibility of everyone of us is necessarily great to maintain the springs of public life unpolluted. This is particularly true of those who hold positions of influence. In the present political conditions prevalent in India, leaders should not rest content in the knowledge that they are above reproach. Every step should be taken to convince the public that those entrusted with the conduct of affairs, are incapable of yielding to the temptations of high office. We are fortunate that in several provinces this is true of the men at the helm.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, July 8, 1939.

HALIFAX ALTERNATIVES.

Lord Halifax gave away the whole case for a moral justification of the British overlordship of India, when he commended it to advanced Indian politicians as better than Communist, Fascist and Nazi domination. Lord Halifax is one of the few statesmen of our time holding responsible office, who profess the belief that the universe is governed by moral law and that what has ceased to serve a moral purpose may linger on for a time but is surely on its way to extinction. As we have repeatedly pointed out when Europeans talk of democracy and dictatorship, they are all the time thinking only of white men. British democracy has not the same meaning to Indians as to the Briton and the White inhabitants of the "self-governing" Dominions. British statesmen have been saying that they will oppose any State which aspires to world domination. That they are themselves exercising domination over a large part of the world, does not strike them as discrediting the sincerity of their protestation of abhorrence of domination. Let us take two matters which bring out the character of British domination. It was stated last week that in the scheme of Imperial defence in the Far East formulated by the British Government, India has been allotted a place. Were any steps taken to ascertain whether the Indian people wished to have a part in this scheme and if so what part? Does it not strike Mr. Chamberlain and Lord Halifax that to decide for three hundred and fifty millions of human beings in this arbitrary fashion, is nothing but domination against which they profess to be anxious to protect the world? Take another instance. During the last few days the world Press has published figures of the gold reserves of the principal democratic countries. Every one of them conserves its gold with jealous care and is adding to its gold stocks. In India, on the other hand, every week large shipments of gold are made to foreign countries. This policy is being deliberately maintained in the teeth of public protests. Is this domination or democracy? No doubt India has been given a sort of constitution bearing the outward appearance of the British Parliamentary system. But the only freedom enjoyed by provincial autonomy is to levy more taxes. It was recognised many years ago that the limit of taxation in India had been reached. The bureaucratic system was afraid to levy new taxes for fear of popular discontent. Under autonomy this fear has been removed. And the provincial Governments are obliged to do what their bureaucratic predecessors shrank from doing. This is about all the democracy enjoyed by the provinces under the new constitution. The country is paying a heavy price for an imitation article.

The costliness of British colonial administration and its tendency to impoverish the subject people, is frankly brought out in the *Economist's* comment on the Colonial Adminstration Report presented to Parliament last month. The *Economist*, like Lord Halifax, institutes a comparison between British and Nazi Imperialisms but it does not, like him, conclude that all the advantages are with the former and none with the latter. It observes:

> It is impossible at this moment of time to avoid the question of what a newly colonising Germany would do for her overseas possessions; and it is impossible to escape the answer that, whatever essential elements of political freedom, racial toleration and social justice might be lost in a Nazi Empire, at any rate a policy of intensive economic development would be pursued which, while designed to supply raw materials to the Reich, would, incidentally, by making more of the colonies' resources, raise the income of the Colonies themselves.

How much of political freedom, social toleration and social justice, is enjoyed by non-Europeans in several British Colonies, is known to us in India. As a matter of fact, under the German regime the colour bar was less in evidence in East Africa than it is under the British democratic regime. The *Economist's* observation may be paraphrased in a concrete way. The British Colonial system has for its ultimate and remote aim the conferment of a qualified vote on the colonial native; the German system offers no vote—the German himself has none in his country—but it is likely to bring more bread to the starving people. The *Economist* proceeds to observe:

> The point is, whether we can make the best of both worlds. On the political side, British administration has hitched its wagon to the star of ultimate self-government, the star which has come into sight in a shower of sparks in the great sub-continent of India. Can that political development be associated at the same time with a parallel policy of economic development which will give to the shadow of political self-rule the substance of economic well-being and welfare?

Political self-rule is verily a shadow without the substance of economic well-being. The vote can not keep a man from starving if he has not food to eat. What India has been given is aptly described as a shower of sparks. What will be the difference to India, we ask Lord Halifax, if she passed from British democracy to the domination of Nazi or Fascist or Japanese dictatorship? She is a nonentity in international affairs now and she will continue to be so then. Though she pays a heavy price for her defence, she has no voice in its organisation and to her sons the army is a trade and ceased long ago to offer a career. Matters will continue to be much the same though on the continental scale the cost may be somewhat less. We have so far left out the third alternative which has not struck Lord Halifax, of leaving India to shift for herself. No doubt Lord Halifax believes that if India is left to manage her own affairs, she will mismanage them. No doubt he fervently believes that he and Mr. Neville Chamberlain are managing the affairs of Great Britain admirably. What Englishmen constantly ignore and what, from their insistence, even Indians have come to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „ „).
Nandurbar („ „ „).
Shirpur („ „ „).
Shahada („ „ „).
Sakri („ „ „).
Sindkheda („ „ „).
Taloda („ „ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „ „).
Kalwan („ „ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Koshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

more, is that the chief factor of success of British rule in this country, in so far as it has been a success, has been the capacity of Indians to appreciate modern ideas and to give effect to them, within the limits set for them. This capacity for adaptation has not altogether left us. With the utmost goodwill, Great Britain with her increasing commitments in Europe, must find it impossible to defend India and then, India will have to rely on her own depleted resources and untrained manhood to defend herself. The feeling that British support cannot be counted upon is becoming increasingly clear to thinking Indians. We commend to Lord Halifax this third alternative as likely to prove satisfactory to all parties and to be conducive to world peace.

THE ORIGINS OF FASCISM.

There have been innumerable explanations of how Fascism came into being and it is rarely that the author of any of them has had the necessary detachment to leave aside his own prejudices. Those who have opposed Fascism—and the number has increased since the growth of Nazism in Germany has turned it into a world movement—ascribed its appeal to subtle and unscrupulous propaganda, to persecution, to reactionary forces attempting to put off the collapse of capitalism. Those who have defended it, mainly rested their thesis on the conditions prevailing before the advent of Fascism in their country, or to the revulsion of the people to the iniquities of a previous Bolshevik menace. Dr. Goebbels in one of his latest replies to the charge of persecution, pleads realism as his defence and asks Franco-British-American critics to abandon the moral pose in discussing international politics, no one's hands being clean. All these arguments and counter-arguments seem to rest on the assumption that a pyramid can be stood on its apex; none of them explained how Fascism came to be accepted.

A notable attempt to take the subject out of this vicious circle, was made three years ago by Dr. Schumann in his "Hitler and the Nazi Dictatorship." The author's main explanation was that the Nazi movement saved the lower middle classes, from being reduced to a level with the class immediately below them, the proletariat. This is a thesis worth considering. If the lower middle classes have gained under the Nazi rule economically and politically, then the Nazi movement is in line with political development in Europe. The rise to power of first, the aristocracy, then the middle class under democracy, and now under Fascism the still lower and more numerous classes of artisans, skilled workers and clerks, shows political power descending from class to class. Even if the actual control of power rests unchanged in the hands of the old rulers, the very acceptance of this point of view by the leaders of the movement would mean a revolution which must bear fruit sooner or later. Such an acceptance can only be inferred from the declared ideal of the Fascist-Nazi State to abolish unemployment and the earnestness with which the efforts of Germany and Italy have been directed successfully to that end. For unemployment is the one fear of this class. Herr Hitler, himself one of this group, has written vividly of the supreme problem of its members in *Mein Kampf*. To this community the problem in post-war Europe was not so much how to improve their children's chances of a better life but rather how to ensure that their lives would not steadily deteriorate. Security became the great need in place of the democratic ideal of economic progress. The prospect of equality makes an appeal stronger than the certainty of a secure position only so long as equality remains or appears to be attainable. The success of the economic ideal in the first century of its struggle for acceptance lies in this very position. Its failure today can be accounted for by the general fear in vast masses of the people of slipping down into worse conditions. For while, as it has been remarked, it is difficult to rise out of one class into another, it is exceedingly easy to slip down from a higher class into the one below. Herr Hitler remarks in *Mein Kampf*:

> Those among whom I passed my young days belonged to the small bourgeois class. Therefore it was a world which had very little contact with the world of genine manual labourers. For, though at first this may appear astonishing, the ditch which separates this class which is by no means economically well off, from the manual labouring class is often deeper than people think. The reason for this division which we may almost call enmity, lies in the fear that dominates a social group which has only just risen above the level of the manual labourer—a fear lest it may fall back into its old condition or at least be classed with the labourers.

Such an explanation marks Fascism out from reactionary capitalism on the one hand and from Marxist Socialism on the other. Even those who do not accept the thesis feel the need for the distinction.

From another German writer comes yet one more detailed study of the rise of Nazism. Dr. Peter F. Drucker in "The End of Economic Man," has given us a thought-provoking analysis of Hitler's movement. Dr. Drucker, however, regards the movement as a break with European History which he sees as one ceaseless striving after freedom and liberty. He divides European cultural history into four epochs, each succeeding one closely following on the previous epoch. "Every organized society," he writes, "is built upon a concept of the nature of man and of his function and place in society." Europe exalted in turn the Spiritual Man, the Intellectual Man, the Political Man and the Economic Man. The time is ripe for the dethronement of the economic man, but Europe has no ideal to put in his place. The Fascist, totalitarian States have put up the Heroic, or what we would call the Military, man. The democratic powers are divided between those who would maintain the present system modifying, if possible, its worst features, and others who would give up the system for the preservation of their own privileges.

Dr. Drucker traces the breakdown of the economic ideal to the years before the War. The post-war years removed any basis that might have existed for popular faith in the satisfaction of economic needs. The collapse of Russian Communism at the very time the Bolshevists succeeded in establishing their regime in Russia, put the final touch to men's disbelief in the attainment of economic equality through Socialism. A less noted failure of the ideals of economic progress was the rejection of industrialisation by the Balkan States. "Instead of the Balkans becoming 'European'," says Dr. Drucker, "large parts of Europe proper—western Poland, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia—which before the War had fully accepted economic progress and the democratic order as supreme goods in themselves, were "Balkanised' and disintegrated socially." And outside the Balkans was the resistance of agriculture to the industrial revolution. Capitalism and Socialism, says Dr. Drucker, both seek to achieve freedom and equality through economics. Economic progress,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the foundation-stone of Capitalism, does not create equality. It brings instead, writes Dr. Drucker,

> the new and extremely rigid unequal classes of the petty bourgeoisie in to which it is as difficult to graduate from the proletariat as it is difficult to rise out of them into the class of entrepreneurs. If the classes of modern industrial society are not hereditary by law, they have become so almost in fact.

This conflict of classes almost inevitably gave rise to the classless ideal of Socialism. The Marxian thesis, however, does not take into account the large number of people in industrial enterprises on various economic rungs who have all a vested interest in the undertaking. In practice, with industrialization the number of intermediate layers increases and all of them have something to save out of an unequal society. Dissatisfaction with the results of both systems leads to an abandonment of the basic idea of the supremacy of economic needs and satisfactions.

The actual dethronement of economic man and the first undermining of his supremacy are separated by a period in which thinking men were aware of the need for a new concept, particularly in the Churches. But the failure of the Churches to seize the opportunity has been peculiarly tragic. That failure, Dr. Drucker sets down to the strength of reactionism in the orthodox faiths and to the individual, a-social nature of the religion of the best men. There is no social concept to confront Fascism with and the bulk of Christianity inclines to regard Fascism as an anti-materialist movement. The reason for this seems obvious, the Church receives its sustenance from the society it lives in and therefore naturally shares of its character. Dr. Drucker discards the obvious. He explains it on the other hand as follows:—

> The Christians who recognize and understand the true character of Fascism as the greatest foe of traditional order and as the denial of all we hold valuable and sacred, cannot translate their knowledge into an effective programme. For they themselves are unable to rationalize and banish the demonic forces which have caused facism. The pro-fascists alone, by refusing to see the true character of Fascisism and by insisting on judging it on traditional standards, can alone make sense of it.

In his entire chapter on the Churches Dr. Drucker writes on the assumption that the religious bodies did not at any time accept the concept of Economic Man. This is not strictly true, and realisation of the fact will help us in understanding the present position. The churches' tendency towards Fascism is not less today than the tendency in the past for religious organisations to seek the best of terms from the ruling classes of the world. And it is not from the Churches that one can expect an effective opposition to Fascist ideas, though individuals and bodies might resist Fascist force.

In discussing the forces which delayed the collapse of capitalism, Dr. Drucker gives two factors: The economic imperialism of the Great Powers and the existence of the United States of America. It is because he does not appreciate the importance of the colonial system to capitalism that Dr. Drucker's brilliant analysis* of European conditions falls short. The American example has ceased to have much validity today. But the clamour for colonies still persists. The European tradition of freedom and equality up to the rise of Nazism and Fascism, has substance only if Europe is regarded as the universe. Seen in its proper perspective, the traditional outlook has been quite different. Long before belief in economic man was shattered, ... in freedom and equality had disappeared, if it ... was widespread. Concessions in home countries ... lower strata of society were made from time to ... as territorial additions abroad opened up ... fields of domination. In their own continent free ... and equality were allowed free play as ideas ... there was also growing in intensity and ... conflicting tradition, essential for the growth ... maintenance of the colonial system, that ... domination and privilege. So long as the two ... left to mature in exclusive spheres of influence, ... was no obstacle in the way of Europeans ... the best of both worlds. But the result inevitably ... was concealed conflict between the two traditions. The first victory of the colonial idea was not, as ... often remarked, the use of colonial troops in the ... war, but the employment of colonial methods ... meeting trouble in Ireland. The Sanctity of Europe ... was gone. Nazi Germany in her attitude towards ... European weaker powers, has done no more than apply ... colonial methods to European problems. ... Dr. Drucker approached his subject from this point ... of view, he would not have regarded Fascism as ... something alien to European culture and ... monstrosity. The League of Nations by the very ... fact of its existence was a challenge to the colonial ... idea. It failed because it fell a victim to the ... colonial "tradition." Freedom and equality once ... again had been invoked as a reply to the ... existing trend, and this time it failed. Unless ... we see this clearly we cannot discern where the ... ideological resistance to Fascism is to come from. ... Dr. Drucker is right when he says that it is not ... going back to old systems that Fascism can be ... rendered ineffective. If the politicians realise the ... need for opposing world order to national anarchy ... the way out of the present misery will be easy. ... Otherwise the world will have "to grope its way ... through the darkness of totalitarian fascism." ... Inasmuch as he leaves his readers guessing as to the ... nature of the new order, Dr. Drucker adds to the ... uncertainties of the situation. This is a grave defect ... which mars a painstaking study of political ... conditions.

ARYAS AND HINDUS IN THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS.

We have received a copy of a memorial ... addressed to the Viceroy in his capacity ... of Crown Representative, praying for his ... vention to secure complete freedom ... propagate the tenets of the Arya Samaj by preaching ... building temples, conducting schools and ... other ways, without any regulation or control by ... State in the Nizam's Dominions. The memorial ... tries hard to make out that the cause of the Hindus ... and of the Arya Samaj are identical but any one who ... reads it can see that this is done mainly with the ... object of strengthening the case of the Arya Samaj. ... The actual position so far as the Hindus are ... concerned is set forth in a statement issued by the ... Shankaracharya of Jyotirmath, who after a tour ... several districts of the State and after making ... personal enquiries, bears testimony to the liberal ... policy of the Hyderabad Government, calls attention ... to certain grievances due to the overzeal of lower ... officials and makes constructive suggestions to ... prevent repetitions of them in future. The following ... sentence taken from his report conveys the reasonable spirit in which His Holiness has approached his difficult task. He says:

> The Nizam's Government which appears to stand alone for their own reasons in having abstained from sanctioning the free entry of Harijans and ...

* The End of Economic Man, by Peter F. Drucker. Heinemann, 8s. 6d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hindus in the Hindu temples and bathing *thirthas*, prohibiting cow-slaughter during Id festivals and the proposal for establishing schools for primary religious education both for Hindus and Mussulmans separately, under their policy of non-interference in the established customs and usages of the Sanatana Dharma, should find no difficulty in adopting suitable measures in this direction also (the reference is to his suggestion for the certification of conversion and reconversions). (*The Mahratta*, June 30.)

While the Shankaracharya is confident that the needed improvements are quite possible under the existing policy of the Nizam's Government, the Arya memorial wants the intervention of Crown Representative and the use of the rights of Paramountcy to give the Arya Samajists unrestricted freedom to carry on their propaganda in the State. The interpretation which the memorialists put upon the passage in the Queen's Proclamation regarding religious neutrality, is far-fetched. We are surprised that, with the example of Lucknow and Cawnpore before their eyes, Sir C. Y. Chintamani and the Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru have put their names to a demand which is especially extravagant on the part of the Arya Samaj which is largely a repudiation of the most cherished beliefs and traditions of Hinduism. We can not imagine the Satyartha Prakash, the Bible so to speak of the Arya Samaj, not being read in religious institutions conducted by the Arya Samaj. It is a book which is full of offensive observations about Hinduism (as also of Christianity and Islam). For the Arya Samajists to claim to be leaders of Hinduism, means one of two things: that they have completely gone back on the teachings of their Founder or that they are carefully keeping them in the background in order to establish an ascendancy among Hindus which they have failed to do by their religious propaganda. Here is a passage taken from the *Satyartha Prakash*:

> Q: The Vama Margis and Shivites are not good but I suppose the Vaishnavites are so.
>
> A. Their sect being opposed to the teaching of the Vedas they are worse still. Bharadwaja's (English Edition p. 342.)

As a specimen of Swami Dayanand's reasoning and methods of controversy, the following account given by him of the origin of Vaishanavaism will interest readers:

> Their founder was a man named Shathakopa. He was born of a hore (*sic*): it is very likely that when he wanted to read with Brahmanas, he was refused this privilege; thereupon (having been exasperated) he founded the Chakrankita sect and introduced the use of marks on the forehead and started the practice of branding the arms; all this was opposed to the teachings of the Shastras and was evolved out of his own imagination. He was succeeded by his disciple, Munivahana, who was the son of an outcaste. His chief disciple was Yavanacharya who was a Mahommedan by birth, Yavanacharya is sometimes corrupted to Yamunacharya. After hima Ramnuja who was a Brahman by birth, was converted to this faith (sic). (pages 345, 346.)

The memorial claims that the number of adherents to the Arya Samaj is daily increasing and that it exerts influence over large bodies of the Hindu community outside its ranks. On the contrary there are grounds for thinking that the Arya Samaj as a religious movement has spent itself, and that it is trying to make up for its failure by putting itself forward as the champion of Hinduism which it has failed to dislodge. In the important subject of marriage, the Arya Samaj has freely allowed polygamy which its Founder denounced, and the Arya Marriage Validation Act passed two years ago has been grossly abused in several recent cases noticed in the *Reformer*. Another feature of Hinduism against which the Swami was most violent was idol worship. Arya Samajists have put themselves forward as leaders in the temple-entry agitation and figure in this memorial as protectors of Hindu temples. The Hindu gentlemen who have attached their names to the memorial, have no doubt satisfied themselves that the interests of the Arya Samajists and orthodox Hindus are the same in the Nizam's Dominions; but we can not help thinking that what the Aryas want in the name of religious freedom is virtually that the Nizam's Government should help the Arya Samaj to impose its sway over its Hindu subjects. No one who reads the criticisms of the Satyartha Prakash of Hinduism and other religions, can doubt for a moment that to allow the Aryas absolute freedom to preach and propagate it among their adherents, must lead to breaches of the peace. The work of the Arya Samaj in establishing educational institutions and orphanages has been meritorious. We do not underrate the services of the Arya Samaj. Unlike the Brahma Samaj, however, the Arya Samaj has not been distinguished for its tolerance. Certainly, it has been far outstripped as an agency of spiritual uplift by the Sri Ramakrishna Mission.

DR. EINSTEIN ON RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

Dr. Albert Einstein spoke on May 19 at Princeton Theological Seminary before the Northeastern Regional Conference of the American Association of Theological Schools. His brief address, which he entitled "The Goal," was not given publicity at the time but he has kindly furnished it for publication. The text follows:

"During the last century, and part of the one before, it was widely held that there was an unreconcilable conflict between knowledge and belief. The opinion prevailed among advanced minds that it was time that belief should be replaced increasingly by knowledge; belief that did not itself rest on knowledge was superstition, and as such had to be opposed. According to this conception, the sole function of education was to open the way to thinking and knowing, and the school, as the outstanding organ for the people's education, must serve that end exclusively.

"One will probably find but rarely, if at all, the rationalistic standpoint expressed in such crass form; for any sensible man would see at once how one-sided is such a statement of the position. But it is just as well to state a thesis starkly and nakedly, if one wants to clear up one's mind as to its nature.

"It is true that convictions can best be supported with experience and clear thinking. On this point one must agree unreservedly with the extreme rationalist. The weak point of his conception is, however, this, that those convictions which are necessary and determinant for our conduct and judgments, cannot be found solely along this solid scientific way.

"For the scientific method can teach us nothing else beyond how facts are related to, and conditioned by, each other. The aspiration toward such objective knowledge belongs to the highest of which man is capable, and you will certainly not suspect me of wishing to belittle the achievements and the heroic efforts of man in this sphere. Yet it is equally clear that knowledge of what *is* does not open the door directly to what *should be*. One can have the clearest and most complete knowledge of what *is*, and yet not be able to deduct from that what should be the *goal* of our human aspirations. Objective knowledge provides us with powerful instruments for the achievements of certain ends, but the ultimate goal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

itself and the longing to reach it must come from another source. And it is hardly necessary to argue for the view that our existence and our activity acquire meaning only by the setting up of such a goal and of corresponding values. The knowledge of truth as such is wonderful, but it is so little capable of acting as a guide that it cannot prove even the justification and the value of the aspiration towards that very knowledge of truth. Here we face, therefore, the limits of the purely rational conception of our existence.

"But it must not be assumed that intelligent thinking can play no part in the formation of the goal and of ethical judgments. When someone realizes that for the achievement of an end certain means would be useful, the means itself becomes thereby an end. Intelligence makes clear to us the interrelation of means and ends. But mere thinking cannot give us a sense of the ultimate and fundamental ends. To make clear these fundamental ends and valuations, and to set them fast in the emotional life of the individual, seems to me precisely the most important function which religion has to perform in the social life of man. And if one asks whence derives the authority of such fundamental ends, since they cannot be stated and justified merely by reason, one can only answer: they exist in a healthy society as powerful traditions, which act upon the conduct and aspirations and judgments of the individuals; they are there, that is, as something living, without its being necessary to find justification for their existence. They come into being not through demonstration but through revelation, through the medium of powerful personalities. One must not attempt to justify them, but rather to sense their nature simply and clearly.

"The highest principles for our aspirations and judgments are given to us in the Jewish-Christian *religious tradition. It is a very high goal* which, with our weak powers, we can reach only very inadequately, but which gives a sure foundation to our aspirations and valuations. If one were to take that goal out of its religious form and look merely at its purely human side, one might state it perhaps thus: free and responsible development of the individual, so that he may place his powers freely and gladly in the service of all mankind.

"There is no room in this for the divinization of a nation, of a class, let alone of an individual. Are we not all children of one father, as it is said in religious language? Indeed, even the divinization of humanity, as an abstract totality, would not be in the spirit of that ideal. It is only to the individual that a soul is given. And the high destiny of the individual is to serve rather than to rule, or to impose himself in any other way.

"If one looks at the substance rather than at the form, then one can take these words as expressing also the fundamental democratic possition. The true democrat can worship his nation as little as can the man who is religious, in our sense of our term.

"What, then, in all this, is the function of education and of the school? They should help the young person to grow up in such a spirit that these fundamental principles should be to him as the air which he breathes. Teaching alone cannot do that.

"If one holds these high principles clearly before one's eyes, and compares them with the life and spirit of our times, then it appears glaringly that civilized mankind finds itself at present in grave danger. In the totalitarian states it is the rulers themselves who strive actually to destroy that spirit of humanity. In less threatened parts it is nationalism and intolerance, as well as the oppression of the individuals by economic means, which threaten to choke these most precious traditions.

"A realization of how great is the danger is spreading, however, among thinking people, and there is much search for means with which to meet the danger—means in the field of national and international politics, of legislation, of organization in general. Such efforts are, no doubt, greatly needed. Yet the ancients knew something which we seem to have forgotten. All means prove but a blunt instrument, if they have not behind them a living spirit. But if the longing for the achievement of the goal is powerfully alive within us, then shall we not lack the strength to find the means for reaching the goal and for translating it into deeds."

GANDHIJI AND CORRUPTION.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

In returning to the subject of corruption again this week, I do not feel apologetic in my mind; rather the importance of it and its vital significance on our national welfare impell me to submit further observations relating to it to my readers, and also to draw Gandhiji's attention to facts and issues connected therewith. It is possible that there may be many people and even many thoughtful and educated persons, who are inclined to take rather a lenient view of moral delinquency, disapproving it at the most but not thinking of the part it plays through an individual in his relationship with society and with his workers and associates. Brought up and educated in an environment, where moral lapses are common and standards of honesty and rectitude are conveniently adjustable, and where such lapses and adjustability are taken for granted as not much censorable incidents of civilised life, they even say that in any case immorality need not be a barring disqualification in public leadership.

It is difficult to otherwise convince such people, because they show impatience when asked to take a deeper view of social life and analyse with the causes and conditions on which social health and happiness ultimately rest. With Gandhiji, however, it is quite different. It is his conviction in the essentiality of all round purity of life that has made him so very introspective about his own life and such an inspired moral missionary in his own country and in the world at large. What can, therefore, be there that makes him indulgent with his fellow Congress-workers is a baffling question, which he alone can answer. In the case of the Gandhi Seva Sangha he has laid down strict rules and conditions for ensuring a high degree of morality. In his writings and sayings truth, virtue and morality have formed the principal themes. Politics through untruth and jobbery he has condemned. The spirit of opportunism at the sacrifice of principles he has discountenanced. *Satya, ahimsa*, fairness and openness in dealings and non-violence in thought, word and deed he has preached and a pure, idealised life he has held before people when introducing the idea of *satyagraha* in the country's politics. But in actual practice he seems to minimise the significance of them all in the political field, at least so far as his Congress associates are concerned. For a Mahatma to go sympathetically to sinners and to bring them under his personal influence are quite understandable for it is thereby that he can mend them; but for him to overlook their frailties and not to draw their repeated attention to them and to install them in high places of public trust and and leadership, and to back them there by his personal support, can only make people doubt of what he means and look askance at the ideals he glorifies.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Non-violent satyagraha is what he prescribes as the only possible weapon in India's fight for political emancipation, and the necessary conditions for the use of that weapon, he defines, to be truth and *ahimsa*. But truth and *ahimsa* are not easy of attainment, and are less so in practice, particularly under circumstances of diverse excitement, provocation, oppression and temptation. For their attainment transparent purity of life and lofty idealism are needed, and for their practice the greatest strength of mind, that comes only through pure and principled life, is a prerequisite.

But it is hardly possible to get people fulfilling the strict conditions of non-violent satyagraha,—one may well argue,—and, therefore, what could Gandhiji do? But, if it be really true that not even a handful (not even fifteen) of such people can be had for leadership and executive functions, with what hope can he sustain his own and other people's faith in the practicability of his doctrine? There have been prophets and religious and moral teachers in the past, in different ages, and, though they did not succeed in raising all people to their own level, they had at least some disciples and followers round them, who had well imbibed the idealism of their preceptor and who could therefore inspire him with hope and confidence in his mission.

There are other aspects of leaders' life also which call for explanation, because of Mahatma Gandhi's not taking serious notice of them. Prohibition and swadeshism, the Congress has been advocating with great insistence, but the callousness of leaders themselves, at least of several of them, in not observing them in their personal lives has not been censored to public knowledge, either by Gandhiji or by the Congress High Command. A Gandhi cap and a khaddar dress in public functions have served as effective cloak for all dirtiness and vices. In fact there are many non-congress men of principles, who observe the above and other tenets of the Congress more scrupulously than those leaders who would drink in private, smoke foreign cigarettes, and use so many foreign articles of luxury. Can all these things have remained unknown to Gandhiji, when they are common knowledge in the street? If not, one cannot imagine on what ground or consideration he has not moved in the matter.

The All-India Congress Committee has just resolved *after so many years* that people dealing in foreign cloth and foreign goods would be disqualified from leadership; but as to the *use* of foreign cloth and foreign articles it has said nothing. The banning of their use may cause great inconvenience to may a great leader—some of whom may lose their sleep at the prospect of having to exist without inhaling fumes out of foreign cigarettes,—but would not such use seriously conflict with Congress principles and ideology? One very seriously doubts if even the above half-measure resolution will be strictly enforced. Neither the High Command, nor the Provincial Committees, will have the courage to see to the strict enforcement of the above resolution, for the simple reason that the above executives are much too ridden and strongly influenced by people, who have not their own slates clean, and who are involved in undertakings which would close down under the above resolution.

The truth about the Congress, as appears from a study of its handling by its leading lights, is that under the influence of Gandhiji it has adopted some principles of personal conduct, which its leaders are unable to follow, though they realise the necessity of winning and retaining Gandhian support. Gandhiji may have thought of utilising them for all they were worth in the country's service, while they on their part sought to utilise Gandhiji for coming into political power and influence. It is this duality in aim, that has consciously or sub-consciously held the two sides having widely different outlooks together, which, inspite of all that it has achieved in the growth and development of mass political consciousness, has generated a good deal of demoralising and faith-shaking influence, and has raised impediments in the country's national progress. Let that duality be replaced by an unity in outlook, and for that purpose let Gandhiji seek co-operation from people, who may not have the influence of wealth and position, but who abide by principles of honesty and morality and who would sincerely respond to his ideology. With them he can lay a surer foundation for real though temporarily less glamorous national welfare, and by seeking their association in preference to that of men of weak principles he would strengthen people's faith in virtue and honesty and remove the premium on loose conduct, which his present dispensation of patronage has placed.

It is Gandhiji's apparent slackness in enforcing moral discipline in his co-workers, which has greatly neutralised the good effects of his original moral drive, and, therefore, to regain the valuable lost ground he had to direct his attention and energies again to the matter with uncompromising firmness and irrespective of personalities. That alone will re-create the conditions, which will revive confidence in him in the practicability of wide-scale *satyagraha* in the country.

THE GOSPELS RE-READ.

(BY C. E. M. JOAD IN THE *Spectator*.)

Like many another of my generation brought up under the shadow of the Church, on reaching years of discretion I escaped into the sunlight of agnostical doubt; but also, like others of my generation, while discarding the Church and its works, I retained an immense respect for its founder. Jesus might not be the Son of God, but He was a man of the profoundest wisdom, teaching doctrines of the greatest moment. It was, indeed, because of its persistent refusal to attend to these doctrines, that Western civilisation was, I believed, in its present predicament. By "its present predicament" I meant the manifest instability and injustice of capitalist civilisation—I am still summarising a pre-War mood. It was, I suppose, the socialist elements in Jesus' teaching that chiefly evoked my admiration and respect. It was largely because of its failure to take the obviously revolutionary aspects of Jesus's teaching seriously that I condemned the Church. "For God's sake don't touch the Church of England!" said a House of Commons wit at the time of the celebrated debate on the revised Prayer Book, "it is the only thing that stands between us and Christianity." The jibe admirably expressed the attitude of the Left-wing agnostics of whom I am taking myself as a fairly typical representative.

Then came the War. Parsons turned their pulpits into amateur recruiting offices, and in the name of the Prince of Peace preached the doctrines of the God of War. The more inconvenient aspects of Jesus's teachings were suppressed, and those who drew attention to them were persecuted, with the result that, in the words of Bertrand Russell's epigram, "Men were sent to prison.....for expressing disagreement with the Christian religion and agreement with the teaching of Christ." Thus the war confirmed me in my estimate of the value of Jesus's teaching and of the extent of its betrayal by the Church.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

With the breath of war again in my nostrils I thought it would be a good thing to refresh my memory of the figure whom I had so long revered, and sat down in a quiet week to read the synoptic gospels. What sort of impression, I wanted to know, did the person and teaching of Jesus make upon a twentieth-century mind which, deliberately eviscerated for the occasion of historical associations and carefully stripped of theological prepossessions, offered itself open and bare to the impact?

The effect was so different from what I had expected that I am still trying to piece together the fragments of my shattered preconceptions. First, as to the story. I had for so long taken for granted the beauty of the gospel narrative that the reality came as something of a shock. I was not prepared for the almost complete absence of form. The three synoptic gospels, composed as they are, of strings of detached sayings and incidents, struck me as naively episodic. Jesus does this, says that, comes here, goes there; but there is no more reason for the sayings and the doings than there is continuity about the comings and the goings. The narrative, in fact, often reads like a holiday diary of the "We went on to the beach; then we bathed; then we had lunch. Mr. X. came to lunch; Mr. X said .. .." type.

The fragmentary character of the narrative bears hardly upon the exposition of doctrine. Important matters are raised, discussed for a few verses, and then dropped, sometimes to be raised again in a later chapter. Jesus is for the most part preaching to simple people; yet His utterances are cryptic to a degree; many I found frankly meaningless. I was also worried by the many inconsistencies: for example, at the Last Supper Jesus bids His disciples buy swords, yet He tells them not to trust to the sword, and when one of them uses it and cuts off a soldier's ear, Jesus rebukes him and heals the ear. He makes supplication for Peter "that thy faith fail not," yet a couple of verses farther on tells him that his faith shall fail to the extent of denying Him thrice. He tells His hearers to "make to yourselves friends by means of the mammon of unrighteousness," yet four verses later tells them that they cannot serve both God and mammon. He frequently dilates upon the eternal torment that awaits sinners, yet says that God will forgive all those who sin.

He makes assertions that have been shown to be untrue; for example, that the end of the world will occur before the contemporary generation has passed away, and that many alive will see Him coming again "in a cloud with Power and great glory." He implies that those who believe in Him will not starve—God feeds the ravens; how much more valuable are men, at any rate believing men, than ravens? The implication is inescapable and Jesus, refusing to escape it, bids His followers take no thought for food and clothing. But millions of Christians have in fact starved.

But it is the character of Jesus Himself that I found most disconcerting. I was astonished at the lack of warrant for the "gentle Jesus meek and mild" conception in which I was nurtured. The figure who appears in the Gospels is a stern and very often an angry man. He is touchily sensitive and liable to break out into torrents of denunciation on what seems to me very inadequate provocation. Thus, when people ask him for a sign which will demonstrate that He is what He claims to be, He calls them a generation of vipers. This is unjust. There is surely no merit in believing without evidence; why, then, these bitter reproaches when evidence is asked for? It may, of course, be said that the evidence was internal; it was there for those who had eyes to see, in the personality of Jesus. But Jesus did not feel this Himself, else why the passionate anxiety to be recognised which He displays throughout the narrative; the frequent promises of rewards to those who accept him at His own valuation, the direful punishments threatened against those who do not? This bribing of men into belief—confess Me before men, and I will confess you before the angels of God—this blackmailing of the recalcitrant by threats——if you deny me, I shall deny you. And then? Apparently, you will burn in hell; the references to eternal torment are quite unequivocal ——I found peculiarly disconcerting. Recognise Me, or it will be the worse for you, is not the sort of thing that one expects from the founder of the religion of love, but though Jesus continually preaches the virtues of loving, I can find little evidence that He practised them. He shows affection for two or three of the Disciples and for small children, and He is kind to erring women, but, broadly speaking, that is all. He is exceedingly harsh to His mother and, much to my astonishment, actually bids His followers hate their fathers, mothers, wives, children and brethren (Luke XV, 26). Finally, He is markedly anti-intellectual; He abuses men of learning, denounces the critical attitude in order to throw into favourable relief that of unquestioning acceptance, and tells people that it is only if they become as little children and, therefore, as innocent and, presumably, as ignorant as little children that they can hope to understand Him and be saved.

Having said so much, I had better hasten to make such shift as I can to shelter myself from coming storms by concluding with certain admissions.

First, I admit that I have left out all the ethical plums. Nobody admires the Beatitudes more than I do, and I agree that it is for lack of the spirit that informs the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount that the world today rushes to destruction. But the plums, I insist, really are plums; they stick out, and the context from which they stick out seems to me to be of very common dough. Also I suspect that the plums will be found to be the common denominator of many of the great religions and to appear in the teachings of Lao Tse and Buddha no less than in that of Jesus. It is indeed when He is most individual that Jesus seems to me most unsatisfactory.

I am also aware of the existence of a branch of enquiry—or should I say, a corpus of knowledge?—entitled Biblical Criticism, which has accumulated a formidable body of conclusions. I am prepared to be told that in the light of these conclusions, the passages to which I have taken most exception either (I) do not mean what they say, but are to be interpreted symbolically; or (ii) are later interpolations, and that the most obnoxious of them are not to be found in Mark or in Q, Q being the presumed source of that which is common to Matthew and Luke, but not to Mark. But all this and much more in the same vein is not to the point, which is the kind of impression that the gospel story makes upon a lay, and therefore uninstructed, reader. This story has been historically presented not as a work of high scholarship to be understood only by men of high learning, but as revealed religious truth to be simply accepted by the multitude. Jesus, Himself, as I have pointed out, chides men of learning and bids us empty as well as open our minds before we come to him. I should not, then, take kindly to the suggestion that it is only those who are instructed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

the conclusions of the Biblical Criticism who can derive benefit from the gospels.

PROHIBITION AND BOMBAY'S COAST.

An obstacle in the path of rendering prohibition effective within the three mile limit of the shore of the Bombay island has just been removed.

The Government of India, it is reliably understood, has conveyed to the Bombay Government their willingness to co-operate in the matter of enforcement of prohibition within the three-mile limit from the shore. This area according to international law, comes under the jurisdiction of the Government of India. But in view of the communication from the Central Government, police launches of the Bombay Government will be patrolling the sea up to three miles from the shore from the midnight of Jnly 31, in search of boats or ships which carry liquor or toddy. The Bombay Government will have jurisdiction in this area only for purposes of Prohibition.

The Government of Bombay, it is understood, will have a further advantage regarding this limit near the Colaba point. There is an island called the Canary Island belonging to the Bombay Government at a distance of about 4 miles from the Colaba point. The three mile limit according to law, will extend from the shore of this island also so that the area for purposes of prohibition at this point will be about seven miles from the shore of the Bombay island.

Anti-Prohibitionists who, according to reports, have been planning for a "floating island" which can serve as a moving bar that can be stationed at any convenient point beyond the three miles limit, will be solely disappointed to learn about a further handicap in their way. According to law, no ship will be allowed to anchor, so as to cause obstruction in the sea routes for ships between Bombay and the overseas ports. The routes being many in number, anti-prohibitionists will find it difficult to fix up a spot where they could defy law.

INDIA AND THE WORLD.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the leader on 'India and the Democracies' published in the *Indian Social Reformer* dated June 24, 1939, occurs the following: "Her ways of thought fundamentally differ in important respects from the British and American. She has pondered long and deeply on the problem of unity underlying diversity and she feels that she has the key to it which Europeans and Americans do not have."

Judging from the very name of your paper, and its long and useful cause for nearly two generations, it may be presumed that you have in your mind some ideas which are not exhausted by the words Ascetism and the Immanence of God. Nothing clarifies so well as definition and differentiation and also a brief explanation of the practical consequences of following the given truth or conception. It will greatly help me and other readers of your valuable paper to understand the meaning and implication of the above quotation if you will kindly take the trouble of giving your views on the following matters also.

Kindly state more comprehensively and definitely what the key is which non-Indians do not possess; and how it differs from the keys offered by European and American thinkers? What would be the natural consequences in Economics, in Sociology, and in politics, both in India and in the world if this key or truth is generally accepted and followed. Please differentiate it, if there is a difference, both from Jesus' message of loving your neighbour as yourself and Gandhi's Satyagraha and non-violence.

Some of the practical issues which require elucidation are, how this truth would solve the Hindu Moslem dispute in India so as to weld these two communities into a single nation with that extent of social consolidation which exists in Europe and in China or Japan, and how it would help in improving inter-racial and inter-national relations. The great and vital question as to whether complete pacifism or defence against aggression is the more practical policy has also to be answered in the light of this Indian conception of the truth. It has to be stated here that the apostles of non-violence who are governing eight provinces are not following it. They rely on the Police and the military and some of them are introducing military training in the colleges.

Your vast experience and knowledge will give very great weight to your views on these vital questions and they will make clear the full meaning of the above quotation.

Yours etc.,

Kottayyam. K. CHANDY.

[Mr. Chandy is in too great ahurry. He misses our point which is that, if and when the opportunity comes for India to sit in council with the other nations in her free, individual capacity, she will be able to furnish the key to the problems which confront the world. India has not that opportunity now. She has no free access to the international Round Table. Such access as she has, is purely formal. International harmony can never be secured on the British and American lines, namely, that they should get everything and give nothing for the purpose of peace. *Renuciation is the key to* Peace. Until the Great Powers, that is, the Powers which have succeeded in cornering the material resources of the world, seek the path of renunciation, it is not possible for them to contribute anything to the great end.

As for Hindu-Muslim unity, scores of instances can be produced to show that the two communities did not in the past regard themselves and do not now regard themselves as antagonists. It is the politicians who are doing their best to propagate such an impression, the Congress no less than the Muslim League. We assure Mr. Chandy that in spite of everything, there never was a time when there were so many men and women in both communities who cherish cordial feelings towards each other and who are absolutely unmoved by the cajoleries and fulminations of the politicians.

We do not want to be dragged into a discussion about Jesus Christ in this connection. Ed. *I. S. R.*]

PROHIBITION IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.*

The total prohibition of liquor was introduced in certain parts of the Central Provinces and Berar on the 1st January 1938, and although quarterly press notes reviewing the progress made have been issued from time to time it is felt that it would be convenient for the public to have the results for the year as a whole summarised in one place together with an indication of the main factors bearing on the position. The following review of the working of total prohibition in the province during the excise year 1938 is therefore published.

The decision to substitute a policy of immediate prohibition for the former policy of gradual and ultimate prohibition was taken in August 1937 with a full realisation of the difficult administrative and financial problems involved. It was realised that the

*Extracts from a Press Note of the C. P. Government.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

old policy had nearly broken down under the stress of the economic depression and had given rise to widespread illicit distillation on a commercial scale, the control of which was imposing a severe strain on the resources of the Excise Department.

The special measures taken to ensure the success of prohibition included one of primary importance, *viz.* the transfer of the duty of enforcing the Act to the police. The object was to remove any possible misapprehension that the prohibition law would not be enforced with the same strictness as the ordinary penal laws. This decision, however, was not taken till the middle of the year and owing to administrative difficulties there was some delay in implementing it; in Katni-Murwara the transfer of responsibility having taken place as late as November 1938. The tour of the Hon'ble Minister in charge undertaken with the specific object of inaugurating prohibition in the different areas created considerable local enthusiasm, but propaganda by means of lectures, through magic lanterns, posters, placards, leaflets, etc. has largely been confined to official efforts. There was some inevitable delay in the beginning in the formation of statutory Anti-Drink Committees, and progress in their taking up their duties has been slow. There is a committee for each town and each revenue inspector's circle, and instructions were issued in the latter half of the year for directing the activities of these committees. Considerable assistance in weaning addicts from the liquor has been received, from the Indian Tea Market Expansion Board, who have 13 stalls in the dry areas from which cups of tea are distributed free and which, it is reported, are very largely patronised. Financial stringency has, however, stood in the way of the development of what may be called the constructive side of prohibition. It has not been possible to promote on any appreciable scale rural uplift activity particularly in the direction of organising counter attractions to drink such as sports clubs and recreation centres. The matter is, however, receiving attention. A football club has been organised for sweepers at Hinganghat; and the Anti-Drink Committee has resolved to instal a radio for the recreation of addicts. The Bednera Anti-Drink Committee has decided to hold rural dramas near the free tea stalls on pay days. Owing to its preoccupation with its own present problems the Co-operative Department was also unable to attempt any thing in the way of starting better living or thrift societies.

As prohibition in the province extends only to liquor there was anxiety that there might be a diversion of custom to denatured spirit, opium or hemp drugs. Such diversion of custom as has been noticed has not, however, been serious except in Saugor where the consumption of *charas* and *bhang* has risen steadily since the introduction of prohibition. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Saugor district has always been particularly open to the influence of *charas* on account of easy communication with the northern provinces where the *charas* habit is prevalent. Though a slight decline in the consumption of these drugs was noticed towards the end of the year, there are reasons to believe that some of the former liquor addicts have taken to the drug habit. The misuse of denatured spirit for purposes of drink was specially noticeable at Katni in the beginning of the period under review. Persistent watch over the sales, and the recent introduction of stringent rules have, however, succeeded in bringing down the sales to their normal level. In order to prevent sale by the licensee to undesirable persons, the licence for the sale of denatured spirit for 1939 has been issued in Katni to a member of the ocal Anti-Drink Committee.

The organization of a satisfactory system of intelligence which is the basis of any real appreciation of the situation and of effective administrative action, has taken some time to complete. The reported facts on which the review is based might possibly have been incomplete but even with this qualification it seems clear that on the whole prohibition has had encouraging results. During the first quarter of the year a few addicts left Akot in search of places in which prohibition had not been extended. From Hinganghat, two fatal case were reported arising out of nervous exhaustion owing to unsatisfied craving for drink. A small proportion of addicts take advantage of any legitimate opportunity of obtaining drink in wet areas within reach but there is sufficient evidence to show that the greater proportion of liquor addicts have definitely given up drinking. Whether this result is due merely to lack of opportunity or also to a mental reformation it is too early to say. It is certain, however, that whatever may be the attitude of the present generation, a new generation is growing up in the dry areas who will not be familiar with liquor and its degradation. There is also evidence to show that family life has improved as a result of prohibition. The families of *ex*-addicts have benefitted financially to the extent of about Rs. 4½ lakhs. Systematic enquiries have been made by local officials into the financial conditions of such families and the general finding has emerged that several families have repaid debts or purchased ornaments or clothes and are better fed and dressed. Enquiries showed that several addicts used to spend a considerable proportion of their earnings on liquor and that the saving of this ruinous expenditure has made a marked difference to the happiness of the family, particularly from the women's point of view. The gratitude of several addicts has found expression in letters of thanks to Government for the introduction of prohibition. Prohibition, calculated as it is, to bring about an improvement in the efficiency of labour, should have a particularly enthusiastic backing by proprietors of industrial concerns.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Anti-Dowry Act in Sind:—The first social measure passed by the Sind Legislative Assembly in the form of the Deti Leti Bill now becomes law, following the assent given on June 30, by his Excellency the Governor of Sind.—*Sind Observer.*

Abolition Of Dowry Bill For Frontier Assembly:—The total abolition of the dowry system is the object of a bill which will be introduced in the N. W. F. Province Assembly by Mr. Tekchand Dhingra (Congress). The measure, which is to apply to all communities, provides that any person taking dowry openly or secretly shall be punishable with simple imprisonment not exceeding six months or with fine not exceeding Rs. 1,000, or with both. Similarly any person offering dowry will be punishable with three months' simple imprisonment or a fine of Rs. 500, or with both.

Hindu Religious Endowments:—It is understood that the Madras Government are drafting a Bill to amend the Hindu Religious Endowments Act so as completely to revise the present machinery of control over Hindu religious endowments and *maths*. According to the new proposals, endowments and *maths* will come under the more active control of the Government and will constitute a Government Department by themselves. One of the provisions will be to train priests and others employed in temples, in the new Oriental Institute at Tirupathi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 2,40,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co. Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.



Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more delicate perfumes in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Gurukul Library 2739
Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY. Editors:—{K. NATARAJAN / S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JULY 1, 1939. No. 44

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Bombay Government and Hyderabad Satyagraha.
The "Dnyanodaya" and Religious Persecution.
A Scandalous Case.
Cawnpore's Co-Educational Experiment.
The Ban on Women Students.
The Madras Premier on Bombay Prohibition.
Mr. Ganguli and Congress Corruption.
South African Indian Situation.
Congress and Indians Overseas.
Archbishop Roberts on the Ethics of Prohibition.
Reason, Religion and Prejudice.
The Congress and Corruption.
Another Conversion and Marriage Case.
Indians in Belgian Congo.
The Late Dr. Sir R. Venkataratnam.
Liberty, Rights and Beverage Alcohol.
Co-Education in Cawnpore.
Prohibition Policy of the U. P.

NOTES.

Bombay Government and Hyderabad Satyagraha:—A Bombay Government communique dated the 23rd June announces that:

> In view of an assurance given by a deputation of Arya Samaj leaders to co-operate with Government in maintaining peace in Sholapur District and to carry on their work in connection with the *Satyagraha* in the Hyderabad State without giving offence to any person or community, Government has decided to lift the ban on the entry of *jathas* of Arya Samaj volunteers or *Satyagrahis* into Sholapur District, with the exception of the Municipal limits of Sholapur City. The District Magistrate, Sholapur, has been requested to modify his order of 22nd May 1939 accordingly.

The Bombay Government has in this instance acted without an adequate sense of its responsibility to a neighbouring State. "Work in connection with satyagraha," it knows as well as anyone else, is nothing but disobeying constituted authority in Hyderabad. The lifting of the ban on Arya Samaj volunteers bent on satyagraha in Hyderabad, to our mind, is tantamount to aiding their unlawful activities. The assurance which is said to have been given by a deputation to co-operate with Government in maintaining peace in the Sholapur district, implies the admission that Government could not discharge this elementary function in the district without the help of the satyagrahis. We did not know that things had come to such a pass. As for carrying out the work 'in connection with satyagraha' in the Hyderabad State without giving offence to any person or community, Government should know that this work is nothing but shouting slogans and making speeches which have led in the past and must in the future lead to breaches of the peace. The *Leader* of June 28 reports the proceedings of a Muslim meeting at Allahabad at which it was declared that unless the satyagraha volunteers ceased invading Hyderabad, Muslim volunteers will be sent to carry on a counter-satyagraha propaganda. We do not see how the Bombay Government can refuse to extend to the Muslim jathas the same hospitality as it is extending to the Arya Samajists. Or the jathas may enter Sholapur through Hyderabad and there engage in the same kind of work in connection with satyagraha, as the Aryas in the Nizam's Dominions. Will the Bombay Government sit quiet then or will it requisition the help of Aryas to maintain peace in Sholapur? The decision of Government is deplorably short-sighted. The Madras and Punjab Governments have prohibited agitation in connection with the satyagraha in Hyderabad in their respective provinces under the Princes Protection Act. It is the plain duty of the Bombay Government to do the same. They have, instead, given their sanction to the Arya Samaj satyagraha in a neighbouring State fully aware, as they can not but be, that the satyagrahis' object in entering the State is to break the law. The Aryas' professed object is to get certain alleged religious disabilities of theirs removed. Without entering into the merits of their grievance, it may strike the onlooker that a sect which has, with scarcely five thousand adherents in a population of twelve million, 150 centres in the State, cannot be suffering from any serious restriction on its religious propaganda which obviously does not attract the mass of the Hyderabad people.

The "Dnyanodaya" and Religious Presecution:—Although the *Dnyanodaya* has not acknowledged directly that the religious persecutions of Christians in the Nizam's Dominions were, as we suggested, not authorised by Government and were the acts of a mob, we learn now that that was really the fact and that Mr. Edwards' reference was in no way meant as a reflection on the administration. The attitude of the Nizam's Government to baptised or unbaptised Christians is in no way a parallel to the Portuguese official and religious treatment of non-Catholics under the Inquisition; or to the treatment of Jews by Nazi Germany today. Mr. Edwards, we are sure, would be the first to admit the difference between the attitude adopted by a community towards those who voluntarily choose to go out of its fold, and the active participation of the State in the work of proselytising. As Mr. Edwards has declined to furnish us with the alleged facts of religious persecution, we are not in a position to comment on them. We distrust stories of persecu-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tion generally, because the new converts to a different faith are often provocative in their practice of it and are often encouraged in their aggressive attitude by the missionary. As an example we print below the following news item extracted from another religious journal by the *Baptist Missionary Review* with evident approval:

> Public bonfires of fetishes, charms, ancestral sticks, and "spirit-worship paraphernalia," together with public profession of faith in Jesus Christ, are becoming numerous in the Alur and Lendu region of the Belgian Congo. In a recent report from Rethi, Mr. E. A. Winsor, of the Africa Inland Mission, writes that over fifty families around one out-school centre have given us their *"Jok* things." Such burnings were held on two successive Sundays at the nearest village.

If our Christian friends would reverse the process and ask themselves what they would feel if "converted" families in the centre of their community launched a crusade against their cherished beliefs, they might appreciate the position of the "persecutors." Even the most innocent-minded reader cannot expect the unconverted tribes who still worship in the old way, to join in the *Baptist Review's* pleasure at the religious zeal of their apostates. But this is just what our missionary friends seem to expect. The *Indian Witness*, as we pointed out two weeks back, rather naively reproached us for "defending" Hinduism. This is a refined variant of the usual complaint. Mr. Edwards' instances of persecution may probably be orthodox zeal provoked by the apostate's enthusiasm for the new faith. They may be, for all we know, persecutions. Since Mr. Edwards has decided not to continue the discussion, there is no chance of the public finding out the facts.

A Scandalous Case:—The facts of the case recently decided by the Sessions Judge of Dehra Dun, the report of which in the *Leader* of Allhabad we reproduce today, furnish a lurid illustration of the social chaos which is overtaking India as the result of the blind bigotry of orthodoxy on the one hand and of hasty and ill-considered social legislation on the other. The widow of a wealthy Jain of the place, prevented by caste custom from remarrying or the fear of losing her interests in her husband's property if she remarried, resorted to the device of taking a paramour under the guise of driver of her motor car. She had a young daughter who was under the guardianship of her own father. She took the girl from him on the pretext of going on a pilgrimage. At the place in which the three settled down, the chauffeur-paramour, a Punjabi Brahman, plied the mother and daughter with liquor and, when the former became drunk, raped the daughter. The mother when her girl complained to her, forbade her daughter to mention the matter to her grandfather. After an abortion, the driver and the girl were rushed to a neighbouring Indian State, where they were, it was stated, converted to the Arya Samaj and married under the Arya Marriage Act! That the man had a wife and children, did not apparently prevent the marriage under the Arya Marriage Act. The "Satyartha Prakash" emphatically lays down that an Arya marriage is strictly monogamous but present-day Aryas have ignored this injunction and within the last few months we have noticed several cases in which the Arya rites and law have been used to celebrate polygamous marriages. When the grandfather came to know of this scandal, he lodged a complaint and the Judge, fortunately, saw through the nefarious transaction and sentenced the mother and her paramour to two and three years' rigorous imprisonment respectively. The attention of the leaders of the Arya Samaj has been repeatedly called to abuses of the kind illustrated in this case, but they seem to be indifferent to the consequences of such abuse on the character of the Arya Samaj as a religious and moral movement.

Cawnpore's Co-educational Experiment:—Some time back a minor sensation was caused by the news that Christ Church College of Cawnpore had closed its doors to women students. Mr. S. C. Chatterji, the Principal of the College, has issued a statement to the press on the reasons which necessitated this drastic step, in order to meet the rumours and exaggerated statements which have gained currency. We print the statement elsewhere. Mr. Chatterji's defence, however, is in many places illogical and it is fundamentally built up on wrong premises. He says:

> Christ Church College is a college for men students. It has never attempted co-education. Indeed, I do not know of any university or college in India which has. For the last ten or twelve years, however, I have permitted a limited number of women students to attend lectures at my college, and I am happy that during this period about twenty women have graduated from the College and a similar number have passed the intermediate examination.

Mr. Chatterji's ignorance of co-educational institutions in India is strange and inexcusable in one who has himself been experimenting for over twelve years in co-education. Had Mr. Chatterji given up the ambition of figuring as a pioneer and troubled to look into educational records, he would have saved himself from displaying such stupendous ignorance. It is even now not too late—late though it undoubtedly is—for Mr. Chatterji to study conditions in the Bombay Presidency where, though we have a University for women, we have not, and have never had, a separate college for men from which girl students are excluded. As for the position of Christ Church College, we presume the Principal ought to know what it exactly is. But his description of it as never having attempted co-education, seems to conflict with his remark lower down that several girls graduated out of the institution and that he had permitted them to attend the lectures. If, in spite of the presence of women students, Mr. Chartterji persists in calling Christ Church a men's college, we can only infer that, like the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939

women members of Bernard Shaw's "Ibsen Club," they were accepted by Mr. Chatterji as "unwomanly women." Everything in the Principal's statement seems to show that the girls who were admitted, were allowed every facility that the boys received at Christ Church. Mr. Chatterji gives the impression that he used a higher standard in admitting women than he did in taking in men, when he says he "permitted" some girls to join the college.

The Ban on Women Students:—The inference that every boy who matriculated had a right to admission into Christ Church while the admission of any girl depended on the special sanction of Mr. Chatterji, can only be settled when he publishes the figures for the number of women who applied and whom he refused to admit. Until then the question of Mr. Chatterji's authority suddenly to close down the College to a section of its students remains a matter for controversy. The reason for doing so is, however, another issue. Mr. Chatterji urges that, because the boys of Christ Church were getting uncontrollable in their behaviour towards women, whether in college or outside, he had to close the College to women. This is a damaging admission. On the face of it, it appears to be a severe indictment of the men students. In fact, some of the Lucknow newspapers have attacked or supported Mr. Chatterji for penalising one group of students for the faults of another group. But the implications of the statement, along with the action taken, are that Mr. Chatterji, for all the care he had exercised in admitting women, has come to the conclusion that he had not attracted the right type and that the women students were to blame for the disorders of the College. If the behaviour of Christ Church's young men points to lack of discipline, the Principal's belief that the exclusion of women would solve the present troubles of his College, indicates no less a condemnation of the girl students. Mr. Chatterji even seems to imply that the molestation of the women typists of the Employers' Association will now cease. An educational institution is not a shop for peddling knowledge. If the head of it himself admits that, both as regards men and women students, it has not succeeded in bringing out the best in them, the institution stands condemned as a failure. Mr. Chatterji should boldly face the issues involved.

The Madras Premier on Bombay Prohibition:—The Bombay Board of Prohibition Propaganda got up a public meeting at the Cowasjee Jehangir Hall on Sunday to hear the Madras Prime Minister denounce the anti-Prohibitionists in this city who had nominated him for the Bombay Premiership on the strength of some observations which he had made in the course of a speech in Madras explaining why he had not introduced Prohibition in Madras City. Mr. Rajagopalacharya had argued in Madras that it was difficult to prevent smuggling in a seaport. In Bombay he enlarged on the stupendous task in his province of guarding each one of two million toddy trees from being tapped for liquor. The Bombay scheme, he maintained, was a simpler one than the Madras scheme. He incidentally mentioned that in Madras the cost of Prohibition was met by the whole province and not by the area where it was introduced. This is the right principle and the Bombay Government would have saved itself much of the criticism directed against its taxation plan if it had also followed it.

Mr. Ganguli and Congress Corruption:—We publish this week Mr. J. M. Ganguli's feeling article on "The Congress and Corruption." Mr. Ganguli apparently has first-hand knowledge of corruption in the Congress and to him the word evidently means much more than mere political manipulations of election votes. As we have not the information which he has, we have had necessarily to omit a number of sentences. Mr. Ganguli touches on an important aspect of the subject without, we are afraid, quite realising the implications of it. He postulates that all national leaders were self-seeking and bordering on the vicious, if not actually so, before Gandhiji's entry into politics; and he wonders why national leaders today are not models of virtue. There is a pathetic faith in Mr. Ganguli in the power of one man to transform politics. We believe that Mr. Ganguli's suspicions are greatly exaggerated. But if they are not, then what is there surprising in persons who before were ingeniously hoodwinking the masses, now exploiting Gandhiji as well as the masses? In fact, Gandhiji has simplified their problem by persuading the public that the English-speaking, English-tailored Indian is not the real nationalist but the khadi-clad, Hindi orator who can now address larger crowds and win a reputation for simplicity at the same time. The fiery orations and tub-thumping have been a greater factor in the making of national leaders today than they were thirty years ago and it is inevitable that it should be so. The only thing is that fewer people were interested in politics then and a politician could do less harm than he can today when politics is the fashion. It is unfortunate that Gandhiji's repeated emphasis on truth and non-violence has had two evil effects on the masses and on several educated men as well: The first is a conviction that, before the Gandhian epoch, all Indian politicians were crooked when they were not blood-thirsty terrorists; second, that all the men now in the Congress leadership are men of angelic virtue. When a particular leader falls short of this standard, the worst inferences are drawn. Congressmen, after benefitting from the first of these impressions, are now suffering from the second. Mr. Ganguli's suggestion that the public should be invited to place their suspicions before Gandhiji, would convert the Congress from a political organization into a religous order. There would be little time for any work other than that of purification.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, July 1, 1939.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN SITUATION.

The papers received last week-end from South Africa, disclose a complex situation which those who wish to uphold the Indian cause in that country, should do their best to understand before advising Indians there as to their course of action. The measure which is the immediate cause of the present agitation is the Asiatic (Transvaal) Land and Trading Bill which was introduced in the Union Parliament by the Minister of the Interior on May 5. It passed its third reading without a division on June 1st. Its objects and reasons are described clearly and fairly in a statement by Mr. M. S. Nana, Secretary, Transvaal Indian Congress, published in *Indian Views* of June 2. *Indian Views* is one of the two Anglo-Gujarati weeklies published in Durban, the other being *Indian Opinion* founded by Gandhiji and edited by Mr. Manilal Gandhi. The Bill, says Mr. Nana, first of all extends the protection of Indians residing in the goldfields to 30th April 1941. Clause 2 briefly provides that no new licences shall be granted to Indians for two years, commencing 1st May, 1939, and clause 3 prohibits Asiatics from occupying any property which was not already occupied by Asiatics on the 30th April, 1939. Clause 4 provides that the Minister can grant exemptions both from the provisions of Clause 2 and Clause 3. In general, Mr. Nana observes, the effect of these provisions would mean that no Asiatics would be able to obtain trading licences, or occupy land at present occupied by Europeans, but could do one or both with the permission of the Minister of the Interior, and that these restrictions would apply for a period of two years, when they would automatically lapse.

The Union Government have announced that they intend to bring in comprehensive legislation to segregate Europeans from non-Europeans, the latter including "coloured", Indians and Africans. They have postponed doing so for the present, pending discussions with the Government of India regarding the position of Indians as it will be affected by the proposed measure. Mr. Nana explains that the present Bill is based on the apprehension on the part of the Union Government that Indians in the Transvaal would create new vested interests in European areas "as was done in 1919" during the interval.

The Transvaal Indian Congress has within it a section known as the "Nationalist group" led by Mr. Yusuf M. Dadoo and this group had independently decided to launch a Passive Resistance movement against the Bill. The main body of the Transvaal Indian Congress (there are besides the Natal Indian Congress, the Cape Indian Congress and the South African Indian Congress) has not endorsed this decision and Mr. Nana's statement explains the reasons for its not doing so. There is no difference of opinion among Indians in South Africa that the measure is unjust and repressive and that for two years it will cause considerable hardship to the Transvaal Indians. The main body of the Transvaal Indian Congress does not reject Passive Resistance as unsuitable and ineffective. It holds that it may have to be undertaken but that that time will come when a measure is introduced to impose permanent disabilities. The Minister of the Interior has given an assurance that the Indian position will not be prejudiced by the present measure and that Government will not necessarily be bound by its principles in framing the permanent measure. The Minister of the Interior has also declared that it will be the endeavour of Government to secure for their future legislation the consent and co-operation of the non-European communities. On this assurance which was given in response to his appeal, Mr. Hofmeyr voted with Government. Mr. Nana would accept this assurance and endeavour by all constitutional ways to protect the rights of Indians. His principal reason for disfavouring Passive Resistance at this stage is that it will estrange friendly Europeans and leave Government wholly under the thumb of extremist opinion. Mr. Nana concludes:

> It is very doubtful, in the prevailing atmosphere in this country, and the reflex of conditions existent in continental Europe, where concentration camps have become the rule rather than the exception, whether passive resistance would prove an efficacious weapon. Failure of the movement will result in still further deterioration of the Indian situation, and consequently it should not be resorted to on this interim legislation. *The Indian community should accept the invitation of the Union Government to explore the possibility of arriving at a solution which may be acceptable to both sides.*

This statesmanlike view has been endorsed by the Cape Indian Congress and the South African Indian Congress to which the three provincial Congresses are affiliated. The National Indian Congress empatically denies that there has been Indian penetration into European residential areas, repudiates any intention to depart from this practice, and resents the stigma implied in passing a law to enforce "segregation" upon Indians. It may, therefore, be taken to represent the predominant Indian opinion in South Africa.

The redeeming feature in a depressing situation is the weight and volume of European opinion in South Africa against compulsory segregation of coloured people. Here it should be noted that the present movement differs essentially from the previous anti-Indian measures, in that it comprehends all non-Europeans. It is indeed particularly directed against the "coloured" or mixed population, which is by far the largest single non-European group in South Africa. There is already legislation segregating the Africans. It is the present policy of the Union Government to put Coloured and Indians on the same footing. This is the assurance the Union Prime Minister,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

[JULY 1,

General Hertzog, is said to have given to a deputation of the A. P. O. which waited on him to discuss the Segregation policy. It was given specifically for the Cape Province where the coloured have the parliamentary franchise. To return to the European opposition to compulsory segregation. The resignation of Messrs. Hofmeyer and Blackwell, important members of the Government party, is significant. Others outside Parliament have expressed their opposition to the policy. Important organs of European opinion, like the *Cape Times* and the *Rand Daily Mail*, leaders of the Christian Churches, and the principal women's organizations in the country, have all objected to the proposal in greater or less measure. When Mr. Nana speaks of antagonising European opinion it is to these influential circles that he refers. Given these they are bound to widen and exert greater influence than at present on the Government. The adoption of Passive Resistance will prevent this desirable development. Mr. Nana in his concluding remarks which we have quoted, gravely doubts whether Passive Resistance will be successful in the present conditions in South Africa and on the European continent. The *Rand Daily Mail* is more explicit:

> We are still convinced that passive resistance would be a tactical mistake of the first order. It has, of course, been employed with success, in the Union, by Indians. But that was thirty years ago, and then Liberalism was "in the air." Liberalism is no longer in the air, and the background of opinion which helped Mahatma Gandhi to success does not exist to-day. This, we think, is to be regretted, but it is none the less a fact, and the sooner the Indians realise it the more likely will they be to avoid a type of action which will only recoil on themselves.

Indian Opinion which is impatient at the delay in starting Passive Resistance, admits that circumstances thirty years ago were all favourable to Gandhiji and that they are less favourable now. But it thinks that Gandhiji will not admit that the circumstances weighed much with Gandhiji and insists that they should not weigh with the present leaders. Notwithstanding the greater opportunities of the Editor of *Indian Opinion* to know Gandhiji's mind, we doubt if he is right here. In this country at least Passive Resistance, Civil Disobedience, Satyagraha or whatever it is called, has always been carefully regulated with reference to circumstances. Gandhiji has said that Civil Disobedience cannot be started now in India. We doubt whether the conditions in South Africa are more favourable to Civil Disobedience.

CONGRESS AND INDIANS OVERSEAS.

The All-India Congress Committee which met in Bombay this week passed a conciliatory resolution on the present trouble of Indians in South Africa. It praised the steadfastness and courage of Indians, exhorted them to be united in their action, pointed out to the Union Government that their anti-Indian policy "just initiated" was in conflict with the assurances given by their predecessors and ended with an appeal to them to retrace their steps and carry out the policy of their predecessors. An amendment adding that Indians in South Africa should co-operate with "coloured" and native Africans in opposing the Segregation policy was supported by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, accepted by the mover, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, and adopted by the All India Congress Committee. But shortly after, the Pandit brought a message from Gandhiji that the amendment was unacceptable and should be dropped; and it was dropped! Gandhiji in opposing the amendment does not seem to have been aware of recent developments in South Africa. The Government have declared that they propose to treat Indians on the same footing as the "coloured" in Cape Colony and it may be assumed the same principle will be followed elsewhere in the Dominion. Thus it would appear that Indians are in a sense being forced to act with the other non-Europeans. More than that some meetings have been held, notably one of women, in which all the three communities have taken part. The *Indian Opinion*, while postulating that Indians should preserve their identity, foreshadows that the non-Europeans will have to act together against the Segregation policy. The present policy, as pointed out in the current issue of *Round Table*, is primarily one for "racial purity" and is directed principally against the coloured who form the largest non-European minority in South Africa. They are described as "a blend of various racial stocks, imported negroid and Oriental slaves, Hottentot and Bushmen, aborigines and Europeans." Their total number in South Africa is 768,000 of which nearly 90 per cent live in the Cape province. They are also the most thoroughly westernised and enjoyed till some years back the same political rights as Europeans. A movement composed of the Coloured, the Indians and the Africans, will necessarily be an African and not an Indian movement, but this seems inevitable, if the Government pursue the policy of segregating Europeans and non-Europeans in two groups. As a matter of fact, this has already happened in Kenya. Africans and Indians have joined together in the Highlands League which has been formed to oppose the segregation policy of the Europeans, after the recent Order-in-Council by which the Government accepted the principle.

The resolution of the All India Congress Committee on the agitation in Ceylon is in the same spirit as our leading article on the subject in the *Reformer* of June 10. The resolution runs:

> The All-India Congress Committee views with grave concern the measures proposed by the Ceylon Government with reference to their Indian employees and hopes that it may be possible to find a way to avoid the most undesirable and grave conflict that, as a result of these measures, is threatened between such near and ancient neighbours as India and Ceylon. The Committee cannot contemplate without much concern a quarrel between the two countries which are separated only by a strip of water, which have a com-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mon culture and which have been intimately connected from time immemorial. The Committee desires to explore every means of avoiding a conflict and therefore appoints Pandit Jawaharial Nehru to go to Ceylon and confer with authorities, representative associations and individuals on behalf of the Working Committee and do all that may be possible to effect a just and honourable settlement.

The action of the Ceylon Government which is the immediate cause of the present agitation, is the contemplated dismissal of some 10,000 Indians employed on daily wages. This is evidently a part of a scheme of retrenchment with a view to find employment for unemployed Ceylonese, Sinhalese and Tamil. The sudden throwing out of such a large number, would cause considerable hardship and destitution. If, as has been stated, many of these men are domiciled in Ceylon, and in several cases have married Sinhalese women, they must be regarded as Ceylonese and should not be deprived of their work on the ground that they are Indians. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will no doubt press this point. But as regards Indians who are not domiciled in Ceylon, he can do little, unless he is in a position to offer some compensating advantage to Ceylon, either in the way of trade or other facilities. This he can not do unless he has the support of the Government of India and can speak for the Government and not merely for the Congress. It is possible that the Congress Working Committee has been in touch with the Government and has reason to believe that the terms which the Pandit might propose will be approved and given effect to by the Government of India. In the absence of some such understanding, the danger of Government and the Congress emissary working at cross purposes can not be left out of account. It has to be borne in mind that Ceylon is under the Colonial Office in London which of late has not been over friendly to this country. The simultaneous emergence of anti-Indian movements in several colonies has led to a suspicion that there may be some underground forces at work to the prejudice of India. Pandit Jawaharlal will be able to judge if there is any ground for this suspicion.

ARCHBISHOP ROBERTS ON THE ETHICS OF PROHIBITION.

In his speech at the Rotary luncheon and in his letter to Gandhiji, Archbishop Roberts expounded the politics and the economics of his opposition to Prohibition. In a statement published in the *Examiner* of June 24 he deals with the Ethics of Prohibition—that is to say, he exposes what, according to his view, is the unethical character of Prohibition. As the Archbishop believes in total abstinence and has himself in this statement pledged himself and the European priests in his jurisdiction to total abstinence, and as Prohibition is only a way of bringing about the same result in the whole population of the Bombay province, the difference between the Archbishop and the Prohibitionists is a difference not of principle but of method. One may travel to Bombay from Bandra by train, or bus or motor car. For many years the train was the only means available to most residents of the suburbs. Now we have three. Soon we may have a fourth, by aeroplane. The Yogi in all ages has claimed to be able to traverse vast distances by merely willing it. He had found a secret which did away with space and time which hamper ordinary mortals. All these, however, are only means to the same end. The Archbishop and his European priests have achieved by their pledge what Government hopes to achieve by Prohibition among his Indian priests and laymen along with the rest of the population. We fail to see where the ethical issue comes in.

His Grace, however, has chosen to argue the question on the ethical ground and we shall try to meet him on it. The Archbishop starts by repudiating the analogy made out by Gandhiji between the trade in drink and the trade in women. We showed in last week's *Reformer* that the two are organically related to each other. During the years that Prohibition was in force in the United States prostitution showed a marked decrease and we have no doubt, whatever, that a similiar result may be expected in Bombay. We can say much more to establish the organic relation between commercialised vice and the commerce in liquor but we should not keep the Archbishop waiting. His Grace rests his Ethics on eight propositions which he calls, principles. They are :

1. God made man.
2. God's gifts to men include drink.
3. God gave men an appetite for drink.
4. God gave men reason by which to decide whether to drink, what and when to drink.

5. Reason requires a man to decide in the light of his Creator's purpose; this purpose includes the practice of temperance and of respect for all the rights of others.

6. This respect for other's rights cannot in practice be left to individuals alone, but requires the support of the State. Therefore the State has the right and duty to adjust rights and obligations, every true right involving the obligation of others to respect it.

7. The authority of the State extends to the control of human rights but never to their denial or suppression. Its function may be likened to that of a referee who may control a game as far as excluding a player from it, but only in order that others may the better exercise their right to play.

Thus a "licence" to use a Bus does not imply the authority of the State to take away the *right* to ply for hire or the *right* to travel. But if these rights are best secured to the public by a system of "licences," then the State may lay down conditions for licences and refuse applicants who fail conform.

8. To all restrictions of natual rights the same principles apply as to laws. Their justice must be beyond all reasonable doubts, the general assent must be wide and strong enough to carry through successfully the sacrifice involved, proportion must be observed between the good attempted and the price to be paid for it, easier means available must be clearly ineffective.

These principles, says His Grace, are as relevant to an ethical decision as rails are to a train. But a man walking on his God-given legs needs no rails and principles are not the rails but the solid earth which sustains the weight of rails, train and passengers. If the earth gives way, the rails and everything on it will come to grief. The Archbishop's first principle that "God made man" opens up a terrific vista of theological disputation but for the present it may be accepted for argument's sake. But it is relevant to point out that God made not only man but the ape and the tiger, the snake and the frog, the luscious mango and the bitter neem. What God had in mind in creating all these things with various and contra-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ictory qualities, has been the problem of theologians ...since the beginning, if not of time, of theology.

The Archbishop's second principle is that God's gifts to men include drink, which in the context can only mean alcoholic drink. Here we are not exposed to the perplexities of the purpose of the Creator in creating multitudinous beings. We can positively deny that God's gifts to man include alcoholic drinks. We have never heard or read of a lake of whisky or a river of beer or a sea of champagne, from which men could fill their flasks and quench their thirst. On the contrary, God would seem deliberately to have abstained from creating alcohol. Alcoholic drink is the creation of man. He produces it by perverting God's gifts, by torturing God's trees and by crushing God's grains and flowers. Here the Archbishop's argument falls to the ground and it is really unnecessary to pursue it further. The second link in the eight-linked chain snaps, the fundamental, first, principle is left dangling in the air. But let us not give up at this interesting stage.

The Archbishop's third principle is that God gave men an appetite for drink. Here also the context fixes the reference as being to alcoholic drinks, and not to plain water. This, again, if we may say so without disrespect, is an imputation on God without any justification. The craving for alcohol is not a natural craving. Touch the tongue of a new born child with a finger dipped in alcohol and note the wry face which it makes. Try it on dogs or cats. The late Professor J. C. Bose showed that even plants fade and die under the influence of alcohol. There are millions of men and women in India and Asia who do not touch alcohol under any circumstances. Did God withhold this gift appetite from them or are they sinners doomed to hell fire? The Archbishop himself will henceforth belong to this category. Is he acting against the will of God? The utmost that can be said under the second and third heads, is that God has *permitted* man to make and drink alcohol just as he has permitted man to make and use submarines, air-bombs and poison gas. But as Dean Farrar has finely observed, we perish by things permitted. We are permitted to do these and other iniquitous things but woe unto us if we use the permission. That leads us to the Archbishop's fourth principle, namely, God gave men reason by which to decide whether to drink, what and when to drink. The Founder of Christianity has not, it is true and it is unfortunate, laid an explicit injunction against intoxicating liquor. But he has said nothing against other evils which prevailed in his time, for example, animal sacrifice, and slavery. But it is clear as day to every one who studies the life and teachings of Jesus that his silence on these evils was not due to his approval of them. His function, in his own words, was that of the sower, and his method, that of the leaven. Gautama Buddha five hundred years earlier had denounced both animal sacrifice and intoxicating drinks and India renounced them and incorporated her renunciation of them in the revived religion—a nationalised Buddhism—which goes by the name of Hindhism.

The fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth principles of His Grace are not principles but deductions from the first four. Except the first which we have accepted for argument's sake, the rest are obviously His Grace's own ideas.

Prohibition is, therefore, ethical and the opposition to it is not.

The Archbishop's argument, on the other hand, applies to prostitution. God's gifts to man unquestionably include women and the appetite for them. God-given reason has led men to different conclusions at different times as to the use of this gift, whether it should be used, if it is to be used when and which. The great religious celibate orders have renounced its use the better to serve the Giver. Is their conduct unethical? Martin Luther thought so. Here we are treading on delicate ground and we had better conclude.

India has an ethical conscience which in some matters is more penetrating than that of Christianity. At any rate, she might be left to follow her own inspiration in matters like Prohibition. In order to avoid controversies with Europeans, the Bombay Government has decided to give them licenses. Why should the Archbishop claim to be more ethical than Gautama Buddha who was an Indian, lived and died in India and knew the strength and weakness of his own people, and ordained abstinence from drink as one of the five vows to be taken by every Buddhist.

We may add that we have a high regard for the British Catholic. He is bound to be a man of intense personality. Papacy is still a word of offence in Britain. A man who stands forward as its representative, must ordinarily be a man of grit and conviction. The best beloved of British Indian Viceroys was the Roman Catholic Lord Ripon and the persecution he suffered at the hands of his countrymen in this country was at least partly due to his religious profession. Dr. Goodier was another English Catholic who impressed every one who knew him by his earnestness and sincerity no less than by his culture and godliness. This writer had the good fortune to work with him on a Committee on this very subject of Prostitution in Bombay and he recalls the breadth and clarity of his judgment on the points that emerged in the enquiry. We are sure that as Archbishop Roberts comes to know more of India and her outlook, His Grace will find increasing opportunities to co-operate in the age-long aspiration of Indian seers, to see life steadily and to see it whole.

REASON, RELIGION AND PREJUDICE.

Mr. George Ives has devoted a book* to considering why "where men seek to learn, we find advancement, achievement and spontaneous agreement; but where people dispute on matters of controversy, their brains appear to be poisoned by passions and prejudices, and the reason descends from the position of impartial and guiding judge, to take up that of unscrupulous advocate." Seeing that Mr Ives expressly excludes hypocrites—"masks not men"—from his study, there should be no difficulty in explaining controversy without even ascribing unscrupulousness to reason. Obviously where one is the teacher and all the rest the taught, there is no room for dispute. Where two masters appear, both wish to teach and neither to learn. Mr Ives who regards public opinion with great suspicion, supports even the least of his remarks with quotations from high authority. Therefore one hesitates to suggest that what aids controversy is not lack of knowledge on the part of two disputants, but too much conviction and a fear of the spread of "false" doctrine. Even the least argumentative human beings feel they have got hold of the truth at some particular point and they make a stand for it. And when we "approach the eternal mysteries" which cannot be fathomed by "calculations, or with telescopes and test tubes", the questions become more perplexing, the answers innumerable and bewildering in their variety.

* "Obstacles to Human Progress" by George Ives. George Allen and Unwin. 10 s. 6d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There are two solutions: The argumentative which Mr. Ives rightly disapproves of; and the sympathetic one to which also Mr. Ives seems to have taken a dislike. "The same causes which make a man a churchman in London," he quotes Mill with appreciation, "would make him a Confucian in Pekin, or a Muhammedan in Constantinople." Yet he does not think that it can be maintained with Matthew Arnold that

> the unseen Power whose eye
> For ever doth accompany mankind
> Hath looked on no religion scornfully
> That ever men did find.

After all the Oracle in declaring the best religion to be that which prevailed in a man's own city, provided a working hypothesis. With all the progress that science has brought to us, it still does not work to turn the Confucian into a a churchman and leave him in Pekin; or the Muslim into a Christian at Constantionople. To take more telling examples since religious distinctions have faded or merged into one another, a Nazi in Britain or a democrat in Berlin would assuredly be out of place. Mr. Ives argues that the uniting of religions would mean the end of all inherited creeds. "A man," he writes, "cannot well obey two different governments at the same time, any more than he can conveniently wear two hats on his head; the simultaneous acceptance of a number of creeds would end in an appeal to rational judgment, which might possibly disolve them all." This is a prejudiced way of looking at things which we are surprised to see in a book devoted to reason. In politics it has brought down the League of Nations. In religion it has been the cause of endless strife. In religious unity what is needed is not conformity to a synthetic creed *built out of all the known faiths; but the habit of looking on diversity with sympathy and tolerance and understanding.* It is certainly not insistence that every man wear the same kind of hat that one wears.

It is when Mr. Ives discards reason and looks beyond it that he rises to his greatest heights. After meeting every creed with a negative, Mr. Ives sets down the "Way of Life." Mr. Ives has overcome the "obstacles." The tyranny of too much quotations which ties down the author, leaves him here and words cease to be a tiresome medium hindering the reader from the thought within them. It is no small hope he holds out for a better humanity:

> There are many, many men and women, whose lives put ordinary selfishness to shame, and make us humble when we contemplate their heroism. Such people are not rare though infinitely precious. They are the true redeemers of the world though unknown to fame and often sacrificed. (Can God's theme be: Love's martyrdom—and triumph?) Have we not seen them in the struggle of life, loyal and devoted to those around them, diffusing peace and comfort where they pass, carrying other loads beside their own?

As always happens when we descend from abstract theories to the real, Mr. Ives has struck a chord here which finds an answering echo in every one of us. There is something after all, as he says, that death cannot extinguish.

THE CONGRESS AND CORRUPTION.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Since Mahatma Gandhi's calling attention to corruption in the Congress after the last Presidential election one has heard much talk about it, and even of the Congress Executive taking action in ridding the organisation of such corruption. The Congress Working Committee is actually deliberating over it in Bombay at present, and its conclusions and resolutions are likely to be out before this article goes into print. From the fact, however, that the Congress leaders are considering corruption in a very restricted sense, namely, that which affects voting at elections, one wonders if such leaders are really serious about purifying the great national institution of vice and corruption. One frank and bold Congressman has indeed openly expressed such wonder in a letter, which he has addressed to the Congress President, and which he has also circularised because he apprehends, perhaps not without reason, that the letter is not to be taken notice of, and the matters referred to in it may be hushed. But nothing could be more blundering for the President to do than to supress such communications to him, for the more he would try to supress them the more the public would become suspicious and the more they would lose confidence in the bonafides of him and of his colleagues in the matter of removing corruption from the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi has probably also received a copy of the above letter, and those who highly appreciate his keenness for truth and virtue expect that he at least would take serious notice of it.

The writer of the letter has pertinently questioned the Congress President if he believes that the eradication of corruption from the Congress is possible while the Congress High Command and other Congress bodies are more or less manned and influenced as they are today. Thereafter he proceeds to mention specific facts about various leaders, and though he mentions only a few of them, what he writes is horrible reading. There is clearly no malice in him, firstly because he is no rival in any respect to the men he has named, and secondly because he offers to substantiate his statements fully, should the Congress President so desire. When he draws attention to the private life of some of the leaders, he pointedly asks if that is not known to the leaders who are now holding conference on the removal of corruption, when it is widely known to the outside public. When such people are chosen for high places in the Congress organisation and for places of public responsibility, what can possibly be the reaction on the public mind? When, moreover, Gandhiji is directly or indirectly instrumental in such choice, what indeed can be the impression on people outside?

If such feelings were to spread, it would soon discount all the good work that Gandhian influence in the country has done in the matter of raising the standard of public morality. It is in fact his influence in this respect that has been his best contribution to the cause of his motherland. Virtues of honesty and pure morality have always been extolled in this country. In the country's religious books, in its literature, in its epics and poems, moral character has always been given the highest respect. A *jitendriya purusha* (one who has mastered his senses and his impulses) is more than a god, while a chaste woman is respected and dreaded by God Himself—such have been the teachings in this country from time immemorial. A person having high moral character, penniless though he may have been, has been respected by all, by kings themselves. As these teachings and ideals were disrespected, Indian national degeneration started leading not only to individual and national weakness and political subjection, but also to various vices and devitalising factors, which have reduced the country to its present shameful condition. Matters become worse for the country when it came under the cultural influence of the West: Money replaced virtue and goodness from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the altar, where people offered homage. A clever educated, English-educated person with outward smartness would catch the public eye no matter what his character was like and his moral principles were or what methods, honest or dishonest, he used in coming into prominence and leadership. Under such leadership the country could make little substantial progress; rather under it were encouraged, by example, more vice and corruption. There was much talk, fiery orations, and emphatic table beating, but little work; for, while talk, orations and table thumping brought cheap popularity, more luminosity and consequent advantages to the leaders, work meant self-deprivation of luxuries and habitual indulgences and also dull monotony.

When such were the general conditions, Mahatma Gandhi's advent was like a God-send: A strong believer in pure morals he prescribed strict rules and conditions for leadership, going even to the extent of recommending a celibate life to national workers and leaders. His great personality effected a marvellous change in the life and outlook of several great leaders, who, discarding their former life of ease, luxury and indulgence, took to simple, useful and idealised living. Gandhiji's re-enunciation of moral doctrines turned people's mind again to the necessity of moral arming for national regeneration. There have been sincere and unprejudiced critics of Gandhian politics; his non-violence theory has at times been criticised for over-stretching and even introducing a cowardly ever-yielding mentality in people, who under several centuries of political dependence are already much possessed of it. But the moral tone he gave to politics and the moral purification he emphasized in political leadership reassured them and even those, who felt inclined to think that perhaps Gandhiji was retarding the acceleration of political emancipation and damping the on-rushing national enthusiasm of the people.

The gloomy state of mystification, in which honest critics of Gandhiji's politics and ardent admirers of his moral idealism find themselves, on noticing the apparently uncensoring and unprotesting manner in which he is recommending people who far from being repentant of their past, are still just the same, can therefore well be imagined. Does Gandhiji lack deep conviction in what he says and practices? Does he think that a person's private life has not much significance in the dishonest of his public responsibilities? Or does he think that an organisation left in the hands of indifferent and undependable people can be kept free from corruption and malpractices by framing some rules of voting, membership-enrolment and the like?

Such questions automatically come to mind though one would not like to answer them even in one's own mind, for the answer would involve appalling contradictions in a great man's great teachings. It is for Gandhiji himself to answer and explain, to reassure those, who have been appreciatingly following his lead and inspiration in many respects, as well as to safeguard against the washing out of all the good work that he has been doing to raise the moral standard in this country and in the world outside. The Congress sub-committee, trying to devise rules for fighting corruption with, can do little. What is needed is for Gandhiji himself to invite the public freely and fearlessly to state and substantiate charges of dishonesty and immorality against the leaders and thereafter to make a clean purge of those who are found guilty. If, on account of the power and influence of those leaders, he is unable to do the purging he should openly declare it and dissociate himself from the Congress. That alone will re-establish public faith in truth and pure morals and in the *bona-fides* of the Congress in abolishing corruption.

To all thoughtful newspaper editors I would say that they would be doing great disservice to the country if, instead of exerting their influence in the right direction, they would adopt the policy of hush-hush.

ANOTHER CONVERSION AND MARRIAGE CASE.*

Judgment has been pronounced by Mr. Brij Behari Lal, assistant sessions judge, in the Ratanmala rape case, in which a wealthy Jaini family of Dehra Dun was involved and which has created considerable sensation in the district. Dwarka Das, accused, motor driver of the family, has been sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment under Sec. 376 I. P. C., and Mst. Kailashvati, widow of a wealthy Jain merchant, the late Lala Atma Ram, and mother of Ratanmala (14) who was the second accused in the case, has been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment under Sections 376/109, I. P. C.

The prosecution story was that Lala Atma Ram, a wealthy businessman of a very respectable Jain family of Dehra Dum, died about six and a half years ago, leaving a widow, Mst. Kailashvati and a daughter, Ratanmala. After his death the child Ratanmala was brought up by her maternal grandfather, Lala Chaitan Das in Saharanpur. Occasionally Mst. Ratanmala's mother used to visit Saharanpur and live with her father, Lala Chaitan Das, where her daughter was living. About three years ago Mst. Kailashvati with her servant Dwarka Das, a young Punjabi Brahman, whom she had engaged as her motor driver on the death of her husband, went to Saharanpur and told Lala Chaitan Das that they intended to go on a Jain pilgrimage and requested him to allow Ratanmala to accompany them. Lala Chaitan Das consented and the girl was removed from his house. But they did not go to any pilgrimage at all and Mst. Kailashvati who had immoral connection with Dwarka Das and had become notorious, thought it proper to have the girl married to Dwarka Das, who had illicit connection with Ratanmala also. The girl was brought to Dehra Dun and then taken to Mussoorie, Delhi, Sahadra, Multan and different places.

Mst. Kailashvati was so much overcome by Dwarka Das that she managed to give away her property by way of a gift to him and a deed of gift was drafted and was registered in the name of Dwarka Das. On behalf of Lala Chaitan Das a declaratory suit was filed for the cancellation of the deed of gift. An application for the guardianship of the minor girl was also filed in the court of the district judge and, as a result of this application, Lala Chaitan Das was declared to be the propar guardian. When this application for guardianship was pending, the court was informed on May 1, 1937, that her mother Kailashvati intended to remove the girl from the jurisdiction of the court and an order was passed prohibiting her. Again an application was put in that Kailashvati had an idea of removing the girl and performing her marriage with Dwarka Das. The district judge ordered that the girl should be produced before him on May 4, 1937. The girl, however, was not produced. On May 5, 1937, Kailashvati's lawyer applied that Kailashvati had gone to Allahabad for legal advice and said that there was no danger of the girl being married. The district judge being satisfied, ordered that the girl be produced on

* The *Leader*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

May 17, already fixed. On that day when the case was taken, Kailashvati applied that the girl was not with her, she had been married in the Kapurthala State to Dwarka Das and that the couple were living in Jagadhari. She informed the court that they were converted to Arya Samaj and the marriage was performed according to their rules.

The allegation against Dwarka Das was that he raped Ratanmala, a minor girl below 14 years of age, and that the marriage was not a valid one, because a minor girl could not be converted to Arya Samaj and that Dwarka Das being a Brahman, no proper marriage could be performed between a Brahman and a Jain. The accused stated that he had had connection as husband and wife after May 18, 1937, that they were duly married and that no offence had been committed.

The accused Dwarka Das was engaged by Mst. Kailashvati as a motor-driver after the death of her husband. Dwarkadas had influenced Kailashvati so much that in a few years he got the upper hand and on account of his connection with Kailashvati, immovable property worth several thousands was donated to him. Kailashvati was the cause of bringing about his connection with Ratanmala.

The facts as given by Ratanmala in the court of sessions were different from those which she stated in the lower court. She deposed that she was under the influence of her mother and Dwarka Das and she admitted the fact of the marriage and denied any bad relations with him before the alleged marriage. She stated that while she was staying at her maternal grandfather's house at Saharanpur, her mother and Dwarka Das went there and they expressed their intention to go on a pilgrimage and her grandfather allowed her to accompany them. But she was not taken to any sacred place. On the other hand, the party came to Dehra Dun, where they stayed for some time and then went to Mussoorie where they stayed for a fortnight or so. One night when they were putting up in a hotel, Dwarka Das brought wine. He gave it to her mother and to her. The mother being intoxicated, Dwarka Das raped Ratanmala and the following morning she told this fact to her mother, who said that she should not tell such things to anybody. Dwarka Das had been doing the same thing with her also and she had also not told any one about it. From Mussoorie they came to Dehra Dun and later the girl was taken to different places.

The girl became pregnant and Dwarka Das gave her some medicine and caused abortion. Then after some time Dwarka Das used to have relations with her and she again became pregnant and a child was born to her. After the childbirth the girl Ratanmala went to the custody of her maternal grandfather.

Dwarka Das stood charged under section 376, I. P. C., with having had relations in April and May, 1937, with Ratanmala, a minor girl of less than 14 years, with or without her consent, which was obtained by falsely telling her that he was her husband. Kailashvati and Raja Ram were charged under sections 376/109, I. P. C., with having abetted the commission of the said offence by Dwarka Das, accused.

In the course of his lengthy judgment the assistant sessions judge remarked: 'There is one strong circumstance bearing upon the point. Kailashvati was ordered by the district judge to produce her daughter Ratanmala in the court on May 17, 1937. Kailashvat took her to the Kapurthala state and on May 8, 1937 performed a marriage ceremony of the girl with Dwarka Das, accused. It is significant that the girl and her mother are Jain Vaish, while Dwarka Das is a Punjabi Brahman. Would a mother give her only daughter in marriage to a person of a different caste and particularly to a person having another wife and children and in such hot haste and in an Indian State in the Punjab, away from the home of the parents of Kailashvati's husband and the parents of the girl? Kailashvati's husband was a rich businssman of Dehra Dun. It is significant that not a single relation be present at the marriage or be invited to it. It was not a civil marriage. It was a marriage under the Arya Samaj Marriage Act No. 19 of 1937, which validates marriage between two Arya Samajists.

'The circumstances show that the alleged marriage was only a sham done in an attempt to legalise the previous sexual intercourse and to thwart the guardianship proceedings. The contracting parties had made a show of professing Arya Samaj just for the purpose. Law could not be cheated in this manner.

'All the ingredients of the offence were proved. The consent of the girl, even if obtained, was immaterial as she was below 14 years of age in April, 1937, when the offence was committed on her.'

Agreeing with all the assessors, the assistant sessions judge found Dwarka Das, accused, guilty under section 376, I. P. C., for committing rape on Ratanmala, a minor girl of 14 years of age in April, 1937, at Dehra Dun. He added that the inference from the facts proved was irresistible that Kailashvati instigated the accused Dwarka Das to commit rape on Ratanmala, her daughter, and agreeing with the assessors found Kailasvati also guilty under sec. 376/109, I. P. C. Raja Ram was acquitted.

As regards the sentence, the assistant sessions judge said: "The circumstances are such that both the accused found guilty are to be treated with leniency, though the degree would differ in each case." The accused were sentenced as stated above.

INDIANS IN BELGIAN CONGO.*

Not much publicity is given in the Indian press of Kenya to the recent arrests of several Indians in the Belgian Congo. The arrests are said to affect over 50 persons on charges of illicit dealings in gold. Several of the arrested Indians are said to have been released, and that about 40 others are still detained awaiting trial.

As far as we are able to ascertain the real state of affairs, it seems that dealings in gold mined in the Belgian Congo have been going on for at least a decade. It appears that Indian merchants carried on business in gold as an everyday concern, and it is said that they made no secret of it since their transactions in this line figure in their books. The gold was evidently bought from the natives either working on the mines or not. From all accounts, there seems to be little doubt that these dealings were far from licit.

What is not understood is the apparent carelessness of the Belgian authorities in this sort of business for several years. We are told that the authorities were only roused to action when a somewhat large Government consignment of gold disappeared from one of the steamers in which it had been boarded for export.

* The *Colonial Times*, Nairobi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

The arrest of so many Indians had their repercussions in the neighbouring territory of Uganda. A local advocate was entrusted with the defence, but it seems that he has not been able to do much. It is reported that a sort of a deputation had reached India where representations are being made. In the Congo itself, the Indians are said to have applied to the British Consul for assistance, but that such assistance was not forthcoming. It is also said that the Italian Consul in the territory intervened on behalf of some Italians who were in the same plight. The information about these happenings is meagre, and we give it as we have received it in the conviction that substantially such information is correct.

If it is true that the matter has been represented to the Government of India or to the political leaders in that country, the subject must necessarily assume an importance which it does not, in our view, deserve. Granted that the arrests are made on some justifiable evidence before the authorities, it would be in the interest of the small Indian community settled in the Congo to await the trial and do as much as one can to defend the arrested persons. The treatment accorded to Indians in the Belgian Congo is not known to have been anything less than cordial and fair, and this is in accordance with the friendly relations of Belgium with Britain. We have not heard of any hardships inflicted on Indians, and generally the reports from Indians themselves have been satisfactory.

Under these circumstances there arises the need for extreme caution on the part of Indians in the Congo so that unnecessary acrimony is not engendered as a result of an agitation which might be construed to be tainted by political bias. We do not believe that the ordinary course of law in the Congo will be diverted to the detriment of the Indian, nor do we believe that the Belgians have any prejudice against Indians as such. Were it so, they might well remember the early days of the great war when so much Indian blood was shed on Belgian soil in the defence of that country. We have no reason to suppose that the Belgians have forgotten so great a service.

What is wanted is a fair and true presentation of the case of the Indians already in trouble, and, if necessary, diplomatic assistance through the local British Consul and the British Foreign Office. The law must take its own course, as it seems to have done in the case of the several Indians already released after arrests had been made. We hope our countrymen in the Belgian Congo will carefully avoid any steps which may jeopardise their peaceful stay in what, after all, is a foreign country.

THE LATE DR. SIR R. VENKATARATNAM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

May I be allowed some little space in your columns to approach the wide circle of friends, admirers and old pupils of the late Sir Dr. Brahmarshi R. Venkataratnam, Kt., M. A., L. T., D. LITT., LL. D., with an important intimation and an earnest request? The first is to state that six volumes of his collected writings and utterances, so far brought out by me under the title of "*Message and Ministrations*" (each with a separate Introduction) are available with the Librarian, Brahmopasana Mandir, at Cocanada, Re. 1 (net) each, while two more volumes are being rapidly seen through the press at present. The second is to the effect that those in possession of interesting and edifying letters from him in any capacity or context may be pleased, by a generous loan of them, to help forward the intended plan of bringing out a further set of two volumes as "Life and Letters" of the departed Leader. Wherever required, the letters will be gratefully returned as soon as done with; and all portions specifically marked off for exclusion will be strictly withheld from utilisation. Particulars of likely value about the life-career or the personal character will also be quite welcome.

Yours etc.,

Masulipatam,
24-6-39.

V. RAMAKRISHNA RAO.

Retired Principal,
P. R. College, Cocanada.

LIBERTY, RIGHTS AND BEVERAGE ALCOHOL.

(BY ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON, IN THE *American Issue.*)

Personal Liberty, as it is appealed to by those who are engaged in the manufacture, sale and use of intoxicating liquors, or in activities which are closely related to the beverage alcohol traffic, involves the presumed right of an individual to drink whatever, whenever, and wherever he pleases, or to use his own property for the manufacture, transportation, or sale of intoxicants. Personal liberty advocates are accustomed to point with pride and assurance to those portions of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution which speak of the right to "Liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and the desirable objective: "the blessings of liberty."

Personal liberty, as that term is most commonly used, is a peculiar combination of natural liberty and personal license in spite of government, law, and society. Blackstone defines natural liberty as "a power of acting as one thinks fit without any restraint unless by laws of nature." That is certainly a type of liberty which cannot properly exist except in such a place and in such a way as Daniel Defoe pictured it in the character of Robinson Crusoe, before Friday appeared upon the scene. Certain it is that that type of liberty is not possible in a social order comprising many millions of men, women and children.

The type of liberty intended to be safeguarded by the constitution of the United States, is civil liberty, which in the American conception exists only where the individual citizen has the right to live his own life and to pursue his own happiness without restraint or interference except by impartial and just laws of the government. The Constitution, however, makes no distinction between citizens as to their theirs. Every citizen has equal constitutional rights. The civil rights of any individual must not interfere with the same rights of others. The rights of each individual are safeguarded by the constitution against usurpation, by majorities, by different branches of the government, or by other citizens.

According to the Supreme Court of the United States, the assumption that the injury caused by liquor taken in excess is voluntarily self-inflicted and confined to the party offending, is not true in fact. The use of liquor by an individual may and does affect the rights of other members of his household. It also affects the rights of other citizens to be secure from increased taxes to support jails, asylums, and other institutions which must care for the results of the use of liquor by the drinking

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

portion of the population. It also involves the rights of others to be secure in their homes from injuries which liquor creates, and to be protected from injury to their property, and inconvenience, by acts which result from the use of intoxicants by the drinkers.

Whatever interferes with the public safety, the public health, the public morals, and the public welfare, by any individual drinker or any number of such drinkers, infringes on the rights of others and in some degrees weakness the protection of the Constitution for all citizens.

CO-EDUCATION IN CAWNPORE.

As certain incorrect and exaggerated reports have appeared in the Press it has become necessary for me to issue this statement to the Press.

The Christ Church College is a college for men students. It has never attempted co-education. Indeed, I do not know of any university or college in India which has. For the last ten or twelve years, however I have permitted a limited number of women students to attend lectures at my college and I am happy that during this period about 20 women students have graduated from the college and a simi lar number have passed the intermediate examination. My wife and my colleagues on the staff have made every possible effort to make this modest experiment a success.

During the last two years, however, our task difficult in itself, has been made more difficult on account of the seriously disturbed conditions in Cawnpore. In September, 1937, a women students' concert was seriously disturbed. The college had to be closed for a month and great anxiety prevailed among the women students and their parents. The college, however, did not send the women students away.

Throughout 1938 mischievous people in Cawnpore have been busy making the continuance of their study at the college by a few women students more and more difficult. I have intercepted a large number of anonymous letters addressed to the girls in the college in the most indecent and filthiest of terms. I have also a letter from the Superintendent of Police saying that he had repeatedly received complaints from the Employers' Association that students of two of the Cawnpore Colleges had insulted and caused annoyance to lady typists on their way to their offices.

It is on account of these, among other reasons, that I have reluctantly been compelled to advise the guardians of the few women students in the colleges not to send their wards to the college for the present.

Not one of the persons, who, according to the press, constitute the deputation of guardians to wait on the Education Minister has to my knowledge any legitimate connection with any one of the women students concerned.

I have explained the position both to the D. P. I. and the Minister, and neither of them has questioned my judgment. I have yet to meet any proper guardian of any women student who after examining the evidence on which my decision is based, will want to send his ward to attend lectures at the college.

As regards the women students who have to complete their course for the B. A. Examination, of whom there are only four, your solicitude cannot be greater than mine. I have already assured such of the parents as have approached me that I shall endeavour to give all possible and necessary assistance for the purpose.

PROHIBITION POLICY OF THE U. P. GOVERNMENT.

A combinition of intensive propaganda by the Government and the public, the reduction of shops, the improvement of the auction system by fixing retail prices and the state-managed agency are the basic principles of the excise policy, which is directed towards the goal of total prohibition in the United Provinces.

Prohibition was introduced, for the first time as an experimental measure, on March 31, 1938, in the districts of Etawah and Mainpuri and, encouraged by the results obtained, it was extended to the districts of Budaum, Farrukhabad, Bijnor and Jaunpur on April 1, 1939.

The Government first sought to mobilise public opinion by propaganda and education.

This was followed by a method of Governmental action which briefly falls into four divisions:—

(1) Reduction of shops by about 20 to 35 per cent, varying from district to district.

(2) Fixing of retail prices appreciably above those which ruled in different localities.

(3) The state managed agency, and

(4) The system of auctioning shops with fixed retail prices.

The state-managed system resulted in many advantages, the chief being that the motive of profit, which weighed heavily with private agents, was removed, thereby decreasing the consumption. Indirectly, it led to the enhancement of revenue on that consumption inasmuch as the profits which otherwise would have gone to the licencees would be taken by the state.

Under the state-managed system consumption was not permitted on the premises and this led to further reduction of consumption and reduction in many of the sordid practices which arose from this.

After mature consideration, the fixed price auction system was introduced, the advantages of this system over the sur-charge system, in practice for long, being many. The retail price of the intoxicants was raised substantially under the new system. This had a salutary effect in lessening illicit distillation as the illicit distiller felt that there was no point in his indulging in the practice so long as he could not get more profit by selling more illicit liquor. Instructions were also issued to the officials that auctions would in future be conducted in a strictly fair and impartial manner.

Over and above these fundamental changes which in fact constitute the excise policy of the Government, the executive staff, who are men on the spot and as such have to deal with extraordinary situations as they arise, was increased. Vigilance staff was recruited and the number of excise inspectors increased.

That this policy is fructifying is amply proved by the reports received by the Government from the various districts. Enquiries made reveal that most of the addicts of have paid off their old debts and effected savings.

Ceylon Repatriation Scheme:—The Governn ent of India is understood to have been informed by the Ceylon Government that it is unable to postpone the measure passed by the State Council for repatriation of non-Ceylonese daily paid workers in Government service. This decision was reached by the board of ministers, it is learned, after they had considered the communication from the Government of India, inquiring whether the Ceylon Government would consider the postponement of the repatriation scheme for the present.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager-

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES.

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(„ „).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(District Nasik).
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(„ „).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	(District Panch Mahals).
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS.

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur,
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Koshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Vardo, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad,)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

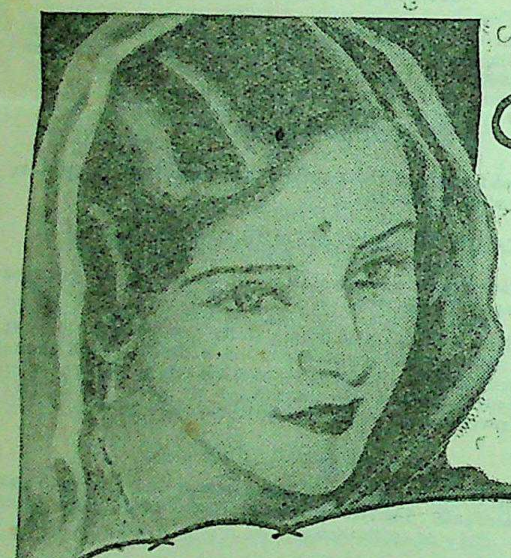
卐

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin, Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.

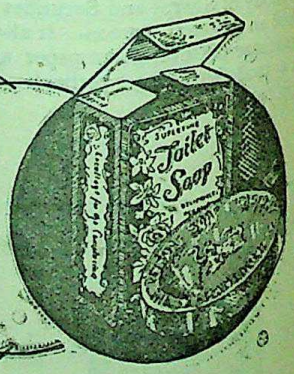


For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:—K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 24, 1939. No. 43

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Satyagraha.
Prohibition in Madras.
Gandhiji on Prohibition.
Exemption of Europeans.
The Servants of India Society.
Child Welfare.
Jayan's Position.
Rajendra Prasad on South African Policy.
Jewish Refugees.
Submarine Sabotage.
Canada and the Privy Council.
India and the Democracies.
Traffic in Women and Liquor.
Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi.
Individual Liberty and Liquor.
Drink and the Backward Classes.
Hindu Law Reform.
Temple-Entry, Untouchability and Prohibition.
National Dress.
Anti-Semitism.
Jewish Refugees in India.
League of Nations.

NOTES.

Satyagraha :—A new political party has been formed in Mysore. It holds that satyagraha methods are appropriate in British India but not in Indian States, because the Government in British India is foreign while in the States it is native. As a matter of fact, the main grievance of the peoples of the States is that their governments do not come up to the standards of the so-called foreign one. Indeed, there are several States whose subjects want nothing more than to be incorporated in British India. At a States Peoples' Conference in Delhi at which this writer presided not many years ago, speakers openly declared that, if a plebiscite were taken, quite 90 per cent of their people would vote to join British India. Misgovernment reaches a point at which the people are glad to exchange a native government for a foreign one if the latter promises to relieve them of their most pressing grievances. This point has apparently been reached and passed in some States. But even there satyagraha can do no good. It has done no good in British India either. It has not improved matters in South Africa. The position there today is worse than what it was in Gandhiji's time. Pandit Jawaharalal Nehru stated the other day that satyagraha has become a nuisance in his province. The United Provinces Government is a Congress Government of which Pandit Nehru's relative is a member. We are sure that that is not the chief reason why he denounced it as a nuisance in that province. Elsewhere, it has been said that satyagraha should not be waged against a Congress Government but it is quite in place against Muslim League Governments and against the Government of India. Satyagraha when undertaken by a man or men possessed by the power and passion of Truth, is the greatest force in Nature, but as used generally nowadays it is a cheap, and rather cowardly, way of gaining notoriety. It has the same value as and no more than any other form of popular demonstration. There is nothing sacrosanct about it.

Prohibition in Madras :—Speaking at a mass meeting in Madras on the 18th June, the Prime Minister rather went out of his way to enumerate reasons for not introducing Prohibition in Madras city. These were at once telegraphed to the newspapers and, in Bombay at least, a prominent anti-Prohibition organ took it to be a dig at the Bombay Government's choice of Bombay city as one of the first places for its introduction. Mr. Rajagopalachari said: "Being a coastal district there will be facilities for smuggling in liquor. Again the introduction of Prohibition will entail unemployment to the labourers employed in the trade. In the districts, they can be engaged in agricultural operations but it would be difficult to find employment for them in the city." Both these reasons are untenable. Smuggling can be more effectively prevented at a sea-port town than in a place which has no natural boundaries. As for finding work for persons thrown out of employment, it is notorious that unemployment is chronic among cultivators for eight months in the year and that, owing to the slump in prices, even this limited employment brings no adequate return. Madras, moreover, is not an industrial city like Bombay and what is possible in the districts is possible in Madras also. The real reason why Mr. Rajagopalacharya did not include Madras is financial. A property tax such as that levied in Bombay would not bring as much revenue as here and would have met with greater opposition than in Bombay. The opposition too would not be from big landlords as in Bombay, but from middle class houseowners who are politically more vital to the Congress party than the denizens of Malabar Hill. Mr. Rajagopalacharya has since declared that his remarks were not aimed at the Bombay scheme, the conditions in the two cities being very different.

Gandhiji on Prohibition :—Replying to the Archbishop of Bombay's address at the Rotary luncheon against Prohibition, Gandhiji writes in the current *Harijan*:

> The word 'Prohibition' is a misnomer for what the Bombay Government and the other Provincial Governments where the Congress controls the Ministries, are doing regarding the liquor trade. What the Governments are in reality doing is not prohibiting drink but they are closing liquor shops which are absolutely under Government control.

Prohibition is now embodied in a statute and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the only authority which can interpret it, is a court of law. But many people believe that what Gandhiji writes is the law of the land and these, if they acted on Gandhiji's interpretation of Prohibition, are sure to come to grief. Prohibition is not merely closing liquor shops. If it were, it would be open to any one to maintain a private distillery for domestic consumption. The Bombay Excise Minister certainly did not understand the Prohibition law which he was enacting, to have this limited significance. Speaking on the Budget in the Legislative Assembly on February 22, Dr. Gilder said :

> From the midnight of the day on which we go in for total prohibition, it will be illegal for any person not having the appropriate license or permit to have country liquor, foreign liquor, opium, ganja, bhang, or charas in his possession.
>
> Mr. D. J. Ferriera : Even a peg ?
>
> Dr. Gilder : Yes, Sir, even a peg.

The Minister added that permits for personal consumption of foreign liquor will be given to people of non-Asiatic domicile temporarily resident in India. Government consider, he added, that those Europeans who have made India their permanent home, should be willing to comply with the Indian sentiment in the matter.

Exemption of Europeans :—We agree with those who object to this exemption. No such exemption was allowed in the United States when Prohibition was in force. The only exemption allowed was the Embassies which, according to international law, are the territory of the States which they represent. The *New Leader*, the Madras Catholic journal, wrote some time back that the Governor of Bombay had assured his Ministers that the Prohibition law will be strictly observed at Government House. This may not be literally accurate but Ministers have no misgivings about the attitude of Government House. The same may be presumed of Europeans, whether domiciled permanently or temporarily in this country, who set the interests of India and the Empire above their personal comfort. "Moderate Drinker" said in the course of his sober and earnest presentation, in last week's *Reformer*, of the case against Prohibition: "Should Prohibition become the law of the land, I would give up drink, with a feeling of resentment at being deprived of what I regard as an inherent personal right." That may be taken to be typical of the attitude of the great majority of responsible Europeans who feel that they are in India not wholly for what they can make out of her. The sentiments of the minority who recognise no law but that of their appetites East of Suez, do not deserve to be respected.

The Servants of India Society :—The Servants of India Society celebrated its thirty-fourth anniversary on June 12th at Poona. A week later a notable change in the tradition of the Society took place when Miss Godavari Gokhale was admitted to full membership of the Society. The Women's Fellowship of Service which was started three years ago under the auspices of the Society, to meet the existing rules excluding women, has been dissolved and the only other member of it, Miss Bholerao, has been admitted as a probationer of the Servants of India Society. The Society is to be congratulated on its decision. Both Miss Gokhale and Miss Bholerao have a record of service of which members of the Society can be proud and the admission of more women will strengthen the varied activities of the Society, in education, labour and social welfare. Miss Gokhale is at present a leading worker in the literacy campaign.

Child Welfare :—The League of Nations' third annual report on Child Welfare, furnishes useful information regarding measures adopted in thirty countries of the world to promote Child Welfare. The single page devoted to India contains a very perfunctory account of what is being done in this country. China occupies more space than almost any other country and the section on China is specially noted in the Introduction as one drawn up from original sources. How much of this programme has survived the present struggle in China, we may be told in the next year's report. The absence of information regarding the important work which is being done in Italy and Germany, is an inevitable drawback due perhaps to the withdrawal of these countries from the League though Japan at least declared she would continue to co-operate in the League's social work. But why leave out Soviet Russia which is still a member of the League and where, too, important developments are in progress on social problems including Child Welfare ?

Japan's Position :—An article in the current *Round Table* reviewing Japan's position concludes that she can not be conquered by armed force but is vulnerable on the economic side. Japan, says the writer, has a maritime strategic position that makes invasion by armies impossible. An overseas expedition of the necessary size would require an absolute command of the sea, as well as points of support near the Japanese Empire, neither of which conditions can be fulfilled. Only economic exhaustion of the Island Empire could lead to her defeat. "That this method would certainly be effective in the long run," he adds, "is the conclusion to be drawn from Japan's dependence on her import and export trade for her enormous requirements of raw materials and for the sale abroad for the products of her industries." That the economic exhaustion of Japan is not immediately in sight and that "the long run" may be as trying to her rivals as for herself, is the conclusion reached in the Report of the Foreign Policy Association of America issued in September last. Mr. T. A. Bisson, the author, holds like the writer in the *Round Table* that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the economic factor is undoubtedly the most serious threat to Japan's programme of military conquest. "Even so," he writes, "there is no prospect that Japanese economic disabilities will prove decisive in the near future. Japan has tightened its belt. It possesses sufficient reserves of gold and war materials to continue the war for a protracted period, and will undoubtedly seek to force a conclusion during the coming months. Only one measure can alter the outlook for an indefinite prolongation of hostilities.....This is the refusal of Western powers, particularly the United States, to continue furnishing war supplies to Japan." This is one of the measures which Dr. Wellington Koo suggested at the last session of the League of Nations. The strengthening of the Berlin Rome Tokyo axis with Spain in the background, is an important consideration which, of course, was outside the immediate scope of Mr. Bisson's enquiry.

Rajendra Prasad on South African Policy :— Babu Rajendra Prasad wobbled somewhat in dealing with the question of Bengalis in Bihar, which was referred to him by the Congress for settlement. His award whittled down considerably, the clear mandate of the Government of India Act that no discrimination whatsoever should be made by one province against persons from another province of British India. He has not allowed the Bihar precedent to qualify his protest against the discriminatory proposals against Indians in South Africa. He has threatened to make them an all-India issue unless the Government of India put pressure on the British Government to prevent the South African Union Government from enacting the proposals. Failing that, Mr. Prasad seems to suggest that all the Congress Governments should resign. This has become rather a stunt. The Congress Governments are regarded as pawns and not as agencies for bettering the condition of the people. The threat today is not so effective as when it was first used in connection with the appointment of a Bihar Civilian as acting Governor of Orissa. However that may be, the Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature and Swami Bhawani Dayal, President of the Natal Indian Congress, who is now in India, are satisfied that the Government are doing all they can to support the cause of Indians. There is one point which we should like to be considered in connection with the segregation proposals. The real objection seems to be that segregation necessarily means relegation of Indians to locations without the amenities of the residential areas of Europeans. That it has been the case in practice can not be denied. But we do not see any necessary connection between the two. If the same, identical amenities are secured and if in the allotment of sites no discrimination is made, segregation will lose much of its sting. We wonder if a compromise on some such lines would be acceptable to the parties concerned.

Jewish Refugees:— The problem of Jewish refugees from European countries presents special difficulties in India. The Government of India explained some days ago in the Legislative Assembly the conditions under which such refugees were admitted. There should be an undertaking from local Jews or a responsible organisation to maintain them, and those who did not secure a job in five years were to be deported to Great Britain. There is an Indian Jewish community dating from ancient times and unless this community can assimilate the refugees, the position of the latter is likely to add another to the many communal complexities of Indian politics. The latest account which we publish today, seems to indicate a departure from the policy described in the first communique. Five or six hundred Jews have been admitted, many of them young girls who are being educated at Khandala and other places at a cost which is beyond the means of millions of Indian parents. Some men have been taken as apprentices in a local mill, the name of which is not mentioned. These five hundred and any more that may be admitted, are now to be regarded as permanently settled in this country. What is their civil status? Is it that of Europeans? When Australia or Canada admits refugees, they become part of the general population but here they will be a more or less privileged group. A writer in the *Cochin Argus* states that Bikaner has offered to arrange for the settlement of 12,000 families of Jewish refugees and Cochin is ready to admit more. We trust that these States will be careful to define the terms on which the refugees are admitted to their citizenship.

Submarine Sabotage :— The sinking in mysterious circumstances and within short intervals of an American, a British and a French submarine, may be pure coincidence. But it is also a suspicious coincidence. The question is to be investigated. A Reuter's message says :

> A resolution for the appointment of a Congressional Committee to investigate the possibility that the loss of the sub-marines Squalus, Thetis and Phoenix was due to sabotage, was introduced in the Senate today by Senator Harbour. The resolution suggests that a committee be directed to investigate the whole question of activities of foreign spies in the United States.

Canada and the Privy Council:— The King's visit to Canada is said to have brought the Dominion closer to the mother country. It is a curious proof of this result that almost before Their Majesties had left Canadian shores, a Bill is being pushed through the Canadian Parliament to do away with appeals from the Dominion to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. Such appeals are extremely rare nowadays. The reform is not called for by any urgent necessity. It can be regarded as merely intended to assert the absolute independence of the Dominion. Eire was the first to take the step by no means as one towards closer union.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 24, 1939.

INDIA AND THE DEMOCRACIES.

Mr. Streit in his book, "Union Now," dismisses India in a summary way. Just as the American States did not wait until slavery was abolished to constitute themselves into a Union, so the White "Democracies" should not, he thinks, wait until India gains Independence, to organise themselves in a Union to check the growth of Dictatorships. Mr. Streit naively argues that the formation of the United States led to the creation of the spirit which later inspired the North to conquer and coerce the South. It does not occur to him that an arrangement which found no better way of effecting a great social and moral reform than a bitter Civil War, was not an ideal arrangement. Nor does it occur to him that India may not like to become in effect the retainer of fifteen "democratic" States instead of one as at present. In noticing Mr. Streit's book we put forward these nonsiderations as militating seriously against his glib proposal. The *Round Table* for June in the course of a review of Mr. Streit's book, expresses the opinion that India can not be left out of the proposed Democratic Union although she is a dependency of Great Britain and not a sovereign democratic state. Mr. Lionel Curtis proposed to make a start with the English-speaking countries. Mr. Streit rightly objects that it is a grave defect of this scheme of a linguistic group, as it gives the nucleus an offensive air of exclusivity. The *Round Table* reviewer argues that this is none the less true of a single colour or race than of a single language. He observes :

> Although British India is not yet a sovereign nation, nor has she democratic control over foreign policy, defence and certain other matters, yet she ought to be considered as a possible founder-member of Union in which, indeed, no member would control its own separate foreign policy or defence. Alternatively, India, with any other British country approaching self government, might retain the same relations with the Union as she now possesses with the British Empire. If it started with any taint of racial or colour exclusiveness, the Union—as the greatest Imperialism ever known—might be bitterly suspect among the rising peoples of Asia and Africa.

It is not clear what the reviewer means by his alternative. Mr. Streit does not propose to disturb in any way the relation of India and Burma with the British Empire. And even if India joins as a full founder-member of the Union, her position will be the same as it is at present as a founder-member of the League of Nations. She will have to make a contribution on the highest scale to the revenues of the Union and act as a camp-follower and vote with the British delegation without regard to the justice or injustice of British policy. Eight months ago it was "appeasement." Today it is a Peace Front against the same Powers. Never have thoughtful Indians felt the spiritual burden of the British yoke sogalling as in recent months when India had to stand a silent and impotent witness to the exasperating ineptitudes of Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

The *Round Table* reviewer goes on to try and reconcile Mr. Streit to the admission of India by the following quaint reasoning :

> In facing the problem of India, Mr. Streit is frankly baffled by the difficulty of including a nation of 400 million people on the basis of equal votes for all citizens in the federal elections. But the problem would be solved in practice by the backwardness of the Indian masses, since a simple test of literacy (such as any civilised union might be expected to impose) would exclude the great majority of the 400 millions. Nor is there any reason to suppose that if India formed part of a federal union her votes would all go one way.

The writer is clearly banking on the illiteracy of the Indian population—the blackest mark on the British administration of a century and three quarters—and the differences between Hindus and Muslims and British India and Indian States, to counteract the weight of numbers. If he was in touch with current developments he would not be so confident about the operation of these factors. Energetic literacy campaigns undertaken by provincial Governments with enthusiatic voluntary co-operation are in progress; and before the Union materialises, a large proportion of the population will satisfy the tests of literacy laid down for Census enumeration purposes. The hope of excluding a large proportion of the population by a literacy test is doomed to disappointment. As for differences among Indian communities and between British and Indian India, these differences will disappear when coloured races are face to face with White races, unless there is a thorough, radical change of relations between the two, enabling individuals of the two groups to think and judge of each other and to deal with each other as individuals on their moral and cultural merits. India will not care to join the Union unless she can do so on absolutely equal terms. She knows and feels in her soul that she has a valuable contribution to make to world order. But this she cannot do unless she sits in her own right at the Conference Table. Her ways of thought fundamentally differ in important respects from the British and American. She has pondered long and deeply on the problem of unity underlying diversity and she feels that she has the key to it which Europeans and Americans do not have. If Mr. Streit's Union does not admit her, so much the worse for the Union. She will find other means of discharging her duty to world well-being and progress. The days of miracles are not past. The stone which the builders had set at nought has become even before our eyes head of the corner. Japan in fifty years has equalled and surpassed her western masters in the organisation of industry and war. Germany has

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939.]

risen from the depths of depression to the height of a great Power in six years. History is not going to stop with that.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND LIQUOR.

Gandhiji writes in the *Harijan* :—

In this country we are not used to legislation for the regulation of vice. But in countries like Germany(?) the houses of women who sell their virtue are licensed. I do not know what will be more resented in those countries, the stopping of the licenses for the houses of ill fame or the houses of drink. When woman realises her dignity she will refuse to sell her virtue and those members of the sex who are jealous of its honour will move heaven and earth to have legalised prostitution abolished. Will it be then contended that such abolition will go hard with the prostitutes and their dependants whose only means of livelihood depended upon this calling ?

Gandhiji has used the brothel system as an analogy to the liquor trade. But it is more. The liquor trade is the lynch-pin which keeps the brothels going. The literature on the subject is replete with evidence of the close, the organic, relation between the two. The girls in the brothels are expected to make more by getting their customers to drink than by their regular trade. The girls themselves can not keep the pace—they have to be at the call of every customer and the more favoured ones may have several a night—without the drink which makes them insensible to fatigue for the time being, though it wrecks them physically in less than five years, the maximum effective life of women in this trade. Evidence of this is incidentally provided in the League of Nations Report on the international traffic in women and children (1933). Here is a report from a Sourabaya (Java) official :

> There were about fifteen girls from France and also some Saigon : they were European girls. They did not come for prostitution, they were cabaret girls. After the cabaret they had to stay in the dancing place until three in the morning. When they were in the dancing establishment they were real entertainment girls, whose business it was to push men to drink champaigne and buy them chocolates.

The girls went to the lodging of the man and not to their own, and, therefore, argued the official, this cannot be called real prostitution. (p. 251). Then there is a report from Tientsin where the age-long Euro-Asiatic struggle is being rehearsed :

> The cabarets get tremendous profits off drinking. The ordinary wage of a cabaret girl is anything from 30 to 50 dollars a month and her commission on drinks which she sells may come to as much. It depends on the girls' business instincts as to how much she makes. It is a cheap form of drink sold at a tremendous profit. The champaigne is just a sparkling drink with some syrup in it, and they charge very heavily for it. (P. 147.)

This passage occurs under the head "Russian Prostitution." The International traffic In women is closely allied to the International traffic in liquor.

BHAWANI DAYAL SANYASI.*

The problems of Indian Overseas are generally viewed in the mass. We seldom have the opportunity of studying it on the human side. But in the last analysis this, like all social questions, hinges on the type and character of the individual Indian overseas. Indian leaders who have had the opportunity of visiting him on the spot, generally see only so much of him as is necessary for the enquiry or investigation which called them there. It is generally some civil or political disability which, having reached an acute state, has aroused public resentment in this country, and the purpose of the enquiry is to find some formula which will smooth over the difficulty for the time being. One or two of them happen to get a glimpse of the inner side of Indian life in the lands beyond the seas. They have as a rule realised the need of some agency by which the Indians abroad might be helped to attain a cultural and social outlook which, both according to the standards of the East and the West, would secure for them the qualifications for a high type of citizenship, whether in practice they receive it or not from their fellow citizens. A sociological investigation of the conditions and character of Indian life overseas is an urgent need.

This need is to some extent met by the sketch of the life and career of Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi by Prem Narayan Agrawal, M. A., published by the Indian Colonial Association at Ajitmal, in the Etawah district in the United Provinces. The Indian public, in the course of the agitation to stop the drain from this country of indentured emigrants, had come to regard the system as so utterly bad that it could not imagine any one born and brought up in it, developing qualities of leadership not merely in the political but in the social and religious life of the community. The few men and women whose names became known in India had come into prominence as followers and fellow-workers of Gandhiji during his South African career. Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi's career brings into relief the inherent capacity of the Indian community in South Africa to produce original types independently of influences from the mother country. Bhawani Dayal's parents had migrated from Bihar to Natal as indentured labourers. Mr. Agrawal does not attach importance to dates—a common failing with our writers. He says that Babu Jairam Singh was honest and hardworking and that these qualities enabled him to earn enough money to purchase two villages in his native province when he returned home in 1904. On the expiry of his indenture, he made a short stay in Johannesburg where Bhawani Dayal was born on September, 1892. As Jairam Singh did not leave South Africa till 1904, he seems to have spent about 12 years in Johannesburg which is not 'a short stay' as described in the passage quoted from Gandhiji's "My Experiments with Truth." Jairam Singh is said to have been a refugee in Natal for three years on the outbreak of the Boer War, when Bhawani Dayal is said to have been a child of six. According to the date given of his birth, he would have been nearer nine than six years old at the outbreak of the War. Jairam Singh died in 1911 in one of the two villages which he had purchased, Bahuara in the Arrah district, Bihar. Bhawani Dayal's first schools, St. Cyprian's and Wesleyan Methodist, were apparently in South Africa (Mr. Agrawal leaves this also to be guessed). In Bihar he seems to have been taught mostly by tutors engaged by his father. The Partition of Bengal was the first event which fanned the fire of patriotism in young Dayal's bosom. After his father's death disputes about property

* Price Re. 1-12-0.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with his step-mother (Jairam Singh had married a second time after Bhawani Dayal's mother's death), led him in disgust to hand over the whole estate to her and her children and to leave for South Africa. We are left to gather incidentally that there was some property in South Africa which had come to Bhawani Dayal, so that he was not altogether destitute in that land. Bhawani Dayal joined Gandhiji's civil resistance movement and went to jail with his wife. He visited India several times later and on one of these visits he was drawn to the Arya Samaj. He was admitted to the order of Sanyasi in the village of Bahuara where he established a library and reading room for the study of questions relating to Indians overseas. The Swami is also a practical social reformer and he has brought about more than one intermarriage among his relatives. His wife, Shrimati Jagrani Devi, was a valuable help-mate. Though unable to read and write at the time of marriage she was deeply imbued with Hindu culture, and her whole-hearted devotion and solicitude enabled the Swami to face the hard problems of the alien world overseas with calmness and confidence. He has two sons who, Mr. Agrawal says, relieve him of financial worries.

The Swami impresses all whom he meets by his gentleness, sobriety and moderation. He has little of the combative qualities of the typical Arya preacher. He is slow to judge harshly of others with whom he may not agree and he does not suppress honest difference of opinion out of deference to friends. Mr. Agrawal makes special mention of this quality in his subject. He differed from Mr. Srinivasa Sastry (who, by the way, cherishes a kind regard for him which he expressed recently in a private letter). Mr. Agrawal, we believe, is mistaken in thinking that Gandhiji was ever in favour of repatriation on which the Swami differed from *Mr. C. F. Andrews, as did this writer from the first. He has come into disfavour with a section of our politicians by publicly avowing that, after meeting the Government of India officers, he is convinced that they are doing their best for Indians in South Africa.* This section has throughout been ignorantly or wilfully denouncing Government for their apathy, and the Swami's honest avowal does not suit its book. Mr. Agrawal observes, no doubt reflecting the opinion of his subject, that after Gandhiji left South Africa a great lethargy settled upon the Indians there. In fact, it is not generally known that they were beginning to find his activities too strenuous for them even before he left the country. There are few now who can take over the leadership in the same spirit as Gandhiji. This is a fact which should be given adequate weight when we hear talk of starting passive resistance in South Africa.

INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND LIQUOR.

(By Tee Tee.)

One of the many amazing features of the controversy which has arisen over the Prohibition policy of the Government of Bombay, is the assumption, not only by anti-Prohibitionists, that the drinker is one who believes in the principle of "live and let live," while the Prohibitionist is an interfering busybody who will not leave his neighbour in peace. This is, to say the least, an exaggeration. I was surprised to read in the otherwise well-reasoned article of "Moderate Drinker" the assertion that Prohibition of liquor was an interference with individual liberty. And I felt impelled to set down my experiences which, I am sure, can be matched by some of your readers.

I shall confine myself in this article to the class to which "Moderate Drinker" himself obviously belongs; the middle class, Western or westernised, which indulges occasionally in cocktail parties but spends the greater part of its life in pursuing more or less earnestly the sobering task of earning a living. The ethics of Prohibition, the economics of liquor and the tonic qualities of drink to the worker do not come within the scope of this article. I at any rate do not propose to enter into abstract discussions in which neither "Moderate Drinker" nor myself is sure of our ground. But a word of caution. I do not belong to the society which I describe. In so far as I have roots, it is in the puritanical middle class rather than with the "men of the world." I am attempting to explain the latter to this class as much as discussing the question of civil liberty.

To consider the matter dispassionately, I was, unlike "Moderate Drinker," brought up in a family which looked askance not only on drink but on smoking as well. The few instances of drinking which came to our notice, were extreme cases of obvious over-indulgence, and they confirmed the traditional aversion to alcohol. It was a social reform, not an orthodox, home, but it had reacted from the kind of "reform" which bathed Bengal in a baptism of brandy. Shortly after I passed out of college, circumstances took me out to Northern India, and the society in which I found myself, was very different to what I had known in my earlier days. A prohibitionist was to many of my new friends a joke; a teetotaller an object of ridicule. I was not a Prohibitionist and I made it clear to those whom I had to meet in my work at the office, that I was content to follow my own inclinations and leave others to their own particular pleasures. In the sobriety of office hours, my rational attitude was heartily approved.

But there were parties as well. The first of these was an exclusive dinner thrown by a senior member of the staff. I was asked as soon as I went in, what I would have to drink. I was asked again if I was sure that I would not like anything stronger than lemonade or a glass of water. My host kindly informed me that what the rest were drinking, was "nothing more than crushed ice." As the evening wore out, my neighbour demanded of me rather aggressively whether I had not a feeling that the rest of the company would get drunk before the party ended. I said that I had an open mind on the subject. In spite of my insistence that my objections were more personal than moral, it was obvious that the rest of the company resented my position as a non-drinker. The party, however, ended with no worse results than two casualties and many absentees from work the next day. I had to pay for my abstemiousness by doing their work as well!

The second function was more or less official. It was a farewell dinner to the head of the office. The drinkers' feelings of embarrassment increased as the drinks went in. When all other inhibitions had been overcome, it was surprising to see that my presence was still felt. A normally sedate gentleman who had executed an amazingly agile Travancore dance in front of the guest of the evening, asked feebly as he collapsed in a chair, "Where is Tee Tee?" When he caught sight of me, he smiled and assured me that, though I might think he was drunk, he was fully conscious of all that had happened. A friend of mine came up to me with a glass of whiskay in his hand. We hulloed each other and he seated himself by my side. There was an incoherent argument about alcohol and by the time we had got round to the same point the sixth time, two

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

others had joined us. Suddenly my companion asked me if I would have a drink to oblige him. I refused. He insisted that I have one, and there was a chorus of approval. With obliging hospitality he moved off to get me a drink, while the others told me down in my seat. When he returned, he assured me that he had only put in a spoonful of whiskey and that "it was the principle of the thing." Across the room I heard my host of the earlier party remark to the only other teetotaller in the room with subdued enjoyment, "They have got him." To me he shouted encouragingly that if I only took one sip, it would be over. By this time I was flat on the sofa, with two of my companions holding me down by my feet and head. As the drink came nearer, I realised that my hands had been left free through an oversight; the glass of whiskey and soda spilt over a beautiful shirt-front. There were a few maudlin tears at the "waste of so much good stuff." I did not regard the incident as any more than a pleasant (or unpleasant) frolic. The next day at the office some of the party were slightly ashamed of the incident. The chief figure, however, assured me that the next time I would not "escape" him. I retorted that there would be no next time.

This is not a propaganda article. Any non-drinker who attends small parties where drinkers, moderate or otherwise, predominate, will bear me out when I say that there is always a tremendous force against his remaining teetotal. The social influence is usually more subtle. I once asked a friend of mine what was the reason for this. "A non-drinker," he replied, "has only two courses: Either he too must drink and reach the same freedom from inhibitions that the others have arrived at; or he must get out and stay out. There are many things which we do after the drinks have set us up, which we would not do if we were—well, not drinking." "Moderate Drinker" says the same thing when he confesses that, after a glass, he is more cheery than is his wont. I might add this is not always true. Some grow distinctly morose.

There is a sequel. I had resisted all efforts to persuade or coerce me to drink not because I detested liquor or considered it morally bad, but, curiously enough, because I did not like to be forced to do something which I had declared I would not do. Individual liberty! But my curiosity was aroused. I wanted to know what the much-vaunted stuff tasted like. I knew, however, that once I "took a sip" at a party, my reputation as a teetotaller would be lost and each friend would expect me to do in his company what I had done with another man or at another party. Fortunately or unfortunately,—but fortunately since Prohibition is coming soon—I was able on long railway journeys to satisfy a curiosity without acquiring a habit.

It is absurd, therefore, to ignore the social pressure which the group that drinks exercises on those who do not, and to depict life under a free liquor regime as one which allows full individual liberty. It might conceivably be argued that there is no need for those who do not drink, to attend cocktail parties and dinners, particularly when the hosts are non-teetotal. But the two sections of society are not so sharply divided as people think. Of the persons who attended the farewell dinner I have mentioned in this article four were Indians, about seven were Europeans. They are today scattered all over the country, holding responsible positions and exercising a certain influence in the forming of public opinion. At another function, a dinner given by an Indian gentleman, the position was not very different. All my experience is of middle class entertaining. Some of them have "graduated in the school of commonsense and experience;" others after "matriculating" under the tutelage of those who graduated, are now still being educated. None of them were working class men whose need was "education, education and more education." They did at times take to drink because they had nothing else to do that they could think of; but they had only themselves to blame for this. The tangawallas of the town had many interesting episodes to relate of the vagaries of the younger members of the office.

Personally I might add that I derive no pleasure from the Government's acceptance of Prohibition; rather the reverse. It is no cause for rejoicing to be introduced at every feast as a death's head. Invariably a suspicious and positively unfriendly glint comes into the eyes of other guests, when I am introduced, as I always am now at cocktail parties, etc., as a "red-hot prohibitionist," After August 1st the position will be doubtless worse since, they fear, as one man elegantly put it to his wife, that I shall be "snooping round" to report delinquents. Some of these friends, I must admit, are at their best with one drink inside them and another before them. They will be ferocious under Prohibition.

DRINK AND THE BACKWARD CLASSES.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I am for many reasons a Prohibitionist; I would like to be able to support the Bombay Government's policy. With all its uncertainties, however it will be an immense good if honestly worked, and that it will be. Infringements will not be so common as the anti-prohibitionists think, partly because we are not built as a nation on the American scale, and partly because the population is an unarmed one and forced to settle its disputes, whether it likes it or not, non-violently.

In his article, "The Case against Prohibition," published last week, "Moderate Drinker" seems to hold as axiomatic that the working classes do not stand to gain under Prohibition. You have referred to the condition of mill-workers.

As for the value of Prohibition to the Depressed classes and the backward communities, in spite of "Moderate Drinker's" assertion that no social worker can honestly say that drink is a crying problem, the fact remains that the Bombay Committee on Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes did say this very thing. I quote the passage:

> Almost all the castes comprising the three groups or the Backward Classes, and forming more than one-fifth of the total population, form a great part of what are called the drinking classes.....A large part of their hard-earned money goes to the drink shop.....Large masses of these people, when asked in a body why they do not voluntarily abstain from drink, reply, "But why do you not get the Government to close the drink-shops?" They mean thereby that the temptation to drink is too great to be resisted by them every minute of their life.....A very large proportion of witnesses have expressed in writing and orally their great desire for total prohibition. Almost all the Depressed Class and Aboriginal Tribes witnesses have told us their view that Prohibition is the only solution to the many economic ills of their classes.

Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. P. G. Solanki were prominent members of this Committee over which Mr. O. H. B. State presided (1928).

Bombay,
June 19, 1939.

Yours etc.,

A. V.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HINDU LAW REFORM.*

(By Sir Sitaram S. Patkar.)

The Hindu joint family has now lost its cohesion, and by the process of partition or otherwise the individual is asserting his rights. The unit of society is now the individual and not the joint family. The Hindu joint family represented the socialistic principle that if the family wealth was augmented by the efforts of a single member of the joint family, all the members had equal shares. A person born in a joint family had an interest in the joint family by birth even if he subsequently did not contribute his labour or augment its wealth. Even the self-acquisitions earned by a member of a joint family who acquired special education at the expense of the joint family belonged to the joint family. This iniquitous doctrine resulted in a premium on indolence and discounted individual enterprise. The iniquity of this doctrine is now remedied by Act XXX of 1930, (The Hindu Gains of Learning Act 1930.) Though the joint family may be said to have rendered useful service in the past by providing benefit to the old and infirm members of the family, similar to the old age pensions, or by providing insurance against illness, making provision for marriage of boys and girls and for maintenance of widows in the family, the institution is found to have survived its usefulness and is fast disappearing.

In the present complex state of society many difficulties are experienced on account of the technical rules of Hindu Law relating to the system of joint Hindu family. The institution of joint Hindu family is responsible in some measure for the reluctance of banks to advance money for trade purposes to Hindus, lest the security of the joint family property on which the advances are made is found illusory by the application of technical rules of Hindu Law—e. g., (a) the inherent right in the joint family property by birth of a new member or members, (b) the binding nature of an alienation only for antecedent debts, (c) validity of an alienation on the ground of necessity or benefit of the joint family. If the joint family system is in process of disintegration, it would perhaps be more advantageous to Hindu Society to place its members on the same legal footing as members of other societies in the matter of competency to pledge the credit of the property standing in the name of the individual members for purposes of trade. This can only be effected by suitable legislation.

The other fundamental basis on which Hindu Law is based is the doctrine of "spiritual benefit." This is the result of the blending of law and religion in the Smritis which lay down Dharma, i. e., both spiritual and civil law. The belief in the efficacy of offering Pindas and performance of Shradha ceremonies is fast disappearing. Enlightened public opinion is not necessarily in favour of performance of Shradha ceremonies for the purpose of saving the souls of dead relatives. The general trend of enlightened thought gradually runs in the direction of relieving the distress of living human beings by means of education and medical relief.

Another basic principle enunciated by some of the smritis is the incapacity of women to hold and manage property. The level of general education among women has increased by leaps and bounds. Women have taken considerable part in political agitation in recent times. The women's organisations have taken a prominent part in shaping social legislation. Desai's Bill of Adoption had to be abandoned in the local legislature on account of the opposition led by women. Women have now got the franchise, by legislation. There are elected women members in the local and central legislatures. There is a parliamentary secretary in the Bombay cabinet. A lady is a member of the cabinet in the United Provinces. If women are now occupying positions of trust and responsibility, the texts of Manu and other smriti texts based on the assumption of women's incapacity of managing and holding property have lost all force and are inapplicable to the present environments of society.

It would, therefore, appear that the fundamental assumptions and ideologies have undergone complete change in the evolution of Hindu Society, and therefore the Smriti texts which are based on those theories and ideologies are of doubtful application to the present condition of society. The decisions of Courts of law which are based on those texts also require modification. This can only be achieved by legislation. I have dealt with a few of the fundamental theories and ideologies which have undergone change. So far as enlightened public opinion is concerned, there is a marked tendency to rely less on the authority of texts and to appeal to reason, and apply the principles of justice, truth and equality.

There is, however, a curious change in the ideologies of Hindu society at different times. Widow marriage was recognized by Hindu scriptures, and a son born of a marriage with a widow was considered a legitimate son. But it fell into desuetude and widow remarriage was banned from Hindu society. There was again resurgence of strong opinion in favour of widow remarriage which led to the enactment of the Widow Remarriage Act of 1856. Widow maariage was legalised and the issue of such a marriage was legitimized. Though public opinion again hardened at the end of the last century, there is now an absence of strong opposition to widow remarriage, at least there is acquiescence and tolerance, if not active support to the movement.

Another instance of a change in the ideologies of Hindu society is furnished by the ebb and tide of public opinion on the question of caste. In very early times the system of caste was not in existence. The Aryans who came to India according to Dr. Bhandarkar more than four thousand years before Christ, were divided into three grades, but formed one community, and the aborigines who succumbed to the Aryans belonged to the fourth grade, Dasas. In course of time the four main castes or Varnas were sub-divided and the castes in India now number about four thousand in the whole of India. In the Bhagvadgita the fourfold division of castes was created according to apportionment of "qualities and duties" or "energies and actions." Yajnyavalkya in his Smriti refers to inter-caste marriages and the ceremonies to be observed in marrying girls of the same or different classes or castes. So also Yajnyavalkya makes provision for the shares in the inheritance of sons born of inter-caste marriage. Yajnyavalkya has expressed an opinion in favour of the validity of Anuloma marriage, i. e., marriage of a higher caste with a woman of a lower caste, and also in favour of legitimacy of the issue of such a marriage and has laid down the shares of the sons from women of the four different castes or varnas in the ratio of 4, 3, 3 & 1. Yajnyavalkya has expressed an opinion against inter-marriage with a sudra woman and has no objection to inter-marriages between three regenerate castes.

Mitakshara while commenting on Yajnyavalkya's texts (Vyavahar Adhyaya verse 125

* The *Indian World*, May.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

refers to the text of Brahaspiti that the son of a sudra woman by a man of a twice-born class is not entitled to a share of land, as implying that he might get a share of moveables. Land obtained by donation is excepted. It was held by the Bombay High Court in Bai Gulab vs. Jivanlal I. L. R., 46 Bom. 871 that a marriage between a male of a higher varna with a woman of a lower varna being an Anuloma marriage is valid. The validity of Anuloma marriage being established, it would necessarily follow thai the issue of such marriages would be legitimate, and it was held in Natha vs. Mehta Chhotalal, I. L. R., 55 Bom. 1 that a son born of a marriage between a Brahmin male and a sudra woman is legitimate and is entitled to inherit one-tenth of the share of the inheritance of his father and uncle. These decisions have not yet stood the scrutiny of the Privy Douncil. The Privy Council recently in its decision in L. R. 63 I. A. 295 has held that marriage between persons belonging to sub-divisions of the same varna is valid and has settled the conflict of judicial opinion on the narrow point, and has not yet expressed any opinion on the validity of an Anuloma intercaste marriage.

Owing to the impact of Western civilisation on Hindu society and the consequent sway of the notions of equity, justice and good conscience on enlightened public opinion, there was a change in the ideologies of the Hindu society which resulted in the enactment of Special Marriage Act of 1872 rendering legal inter-racial and inter-caste marriages. The objectionable feature of abjuration of all religions in the Act of 1872 was removed in 1923 by the amendment of the Act known as Gour's Act which permitted persons belonging to Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh and Jain religions to make a declaration that the parties belonged to any one of the four religions. The opinion is now gaining ground that caste distinctions must be abolished if the higher ideal of Indian Nationhood is to be realised. The fissiparous tendencies to emphasise communal, parochial or provincial differences will gradually disappear owing to the strong and genuine surge of nationality. M. Senart in his essay on caste stated that the growth of strong political and national feelings succeeded in the west in removing artificial barriers, and the absence of such feelings in India was responsible for the continuity of social and artificial disabilities.

The existence of the untouchable classes in India is a great blot on Indian civilisation. Temple entry alone is not likely to solve the question. There must be a complete revolution in the ideologies which keep Hindu society within the limits of traditional and customary action. There must be elevation of the depressed classes by education, removal of social barriers, enforcement of elementary rights of citizenship involving access to all places of public resort and social amenities and, above all, by a complete change of mental outlook which recognises no social inequality. This can be secured by beneficient executive action and wise legislation by Government, in addition to strong public opinion.

The legal disabilities of women and depressed classes can be removed by legislation which is a potent instrument for the speedy disappearance of such disabilities. Some of the social evils can be removed by spread of education and rousing of public opinion. Change in legal status and removal of legal disabilities can be secured by Legislation or executive action of Government. Legislation however, can never be in advance of public opinion. The existence and operation of human institutions depend upon the opinion of the society in which such institutions flourish. Effort must be made to conserve what is beneficial in the present social system, to oppose innovations destructive of the social fabric and culture of Hindu society as reactionary tendencies, and to uphold the sovereignty of the moral law in private as well as public life. As observed by Justice Ranade, the change we should all seek is a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from authority to reason, from unorganised to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a sense of human dignity.

TEMPLE-ENTRY, UNTOUCHABILITY AND PROHIBITION.

(by R. V. V. TATACHARIAR, MADRAS)

These three words have gained potent significance in India of today. Prohibition has received a setback in America after an abortive attempt with one stroke of the legislative part of the State; but in India it bids fair to become a successful experiment. The vedic indulgence of the Soma juice and several kinds of flesh in Aryan sacrifices received a deadly shock at the hands of the Post-Buddhist Dravidian elements among the sages and their followers. Drinks of intoxicating nature were tabooed and constituted one of the fine major sins or Pancha-maha-pathakas. The killing of a Brahmin, the adultery with a Brahmin teacher's wife, and the theft of a Brahmin's gold were all slowly interpreted to cover the murder of a human being including one in the womb, the adultery with the wife of any man in general and the theft of any property of any person and the same have gone into the Statute Book of the Indian Penal Code in this enlarged or extended sense of three of the five major sins of old. The sin of drink was always dealt with less severely; in course of time became obsolete. It was now given to the Congress ministers and leaders to deal with this ancient sin in a modern spirit and make an offence of it in a variety of ways, no less heinous than the three penal offences aforesaid.

What became of the fifth among the five major sins of old? That is, intimate association and social intercourse for over a whole year with a person guilty of any of the four major sins referred to above, formed a major sin by itself and, was, upon the authorities, never condoned or tolerated. Such "associates" went on swelling the numbers of the out-castes in India who made friends with the aborigines of the soil, thus lowering their social status as well in the eye of the Aryans and Dravidians at once. No distinction came to be drawn between the aborigines and the outcastes and both were excluded from the temple and public places of religious sacrifices, whether in South or North India. One group of sages led by Apastamba, Bodhayava and others were inclined to save the children from their parents' apostacy after their nursing period was over, while another and more successful group declined to make any such exception in the infants' favour. Congress under the mighty lead of the Mahatmaji has made a formidable crusade against the latter popular group of ancient sages and restored the former obsolete group to power and influence in India of the 20th century. Mahatma Gandhiji's reasons and considerations may be few or many; but they are all-comprehensive and indivisible in result or composition. They might be simply political as enemies of Hindu solidarity allege, or purely religious and charitable as their opponents defend, or consistent with his ardent desire to weed out all causes of reproach and abuse of his native land at the hand-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of foreign calumnators of the Miss Mayo school and raise the dignity and self-respect and status and name of India as a whole among the world-comity of nations abroad. But India, has chosen to go the path of social progress of peace, order and non-violence in its own way and quite according to its own inherited genius.

NATIONAL DRESS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir.

When, glancing over the index of your issue of the 17th instant, I discovered that Mr. Ganguli had contributed an article on 'National Dress', I thought there would be something worth reading, something thought provoking. I must confess, however, that I was very much disappointed on reading his contribution. I had hoped that Mr. Ganguli would discuss various types of dress found in our country and try to suggest a 'national dress', a 'sartorial symbol of nationality' as you put it in your note. Instead, almost the whole article has been a tirade on what he believes to be a slavish imitation of European life, manners, and thought. Instead of a reasoned argument in favour of a particular type of clothing as eminently suited to be our dress as a *nation*, he presents us with a garland of sentimentality, some of whose flowers have ugly thorns. Of dress as such he speaks only at the end of his emotional outburst against Europeanism. And then that has he to say in the matter of a national dress? India is a country of varied climate and the different component parts of our country, the provinces, have devised dresses suitable to them. It is, therefore, unnecessary to have any uniformity. These various types are to be our national dress: Provincialism is to be perpetuated with a vengence and we are to continue to be Punjabis, Bengalis, Sindhis and so on, at least so far as dress is concerned. Surely you cannot call this *khichdi* of dresses 'national'! If there is to be a national costume, it has to be Indian, not Punjabi or Bengali or Sindhi or Gujarati or Marathi. It has to be, like the national language, a thing common to all. The variety of the Indian climate is no difficulty, for clothing can be made of cool stuff as well as from warm stuff. What matters is the style, the type. In asking us to consider the various provincial modes of dress as national Mr. Ganguli has asked us to believe that circles are squares! No, sir, we need a dress that will single us out, in a congregation of varied nationalities, as Indians. I submit that, if we are prepared to think nationally instead of provincially, it is possible to evolve out of the variety we are familiar with a national costume at once suitable, serviceable and above all dignified. In a way trousers and what is popularly called the 'half-coat' have been becoming so common as to be almost national. The sun-hat too is to an ever-increasing degree being adopted as head-gear. The European costume is so decent and convenient in many ways that it is fast becoming even international, The Japanese, the Turks, the Chinese, the Burmans, the Africans have been using it: if its use is an indication of slavish mentality, as Mr. Ganguli would have us believe, it is an outlook on dress which is almost universal.

What I advocated, or rather suggested, in my letter which you were pleased to publish in your issue of 25th March 1939, was a costume which is a combination of articles of wear already in use, viz: Chudidar payjamas, stand-up collar coat (preferably short) and sun hat. A few nationally minded doctors in Bombay have made a beginning and it seems to me that if the Congress shows the good sense of giving up its obstinate insistence on half-nude simplicity and Khaddar it will be possible to evolve a common costume.

Yours etc.,
VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

Khar, 18th June 1939.

ANTI-SEMITISM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I feel sure you would not wish to cling to a belief that Christian children are brought up in a hatred of the Jews, in the face of a unanimous repudiation of such a hatred on the part of Christians. Therefore, I am emboldened to address you, to say that in my childhood in the North of England the story of the crucifixion produced not one atom of hatred for "the Jews". It would never have occurred to us to "hate" a man for what some of his extremely remote ancestors did! Nor did the Bible narrative make us even "hate" the contemporaries of Jesus. We were taught to "love all men" and that, according to Christ, "Salvation is of the Jews." He Himself was a Jew—and how could we "hate" His people? Hatred is not a Christian trait. Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe is a product of usury.

Tokio,
2nd May, 1939.

Yours etc.,
T. BATY.

On a subject like this, obviously the Jews are the best fitted to express an opinion. Mr. Louis Golding writes in "The Jewish Problem:"

Anti-Semitism did not come into being because some Jews, or even because all Jews, were dislikeable. Its original grounds were religious—not personal, not social, not economic, not political. It was postulated that the people who denied Christ must not be admitted to the free life of their neighbours. From time to time bloody attempts were made to avenge the Passion on helpless groups whose ancestors in a remote age and land were said to have been responsible for it. At present, that line of attack has been completely abandoned—officially, at least; and so little is the "Jewish Problem" conceived on a religious basis that now in Germany even persons whose parents or grandparents or great-grandparents were converted to Christianity, and who are themselves devoted sons of the Church, are submitted to a persecution as ferocious as that directed against their remote kinsmen who profess Judaism.

But throughout the history of anti-Semitism the line of attack has changed perpetually. When religion came to count for less in the life of the Western world, it was brought up against the Jews that they confined themselves to trade and commerce and shewed no aptitude for the professions from which they had been rigorously excluded for centuries. This was one of the principal criticisms brought forward rather more than a century ago, when it was first proposed to confer the rights of citizenship upon Jews. A deliberate, and successful, attempt was made by leaders of the Jewish communities to divert their young people from commerce to the professions, with a result which is well known. It later became one of the main charges against the Jews in certain countries that they occupied a place in the professions utterly disproportionate to their number.....In the early years of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this century, when Russia was massacring the Jews in the name of Holy Church, German anti-Semites were virulently protesting against the position they had attained in the professions; Drumont, the father of French anti-Semitism, was inveighing against their importance in the world of finance; and in England (where the world of finance was properly respected) certain labour leaders were accusing them of sweated labour and overcrowding in the East End.

The history of the growth of anti-Semitism will be treated below. But a word must be said here regarding the history of its growth in the individual. The Jews are the only group (and the only group, above all, with which the ordinary person is likely to come into contact) who are singled out adversely, for censure and for obloquy, in the education and training of the ordinary child. Careful teachers may qualify it, but all too often it is taught in school, it is repeated in conversation, it is proclaimed from the pulpit, it is reiterated in readings from the Gospel, it is echoed in literature, that Jesus Christ was killed by "the Jews," that is "the Jews" were responsible for the greatest crime in history.

No palliation or explanation is admitted. It is not pointed out that, at the time of the Passion of Jesus, the Jews were under Roman rule and could not pronounce a death sentence. It is not pointed out that the main incident on which this collective accusation rests—the mob surging round Pilate and crying "His blood be on us and on our children!" is regarded as legendary by Christian scholars; nor that at the time of the Passion of Jesus the Jewish party in authority was a Romanized group of aristocrats, false to every Jewish tradition and playing only for their own safety. It is not pointed out that the historical gospels exclude from all participation in the arrest, trial and crucifixion, the the religious leaders of the people, the creators of modern Judaism—the Pharisees; it is not pointed out that, in any event, only a minute portion of Jewish people, a long time ago, can have been involved.

No. Elementary education admits of no half-colours and the child is brought up to believe that "The Jews killed our Lord." Later on, he may have to read Chaucer's "Prioress's Tale," and Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice," not to mention countless incidental allusions scattered throughout English literature, and rarely counteracted by any work of popular appeal which presents a more favourable picture.

Thus the child grows up with a prejudice early implanted in his mind. The Jewish school children with whom he mixes can bear witness to its strength and virulence, and to the fact that the query; "Who killed Christ?" is not intended academically. Later on, his attitude may alter. He may no longer believe all that he was told at school. He may not even adhere to the fundamental tenets of Christianity. But the prejudice is too deeply implanted to fade away. Instead, it is metamorphosed into something else. Crimes more pertinent to the contemporary scene are attributed to the Jews of modern world, according to individual taste—that they are too nationalist or that they are international, that they are communists or that they are capitalists, that they suffer from an incurable incivism or that they are represented in excessive numbers in public life.

There alas, the prejudice is, first in the mind of the child, then in the mind of the man, sometimes a rationalized prejudice, sometimes a prejudice that repudiates all rationalization.

* * *

From the beginning the relations between the daughter religion and its venerable parent were far from friendly, and both sides displayed a lamentable bitterness. The Jews considered the Christians to be nothing less than apostates.

The Christians envied and resented the privileges which the Jews had received from the State ..... To the ancient world there was not much to choose between Christianity and Judaism.

The confusion did not matter greatly at the beginning. But later on, when proselytizing Christianity began to make headway, it became more and more anxious for doctrinal as well as for tactical reasons to emphasize the difference.

In fact to ensure that the Christian triumph should be really complete, it was necessary to make the line of demarcation from Judaism as deep, as clear, as unsurmountable as possible, and as a natural corollary it was desirable to emphasise the moral contemptibility of those who remained on the Jewish side of it.

This was not difficult in view of the complex events by which Christianity became a Gentile religion within a century. Gentiles easily believed that Jesus Christ had been crucified by "the Jews", They did not know Jewish tradition or realize how completely Jewish all Christ's teaching was. They forgot that all his early followers were Jews, and associated with "the Jews" only responsibility for crime of the Crucifixion. It was an easy step to transfer responsibility from eye-witnesses and contemporaries to all Jews throughout the world; at all times, in all places, in all generations.

As Christianity grew more powerful this attitude became more deeply embedded and more widely spread. In the end, it became the official policy of most of Europe. It was not racial prejudice in the old sense—the dislike of the stranger which is overcome after a period of neighbourly intercourse. It was not religious zeal of the ordinary sort, in which Jews, tolerant though their tradition generally is, have doubtless sinned as their neighbours have. It was a religious hatred, heightened by jealousy and justified by the reiterated allegation that "the Jews" killed Jesus Christ. It was a basis of Christian teaching, it was read into the Gospels. It was reaffirmed in the Pulpit. It formed the subject of primitive dramatic representations. It roused the population to a pitch of fanaticism each Easter-tide, on the anniversary of the Great Crime. And, whenever familiarity had bred affection, whenever secular rulers found useful administrators among their Jewish subjects, whenever, some enthusiast expressed the view that Judaism was superior to the faith in which he had been born, or the common fold displayed too great familarity with Jews—on all such occasions every pulpit resounded once again, more vehemently than ever, to the old fulminations, and every hearer was stirred to such a pitch of excitement that he, too, longed to avenge the crucifixion.

For fifteen centuries this propaganda went on at full force, without a break. With the growth of liberal ideas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there was some intermission. Nevertheless, its basis was unaffected. Every child, almost as soon as he could lisp, was taught that Jesus Christ, his Saviour, was killed by "the Jews". Men who had never seen a Jew were filled from babyhood with resentment which only sought the opportunity for expression. The Jewish Problem existed for them before they rightly knew what a Jew was. Here, in the nursery, was the nursery of anti-Semitism.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

JEWISH REFUGEES IN INDIA.

India has extended her hospitality to nearly 600 Jewish refugees, who were compelled to leave their homes in Germany after the advent of Nazi rule. The influx began about two years ago; but the majority of the exiles have arrived and settled in India in recent months.

Many refugees have found employment as technicians in textile and oil mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad. A well-known Bombay textile mill has taken up six young men as apprentices for training as spining and weaving masters. An industrialist in Ludhiana has started small home industries like carpentry and weaving to provide work for a limited number of Jews. Some men are employed in the vegetable ghee industry.

A scheme to settle a large number of Jews as farmers in an Indian State was under consideration for some time, but it has as yet taken no tangible shape.

Women refugees have taken up careers as children's nurses and governesses to girls, and a few accomplished in music have obtained radio programmes to sing over the air from the Bombay station of All India Radio.

The refugees include many girls, about a dozen of whom are being given free education in girls' schools in Khandala and Panchgani.

Many of the refugees find the weather conditions in their country of exile rather trying, but sickness among them is not common. They are confident of adapting themselves to conditions in this country and are willing to work hard. In their new surroundings and in the circumstances in which they are placed, they have necessarily to adopt a new standard of life. They have had to give up a good many comforts to which they were accustomed in their home country, but they are facing their new life with a cheerful spirit.

In the refugee home started at Byculla, Bombay, by the Jewish Relief Committee there are 45 inmates awaiting employment. The cost of maintaining the home, including the rent of the building, is only about Rs. 30 per head per month, which is regarded as a reasonably cheap standard of living. A similar refugee home has been started in Calcutta.

Refugees are not allowed to land in India indiscriminately. No foreign Jew is granted a visa to land, unless he has sufficient means to maintain himself, or has obtained an appointment in India, or is able to find a guarantor offering to maintain him in India for life. The restrictions are rigidly observed. Recently, the Government of India recognised the Jewish Relief Committee of Bombay as the authorised body to arrange for guarantees for the refugees. Relief committees have also been established in other ports in India. These bodies have to satisfy the authorities that the refugees desiring to land in India will not be a burden on the State.

A good many of the refugees have had friends or relations in India to offer guarantees. But in a large number of cases, the relief Committee has to offer the guarantee, maintain them in its Home, and generally help them to obtain employment by negotiating with likely employers.

An official of the Relief Committee discussing the employment problem of the refugees said that the Committee had been fairly successful in handing suitable jobs for them. The terms were not as good as one would wish for, but considering the present state of the employment market they had no reason to be dissatisfied. As long as the refugees were offered a living wage, they were encouraged to accept it.

The Jewish Relief Committee of Bombay has a membership of 80 and is maintained on voluntary subscriptions.

The Times of India.

I am told — writes "Onlooker" in the *Cochin Argus*—that the prospects held out for Jewish settlement in India are by no means discouraging. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has been generous enough to draw up a scheme for the settlement of 12,000 Jewish families in his State and Cochin too has extended an invitation to Jewish refugees to colonise in the State. Cochin, it will be remembered, is one of the earliest Jewish settlements in India. The Maharajas of Cochin have from time immemorial established their reputation for their tolerance and hospitality and the very fact that the white Jews' synagogue in Mattancheri is situated contiguous to the residential Palace of the Rajas of old, is proof positive of the extremely cordial relationship that had subsisted even in those early days between the Ruling House and the early Jewish settlers. There are still Jewish families in Cochin who enjoy tax-free lands in recognition of the services rendered by their forefathers to the king and country against foreign aggression. Speaking lately in Bombay, Mr. Edmund De Rothschild, evidently remembering his visit to Cochin and his interview with your Dewan and the Minister, complimented Cochin Jews on their being the best organised in India, in spite of their being perhaps the smallest in number.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

From now until next October, the Preparatory Commission for the Conference on Rural Life will be issuing a series of documents designed to form a basis of discussion. A very useful one has just been issued: "The General Survey of Medico-Social Policy in Rural Areas." This document, which has been prepared under the auspices of the Health Committee of the League, describes the part which medico-social policy should play in a rational plan for the improvement of health and well-being in country districts. The problem of organising curative medicine and the task of encouraging preventive measures, both with regard to individuals and to the services forming the responsibility of the public authorities, are dealt with at some length. The chapter on preventive medicine describes a model organisation of central and district administration; it deals with the important problem of maternity and child welfare (agricultural countries, it is stated, generally have a higher infant mortality) and with the prevention of diseases which offer special problems to the country doctor.

The basis of modern public health work—not merely the prevention of disease, but also the improvement of the standard of physical and mental fitness—is dealt with in the chapters on nutrition, physical training and planning of rural dwellings and sanitation. The essays on the education of rural populations in health matters and the training of doctors and auxiliary personnel in preventive and social action show how health and well-being rest finally upon public education.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
108 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Koshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
- BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
- BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
- CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
- ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
- MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
- KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
- AHMEDABAD.
- AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
- CALCUTTA.
- CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
- CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
- JAMSHEDPUR.
- NAGPUR CITY.
- NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
- POONA.
- POONA CITY.
- RAJKOT.
- SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.



Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin, Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more delicate perfumes in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE P ODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:—{K. NATARAJAN / S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 17, 1939. No. 42

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Dictators and the Vatican.
Japan and Britain.
"Moderate Drinking."
Economics of Prohibition.
Women and Politics.
Federated Agent at Nagpur.
Dr. Gangulee on Dress.
The "Dnyanodaya" Retreats.
Social Reforms and Hinduism.
The "Examiner's" Lapse.
The Study of Indian History.
Princes and Federation.
Royal Visit to the United States.
Chinese Industrial Co-operatives.
National Costume.
The Case Against Prohibition.
New History Text-Books.
The Pandharpur Orphanage and Foundling Asylum.
Well-Being of the People.
The Jewish Question.
General Franco at Madrid Ceremony.

NOTES.

Dictators and the Vatican:—The intervention of the Pope with an invitation to the Democracies and Dictatorships of Europe to confer together and come to an arrangement about their differences, has a deeper significance than is apparent on the surface. The present Pope, unlike his predecessor, is a keen politician and his election was noted as a departure from the longstanding usage of not electing to the headship of the Roman Church one who has held the office of principal Secretary of State in the Vatican. The significance of the Papal invitation or exhortation, becomes apparent in the light of the signs of increasing rapprochement between the Dictatorships and the Vatican. Here are some of these. At the new Pope's inaugural festivities, it was noted that important Italian Army officers attended in full uniform and received the Papal benediction. The latest issue of "News from Germany" issued from Starnberg in Bavaria, is a special number devoted to the elucidation of the attitude of the State to the Church in Germany in the Nazi regime. It consists of numerous quotations from Herr Hitler downwards protesting that there is no antagonism between the two and that, on the contrary, the Church is receiving more material support from the State in Germany than in democratic countries. But the most significant of all is the solemn medieval ceremony which was enacted in the principal Spanish Cathedral, the head of the Catholic Church in Spain officiating, to celebrate the triumph of General Franco. We reprint elsewhere an account reproduced in the *Universe*, a leading Catholic organ. Herr Hitler said in his address to the Reichstag last January that his attempt to unite the "hopelessly disrupted Protestant regional Churches in Germany into one large and powerful Evangelical Reich Church" failed owing to the opposition of the regional bishops. He had, therefore, not made further efforts in that direction. "After all" the Fuehrer went on to say, "it is not our task to defend the Protestant Church or even to strengthen it by forcible means in face of the opposition of its own supporters." In other words, the Protestant Churches have shown themselves less accommodating than the Vatican. An alliance between the Vatican and the Dictator Powers will be greatly to their mutual advantage.

Japan and Britain:—China is the only country which still believes in the League of Nations and this is because she has the good fortune to have in Dr. Wellington Koo a very popular and enthusiastic permanent representative at Geneva. From the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese hostilities, Dr. Koo has never ceased pleading for intervention to protect China, undeterred by the fact that the League members as persistently turned a deaf ear to his pleadings. At the meeting of the League Council last month Dr. Koo recalled his earlier appeals and proposed a set of "practical measures" to be adopted to help China in her struggle. The last of these was the setting up of a committee of Powers interested in the Far East to co-ordinate the measures. The Powers in the League most interested in the Far East are Russia, Britain and France. Lord Halifax, speaking for Britain, expressed the greatest sympathy with China but bluntly refused to participate in any of the measures suggested by Dr. Koo. In view of the responsibilities of the United Kingdom in other parts of the world, the British Foreign Minister said, his Government could not accept supplementary obligations. He thought that other States members would be in a similar position. M. Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister, followed in the same strain. Circumstances, he said, were not favourable to the adoption of new measures, especially the formation of co-ordinating committees. The Russian representative, M. Maisky, who presided, strongly supported Dr. Koo's proposals and pointed out that the British Prime Minister had accepted the principle of assistance to the victims of aggression who resisted attacks on their independence. The significance of this talk at Geneva was not lost upon Japan. She has declared a blockade of Tientsin this week and has refused the British offer to refer the dispute about four Chinese terrorists to a joint tribunal.

"Moderate Drinking":—We publish this week an article by "Moderate Drinker" on "The Case

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

against Prohibition." In brief the writer objects to Prohibition on five grounds: that it is an unwarranted interference with the individual's right to eat or drink what he likes; that the attitude of the mass of Indians is not different towards liquor from that of other peoples who have tried and given up Prohibition; that liquor is a great restorative to tired workers; that smuggling isal ready prevalent and illicit distillation not unknown and under Prohibition a premium will be placed on lawlessness; and that the loss of revenue consequent on the introduction of Prohibition will hold back important social and educational reforms. In urging the individual's right, the writer has to fall back on medical opinion to show that, while the consumption of opium and other drugs is injurious to men and should be banned, the drinking of alcoholic stimulants is a good thing. The Labour Commission Report in discussing the industrial worker, commented strongly on the havoc wrought on all industrial workers by the wide prevalence of the drink habit. It suggested indirect methods of tackling the evil. We cannot blame the Bombay Government for its more courageous and direct handling of the question. We are not unfamiliar with the old brewers' argument in the U. S. A. that a glass of beer had more food value than a glass of milk, but no one suggested that the doctors supported that view. The argument that liquor is good because it exists, is even more true of drugs. Even as medicine the efficacy of liquor is in the *main dependent on the infrequency of its use.* As for the attitude of Indians towards liquor, the absence of excessive drinking in communities in India, contrasted with the extent of the evil in communities settled overseas, is a fact that is not sufficiently appreciated. The absence of social restraints in the colonies has brought about problems that are a real danger to the well-being of whole communities. We published recently an article from Malaya which showed how the overseas Indian looked on the Prohibition policies of Indian governments.

Economics of Prohibition:—The problem of the reformer is not how to bring about wholesale acceptance of new habits, not change for the sake of change; it is his task to conserve beneficent traditions and to guard his people from harmful innovations, no less than to evolve his society to a higher stage of progress. The instinct against drink which is ingrained in Muslims and Hindus, is unquestionably a sound one. The masses might have been left to the influence of time but for the example of Europeans whose social habits run counter to this tradition. Even at its worst, smuggling and lawlessness under Prohibition can lead only to "clandestine drinking." And "clandestine drinking" can never exist, by the very nature of it, on the scale on which drinking is prevalent under a non-Prohibition regime. The stigma of outlawry will be placed on drink and for the vast majority this will in itself put drinking out of court. We do not for a moment suggest that the introduction of Prohibition means the abolition of the liquor evil. The legislating of Prohibition is an important step in this direction in two obvious ways: It places more money at the individual worker's command for beneficial recreations; and it removes from the employer the great temptation of dulling the finer feelings of his men and distracting their minds from the conditions in which they work. After all, the economic argument is no more than this, that the prosperity of the State depends to a large degree on the impoverishment of its people. This is a proposition which even the most cynical politician cannot accept. "Moderate Drinker," we are afraid, has allowed his prejudice against Prohibition to colour his reading of the situation in Salem and in Ahmedabad. An anti-Prohibitionist, naturally enough, tends to treasure up every piece of club gossip he hears and to nurse it to colossal dimensions as a sign of things to come. By the time the story passes round to the third man, Prohibition experiments have completely collapsed and only a sinister Government persists in them. On the personal history of "Moderate Drinker," we can only offer him our sincere congratulations on his great good fortune in escaping lightly from his temptations. It might, as it has in many cases, have so easily turned out otherwise.

Women and Politics:—The Report of the thirteenth session of the All India Women's Conference held at Delhi in the closing days of last year, has come out punctually. It is well got up and conveys a good idea of the varied activities in which members of the Conference are engaged. The President, Rani Rajwade, in her opening address recommended the extension of the scope of the Conference to the political field. She did not want the Conference to identify itself with any political party, only to interest itself in 'constructive politics'. "I would personally define constructive political activity," said Rani Rajwade, "as consisting of the following: For instance, a clear declaration of our unity with many of the political parties in India regarding the accepted goal of independence for India should be made forthwith." What does Rani Rajwade expect to be the advantage to the women's movement of declaring that independence is their goal? At present, the Women's Conference consists of women of all communities, ranks and classes, Maharanis, Ranis, wives of high officials, women themselves holding official positions, social workers, European and Indian. The adoption of a political goal would introduce a factor of disintegration. Politically-minded women,—the great majority of women as well as men are not politically minded—can join the Congress, the Muslim League or the Communist or the Socialist or the Royist or the Forward Groups and work alongside of men for the ends they have in view. As women, so far as we

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939

can see, there is nothing special which women and they alone can achieve in the political field. The Women's Conference would best serve the community by concentrating on matters specifically relating to women and children, of which men have only a superficial knowledge. By spreading themselves out in all directions, the promoters of the Women's Conference would dissipate their energies—such energies as they can spare from their household or professional work,—without any tangible result. What we in India, men and Women alike lack, is concentration. We want to do this, that and everything.

Hyderabad Agent at Nagpur :—The choice of Sir T. Venkatasubba Rao as representative of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government at Nagpur to watch over the interests of Berar in the Central Provinces Administration, is an admirable one in more than one respect. Sir Venkatasubba Rao was very highly respected for his independence and impartiality as well as his legal acumen at the Madras High Court in which he acted as Chief Justice before his retirement. He and Lady Venkatasubba Rao are keenly interested in social work especially for women. They have been conducting the Madras Seva Sadan for several years past. In Nagpur and Hyderabad they will find a wide field for the extension of their activities. A point which would not need mentioning but for the communal atmosphere with which the Hyderabad atmosphere is charged, is that the choice of a Hindu to be his first representative in this important function, is pleasing testimony to the broad-mindedness of His Exalted Highness and his Government.

Mr. Gangulee on Dress :—Mr. J. M. Gangulee in his article on National Dress presses for the discarding of Western clothes rather than for the adoption of Indian dress. This seems to us to be rather late in the day. In the provinces there are few ministers who wear European clothes, only one minister in Bombay itself What is more, most of them have by now got over the early self-consciousness which possessed them when at the call of urgent patriotism they first left off wearing their accustomed Western clothes. Even Dr. Gilder has "indianised" his Western suit by crowning it with a Gandhi cap. We think, however, that politics of the dress is out of place where there is more serious work at hand. The Japanese whom no one can accuse of deficiency in national spirit, do not hesitate to adopt Western dress. Too much insistence on clothes might not inconceivably lead to the politicians evolving a national dress as they have a national language. And we are sure Mr. Gangulee will be repelled by anything that political ingenuity can devise as a sartorial symbol of national unity.

The "Dnyanodaya" Retreats :—In a recent issue of the *Dnyanodaya*, reference was made to the persecution of Christians in the twentieth century similar to the religious persecution of Indians by the Portuguese through the Inquisition at Bassein. In replying to our friendly protest againt this exaggeration, the *Dnyanodaya* two weeks back (we reprinted the note last week) watered down its remark to mean not similar methods but similarly shocking acts of persecution. It referred specifically to Hyderabad and, after saying that it had evidence in its possession of amazing persecution, advised the *Reformer* to send a representative down to the State to see things for himself. Naturally we asked Mr. Edwards to publish his facts exactly as he had received them. Even before we start investigating we must surely know where to investigate. The *Dnyanodaya* in its current issue gives this peculiar reply :

> Not all the arguments and "invitations" of our friend the *Reformer* will induce us to offer one iota of proof for a statement which we have not only never made, but which we should regard as incorrect if anyone else made it. As far as we are concerned the subject is closed.

What is the statement the *Dnynanodaya* never made ? What, more important, is the subject which the *Dnyanodaya* regards as closed ? So far as Hyderabad is concerned, Mr. Edwards must either substantiate his statement or unconditionally withdraw it. Mr. Edwards himself has not verified the statements of his Hyderabad friends as he says that they came to him as he was reading *The Reformer* comment. It is not improbable that they are coloured by the recent unfortunate communal happenings in that State. Now, however, that Mr. Edwards has started the game, he should see it through, in fairness to Hyderabad State and Hyderabad Christians.

Social Reforms and Hinduism:—"We are frank enough to say," writes the *Indian Witness* of Lucknow, "that at times we have felt that the *Reformer* has been more concerned with the defence of Hinduism than with social reforms." We do not see why the *Witness* makes so much of its frankness which we should have thought required no special courage on its part. The *Witness* misses the whole basis of religious and social reform if it seriously thinks that it is aimed at destroying the religion it seeks to purify. If we have not followed the *Witness's* lead in our advocacy of Indian social reform, it is because we are confident that reform and not disruption is needed. The Communist might as well reproach the Christian for "defending Christianity" instead of "improving" it. Apparently the *Witness* expects Indian reformers to work as inside men on its behalf. This is the outcome of a naive optimism and it is not surprising that the *Witness* feels cheated every time its hopes fail.

The "Examiner's" Lapse :—The *Examiner's* criticism of our comments on Archbishop Roberts' attack on Prohibition, is, as might be expected, wide of the mark. But our Catholic contemporary's lapse in assuming that we referred to Jesus Christ when we wrote of "a Galilean fisherman," is inexcusable. Jesus, as everybody knows, was the son of a carpenter. By Galilean fisherman we referred, of course, to St. Peter who became the first Bishop of Rome.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 17, 1939.

THE STUDY OF INDIAN HISTORY.

Somewhere about the middle of the last century the influence of the theory of evolution made itself felt in the study of History. The condition of the people, it was realised, was more important as the subject matter of history than the names of kings and the dates of battles. The charge against Indians that they were lacking in the historical sense, was framed by the upholders of the "drum and trumpet" school. From the evolutionary point of view, no country can show a more continuous record, and one extending over a longer stretch of time, than India. J. R. Green with his "History of the English People" pioneered the new movement in England. His method made a strong appeal to Indian scholars. Ranade in his addresses to the National Social Conference and in his fragmentary History of the Marathas, K. T. Telang and Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, were the most distinguished exponents of the new method on the Bombay side. Sir Akbar Hydari in his occasional addresses and writings has avowed his appreciation of the Ranade school and applied its principles to some educational and social questions. As Prime Minister of the largest Indian State, he has now the opportunity, vouchsafed to none of his fore-runners, to give practical effect to the doctrines of this school.

A recent Hyderabad Press Communique, which is printed elsewhere, outlines a plan for providing text-books on Indian history for use in schools written from the evolutionary point of view. This point of view is embodied in a "triple principle" to guide the work of the Committee appointed to carry out the project. This is "the elimination of communal bias so as to conduce to the development of a spirit of tolerance among students; greater emphasis on the cultural and social aspects of historical events; and simplification of language." We do not know what text-books are at present in use in schools in Hyderabad. In British India they are prescribed or recommended by the Educational Department and are generally based on the works of Anglo-Indian authorities. Many of the authors were British officials who had either themselves taken part in the events they described or were engaged in carrying out policies issuing from those events. With all their desire to present a true picture of things as they saw them, they could not altogether surmount the difficulty caused by their seeing them only from the point of view of a foreign Power obliged not only to derive but to justify its authority by looking at the indigenous powers which it superseded, from the least favourable angle in which they could be seen. There were honourable exceptions.

The most distinguished of the builders of the British Indian Empire recognised the excellence of the institutions which they found prevailing in this country and, in the words of Elphinstone, set themselves not to change the laws but to administer them better than the native governments. But there were inherent difficulties in the way of their regarding Indian history as a continuous process. To outsiders, occasional breaches in the sky-line were more prominent to their vision than the essential inner continuity of the vast range of India's history. Typical of this is the division of Indian history by Anglo-Indian historians into the Hindu, the Mahomedan and the British periods. English History is not likewise divided into the Druidical, the Pagan, the Catholic and the Protestant periods. European History is generally studied in time periods, ancient, medieval, modern. There is in fact less excuse for dividing up Indian history on a religious basis, as the social and economic life of the people remained practically unaffected by political movements. This is due to the fact that the Indian view of sovereignty, Hindu, Buddhist and Mahomedan, did not include the power of social legislation. The people were left largely to regulate their own lives by the caste and village autonomies which had been prevalent from time immemorial. The religion professed by the ruler may be Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism or Mahomedanism (Sunni or Shia), but he almost invariably recognised it as his duty to protect every religion professed by any group of his subjects, even if it was only Animism. The underlying idea was that men are best left to evolve their own social and religious beliefs according to their needs and aptitudes, and the State's function is to protect the community in the free exercise of its social and economic autonomy. The study of the evolutionary process in Indian history is of entrancing interest just because it is almost entirely inspired by the natural reaction of men to changes in their environment.

The task of writing text-books of history on evolutionary lines so as to make them interesting to school children, is a difficult one. The great majority of school children find their main interest in history in stories like that of Clive and Omichand, the Black Hole, Nandkumar's hanging, and the shooting of the Mughal Princes by Hodson at the Dewan-i Am, and such other incidents. Text books without the human interest will repel young students. And there is no reason why the human interest should not be retained while observing the evolutionary character of teaching. Clive's dealing with Omichand may be explained, like the Hussain-MacMahon correspondence and the Balfour Declaration, as being prompted by the pressure of great political exigencies. The Black Hole may be retained in school-books with the annotation that it is the invention of one of the incarcerated men without any historical

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

basis. Holwell's gossip is a historical fact though the Black Hole was not, and must be recorded. The right method is not to gloss over the misdeeds of the past but to instil in the young mind, that in judging of the conduct of historical figures, the rule to bear in mind is that they should be judged by the standards of their own times. The primary function of history is to report the truth and it is one which cannot be subordinated to any other. What Acton said of Modern History holds for the whole of Indian History, the outstanding characteristic of which is its wonderful continuity. He wrote:

> Modern history touches us so nearly, it is so deeply a question of life and death, that we are bound to find our own way through it, and to owe our insight to ourselves. The historians of former ages, unapproachable for us in knowledge and in talent, can not be our limit. We have the power to be more rigidly impersonal, disinterested and just than they; and to learn from undisguised and genuine records to look with remorse upon the past, and to the future with assured hope of better things; bearing in mind, that, if we lower our standard in history, we cannot uphold it in Church and State.

PRINCES AND FEDERATION.

It was anncunced on Tuesday that the Princes who met in Bombay last week-end to consider the draft Instrument of Accession, have rejected its terms as unacceptable. As British Indian opinion also has declared itself in the same sense, the only thing to do now is to scrap the scheme and proceed to deal with the question of devising a strong central Government for British India on a popular basis. The decision of the Princes is, probably, due less to the reasons by which it is supported than to the alarm created by the incursions of the Congress High Command into States' affairs during the last two years. Gandhiji's avowal that the policy of direct intervention was a mistake and that the States people should plough their own furrow, has somewhat eased the mind of the rulers. But the possibility of Gandhiji changing his mind or his followers defying his instructions, continues to disturb the minds of the rulers. They do not want again to be exposed to the anxieties of the past two years. They want more safeguards to assure them against this contingency. They will join the Federation if they are assured that they will retain all their existing rights and immunities and are allowed in addition to influence directly and indirectly the political future of British India. The objection of British India, or one of its objections, to the Federation scheme is that it puts the States in a position of unfair advantage at the centre having regard to their interests and the different stages of political development which are to be found among them. A powerful reinforcement to the British Indian objection is furnished in the paper read not long ago by Mr. Lionel Curtis before the Institute of International Affairs in London. Speaking from his experience in South Africa and from his study of other Federal constitutions, Mr. Curtis concluded: "The Federal Government must derive its authority, not from the States, but direct from the people themselves who compose the States, and must also be able to enforce obedience to that authority on persons who disobeyed it." This was the conclusionreached by the American statesmen who drew up the present constitution after the breakdown of the Confederation of thirteen sovereign States which constituted the original Union, due to the difficulty of getting the constituent States to carry out their obligations. "A confederacy," to use the words of Mr. Curtis, "could in fact operate only by virtue of continuous civil wars."

The Indian Federal Constitution is a Federation as regards the Provinces and a Confederacy as regards the States. The Provinces can be got to carry out their obligations to the Federal Government. There is machinery provided for that purpose. But there is no machinery to compel the State to do the same except the uncertain and inscrutable authority of the Paramount Power. Mr. M. K. Varadarajan writes in his "Indian States and Federation":

> If a ruler disregards his constitutional duties, the Federation stands helpless within the limits of the constitution, there are really no sanctions at all for enforcing such obligations. The Governor-General will have to appeal to the Crown Representative (the same person in another office) in case of such recalcitrancy to use his good offices and 'advise' the ruler to fulfil his obligations. Paramountcy is thus made the federal sanction and on its exercise depends the smooth working of the Federation.

The Crown Representative, it may be urged, is preferable to a civil war. In Rajkot the Crown Representative came to the rescue of Gandhiji and he will, no doubt, do the same in future disputes between the Federation and any of the States. But all such interventions carry with them certain moral and intangible, if not legal and overt, obligations. Gandhiji perceived this and drew back though he cloaked his withdrawal as a waiver of the benefits of the Gwyer Award. The Crown Representative will accede to the request of the Governor-General only if the Federal Government acceded to the wishes of the Crown Representative conveyed through the Governor-General. Thus the pivot of this hybrid scheme is the Governor-General—Crown Representative. The responsibility of Federal Ministers to the people is purely nominal. The whole scheme can be brought to a deadlock if a single ruler takes it into his head that the Crown Representative would view an exhibition of recalcitrancy on his part towards his federal obligations without much disapproval. The Viceroy has declared that the present draft Instrument is final and no important alterations can be made in it. If he sticks to that decision and if the Princes stick to theirs not to accept the Instrument, the country will be saved from having to go through an experiment which is destined to prove a disastrous failure.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Royal Visit to the United States:—We are at a loss to understand what induced the British Government to send the King and Queen on a State visit to the United States. From several points of view the decision was ill-advised. "The King business," as Americans call it, is not at a premium in the States. Organisations like "The Daughters of the Revolution" keep alive the memory of the bitter struggle which preceded the American Declaration of Independence. The Americans are suspicious of Great Britain. The Washington correspondent of the *Spectator* wrote:

> An entirely typical reaction to the visit is contained in a leading article published by the New York *Daily News* (May 9) the paper of largest circulation in the United States, headed: "Let's be courteous to Their Majesties—but calm." The article goes on to say—what will be said a thousand times in the coming weeks—that, "We should not forget, however, that the King and Queen are not coming to see us simply because they love us. They are coming here to sell us a bill of goods; to convince us that our interests are identical with theirs;" and the article ends on an isolationist note.

The ceremonies connected with Their Majesties' reception were carefully arranged so as to give no room for the least suspicion that there was any derogation from the sovereignty of the United States in the courtesies shown to the royal visitors. On alighting at the Railway Station at Washington, the American State Secretary solemnly introduced their Britannic Majesties to Mr. President. The President's wife, who had constituted herself her own publicity agent for the occasion, has stated in her syndicated articles that she left the entertaining of the King and Queen to the household staff at White House; and she even narrates with evident enjoyment one or two minor mishaps which attended the service at dinner and tea at her mother-in-law's house. The Hyde Park staff was not so well trained as the White House Staff! The King and Queen were haled with energetic American hospitality to a picnic at which the President absent-mindedly sat down on a tray of glasses. "On each occasion," adds Mrs. Roosevelt, "Their Majesties remained completely calm and undisturbed." What else could they have done, we wonder. The Maharaja of Bikaner, according to his biographer, was scandalised when President Wilson greeted the waiting King and Queen at a London Railway Station when he arrived for the Peace Conference, with a friendly "How do you do?" without any bowing and scraping. What would the Princes think of the free and easy intercourse during the royal visit to the States? There is the larger question, Why should their Majesties who are hail-fellow-well-met to all and sundry in the United States, be not the same in every part of their Empire? One result of the Royal visit, if it may be called such because it closely follows on the visit, is that President Roosevelt, discarding his denunciatory manner to the Dictators, has invited them to come to a Conference to arrange trade matters.

CHINESE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES.

The Chinese Industrial Co-operatives were established in August 1938 by Dr. H. H. Kung as an organization functioning under the Executive Yuan of which he is chairman. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek has from the beginning encouraged the work in every possible way. A staff of organizers and engineers was recruited. Within six months, more than 300 industrial co-operatives, with an average of 30 workers in each, had been established and were producing textiles, agricultural implements, clothing and shoes, flour and sugar for the use of the population, woollen blankets and uniforms for the army, alcohol and sulphuric acid for industrial use, and surgical instruments and medicinal cotton for the Red Cross. One town was lighted by co-operative electricity, a co-operative printing works published a newspaper and a fortnightly magazine, co-operative foundries and machine-shops smelted and worked iron and steel, and mining co-operatives cut coal and washed for alluvial gold.

The lack of large foreign exchange reserves and the Japanese blockade make it necessary to build up an industrial base independent of all but the most essential imported machinery. The danger of aerial bombing, the possibility of forced evacuation of plant, and the disorganization of commercial transport inevitable in wartime, dictate that it should consist of small autonomous but interdependent industrial units, each serving its particular section of the country. The growth of democracy in China in the course of the popular war of resistance has established both the political and psychological conditions under which the co-operative becomes the obvious form of industrial organization.

Five headquarters have been set up, a Central Headquarters at Chungking; the Northwestern Headquarters in West Shensi; the Southwestern Headquarters in West Hunan; the Southeastern Headquarters in South Kiangsi; and another in Anhwei, in the guerrilla areas behind the Japanese lines.

The co-operatives are financed through three funds: the Capital Fund, the Promotion Fund, and the Special Fund. From the Capital Fund, which at the present time consists chiefly of an appropriation of $5,000,000 made by the Central Government, loans are made at 6-8 per cent annual interest to co-operative societies for the acquisition of plant and the provision of working capital. The Promotion Fund is also officially provided for the payment of staff and other organization expenses. The purpose of the Special Fund is to finance the migration of skilled workers from the Japanese-occupied territories and to cover other expenses not chargable to the two other funds. This fund is provided by donations from friends in China and overseas. Mr. Rewi Alley whose article we published last week, gives an account of the extension of activities:

"Plans are also afoot to set up labour co-operatives for road work and other projects. New mining ventures are being pushed, small industries are being established which have been hitherto unknown in the Northwest. For instance, excellent glass sand was found in one crowded locality. 'Why not set up a unit for making thermos bottles, for flashlight bulbs, for ampules for hospitals?' thought the co-operative engineers. The great demand for housing suggested a brick kiln, which was an immediate success and now finds itself unable to fill all the orders. More kilns are being planned. There were no buttons for the soldier's uniforms. Refugee button-makers were brought in to manufacture them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There was plenty of iron ore. Why should old-fashioned blast furnace workers not be brought in from Shensi? Much better that they make iron for themselves than for the Japanese. How would the workers be transported? Friends of the C. I. C. had already helped. Others would do likewise. Most people in this seemingly mad world are decent and want to help when they can.

"From all over the Northwest, requests come to the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives to establish one or another kind of new industry. One army suffers from a shortage of leather products. Another lacks medical supplies. Cotton spinners and weavers are urgently needed in a number of districts. Districts threatened by the Yellow River floods which are certainly coming this summer ask that the C. I. C. help take care of the refugees. Everywhere, one hears the same thing. 'It is no use to us to know that things are being produced in other provinces. We must have them here, and transport is too difficult in time of war. If our refugees don't know how to work, why don't you teach them? We will be responsible for moving your machinery, if it is necessary. We will help you save your workers if you have to. All we want is production in our own area. We must have the goods!'

"To satisfy this demand, the C. I. C. staff laboured incessantly. Many of the organizers have had previous experience of co-operative enterprises. But they find that the industrial co-operatives present many a problem unknown in credit or consumer co-operatives. Industry is a complicated thing, how complicated few people understand until they set about organizing it. Expert technical knowledge must be available. The workers must give full and earnest co-operation, which means that they must have complete confidence that the organizer is playing straight. The organizer must know what everything is about. If he is a bureaucrat—a mere office-holder—he will fail. The technician must be able to stand hardship—he must not disdain old methods while constantly trying to improve them. It is no use having a nice office and an empty factory. Far better to have a thriving co-operative and no office at all.

"The movement is growing so fast that it is hard to keep up with it. New depots spring up. Transport becomes more difficult. The headquarters accounts department struggles to collect data as quickly as possible, becomes angry when it cannot do so and sets about devising ways to make sure that information will be coming in. Everyone works at top speed to put the organization on as solid a basis as possible—and all learn in the process.

"Although the Japanese air force has been extremely active over the Northwest, not one of the co-operatives has so far suffered severely from bombing. The nearest call was in Sian, where a house near a leather-working co-operative was destroyed in the course of a particularly vicious attack on the city. The front of the co-operative premises was damaged a little, but no lives were lost and no stock spoiled. The whole unit was moved to a safer place with very little financial loss—only the cost of transport for the machines and the personal belongings of the members. Industry organized in this way certainly comes close to being indestructible.

"Because they are so mobile, it is not necessary for the industrial co-operatives to return a thousand miles behind the Chinese defence lines to the Far West. Many units in the Northwest work virtually at the front and supply armies which have established new bases of Chinese resistance in "occupied" territory in the rear of the Japanese army. In one Chinese Industrial Co-operatives depot located at the base of such army, officers' wives have banded together in a tailoring co-operative for the manufacture of uniforms and other military equipment. When the writer visited them, they were singing as they worked. Plans were being made to educate their children—to provide a medical service for them—and to increase their own production.

"Not only articles that were formerly supplied by the lost industries along the coast are being made by the co-operatives. In many cases, they produce goods for which the raw material was once imported. A dry cell co-operative goes to all kinds of lengths to keep up with the demand. Old cells are collected from nearby cities and the parts used. Local materials are constantly being tried and some have been found useable. Many dyers have returned to vegetable dyes."

The dearth of manufactured goods in the areas which the co-operatives serve ensures that all their products will have a ready market. The various headquarters conduct investigations and inform would-be co-operators of the type of goods needed. There is no general form of distribution. The coal co-operatives deliver their product from house to house. Co-operatives serving the army always have their hands full with government orders. At many points, co-operative stores have been established, and under the Northwestern Headquarters, in whose territory 200 of the existing 300 coperatives are now functioning, a Federation of Co-operatives has been established to market the produots of all. With the exception of units serving the army all the co-operatives now dispose of their goods in their own localities.

To meet transportation difficulties, two special transport co-operatives, with 100 mule carts, have been organized in the Northwest.

The co-operatives are organized democratically, with an elected chairman and directors. No member is permitted to own more than 20% of the stock in any co-operative. After the payment of share interest, interest on borrowed and other capital, deductions for the extension and reserve funds, payment of wages and salaries for officials, the remainder, within 10% of the total capital of the society or 25% of the total wages, is divided among the members. If more than this percentage is left over, the surplus is paid into a foundation fund retained by the federation of co-operatives to develop activities for the good of the whole movement.

Various social and educational activities are carried on by the co-operatives. The members of each society meet regularly for mass singing of patriotic songs, lectures and discussions. Inter-society meetings are held on Wednesday evenings in the head office of any given locality. The Northwestern Headquarters published a bi-weekly. In several towns all social life has begun to revolve around the co-operative, local officials, newspapermen, bankers, students and others having been incorporated in their subsidiary social organizations. A more specific training project is the school for co-operators established in the Northwest which gives a three month course.

The present aim of the movement is to establish 30,000 industrial co-operatives all over the country. Thirty thousand industrial co-operatives can utilize the idle labour power displaced by the destruction of of large-scale industry in China, put a million refugees to work, utilise the raw material resources.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

NATIONAL COSTUME.

(By J. M. Ganguli.)

The National Costume, like the national flag, has a significance of its own. To people, who are politically subject to others, and whose national culture and traditions are assailed by those zealous propagandists of the ruling race and of its kindred races, who take pride in showing up to advantage their own culture and manners in contrast to those of the people they rule over, the national costume has all the more significance. For it gives a sense of national consciousness and dignity to the wearer, and national inspiration to his other countrymen. And, therefore, just as its popularity will indicate the measure of national consciousness surviving in a dependent country, its neglect and its substitution by the dress of the rulers will show the extent of denationalisation proceeding in the country.

In India the rapidity of the spread of the European dress vogue, with the spread of university education, ought to have provoked serious thinking in the directors of the university education as to whether the education, that was imparted, was on right lines;—for, education that sucked out self-confidence from students, and instilled in them, instead, a slavish mentality to merely imitate in dress, habit and the commonest details of life, whatever their political masters did, would not surely have been on sound and generally approved principles of education. It must be remembered, however, that till but lately education had been under bureaucratic control, and, as such, it was not likely to be directed towards the nursing of national consciousness, or the development of love and regard for the customs and traditions of the native land. But with the Indianisation of the Universities, there should have been a change in the educational outlook. Has that been the case?

One had only to attend the Jubilee session of the Indian Science Association held in Calcutta in January 1937 to know what the answer was to be. Educationists, scholars and scientists from all over the country were there,—and how they seemed to vie with one another in the tip-topness of their European dress and even in their adopted European manners. The juniors who have yet to make a career, sometimes say that it is necessary for them to put on European dress, for, otherwise they do not get respect and are ignored in society. That may be true, more or less, but what about the elders, the Professors and those who have already got recognition and have even come into eminence? These were all clad in European dress, with collar and tie, though both the temperature and humidity were high enough to make such outfit most unhygienic and uncomfortable. There were several European scientists also attending the Congress, but they were all in their respective national dress. It was regrettable to think that even their examples did not prick the sentiment of self-respect and national-respect in the mass of Indian professors and scientists, who had collected in that cultural gathering. What a pitiable demonstration of slave mentality even in the high intellectuals of the country to those foreign visitors who carried their national taste, manners and style wherever they went! What indeed, must the thoughtful among these visitors have thought of those scientists in particular, who even apart from the question of nationalism in the matter of dress, dressed themselves most unscientifically and uncomfortably in their own country for the matter of imitating and putting on the dress of their political rulers! Scientists and educationists, the leading ones amongst them specially, are expected to be rational in their outlook and practical in the application in their lives of the scientific knowledge and principles, which they teach and profess. But there was an altogether different picture in that distinguished assemblage.

It is not only in such places that one finds such slavish mentality in the matter of dress, though the observance of it in the country's intellectuals is certainly very distressing. It is, in fact, all around that one notices it. Petty clerks and typists wear European dresses airily as school teachers, bank apprentices, shop attendants and even those who, serving nobody, go to a library for study or for a walk out in the evening. Big national leaders, who always exhale contempt for British imperialism are, in fact, more helplessly imbecciled under the cultural sway of the British than under their political domination, and they feel nervous and ashamed to appear in their national dress before Europeans. Mahatma Gandhi has no doubt effected a very valuable change in this respect, but the inferiority complex has gone far too deep to be eradicated so easily. Look at Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru discarding his *dhoti* and shirt and donning hat, coat, pants, tie and the rest, which constitute the European style, as he sails off from his country's shores.

'It is the European climate which necessitates the European style'—says he;—but is there no cold weather and are there not cold places in this country, which have evolved suitable dress for protection against cold? In the hills, in the Punjab and in the upper nothern India generally, it is pretty cold in winter. Do the inhabitants of those places put on European dress? Does he himself put on European dress, when visiting those places in winter, since his membership of the Congress? Panditji explains further, "I didn't like to attract notice by any distinctiveness in my dress."

Do Europeans ever think of changing into Indian dress when visiting this country under any circumstance? No; obviously because they feel proud to maintain their distinctiveness of ruling people from the ruled. They do not change even if they feel uncomfortable in the Indian climate. Indians are, however, quick to change in order to show that they had *English education* and have become *cultured*. There is no point in Panditji's saying that he wanted to avoid notice, for, as a matter of fact, he was not travelling *incognito*; rather he was by all means attracting notice by his press, platform and associational activities. The truth is that, even without his own knowledge, the inferiority complex, that has been traditionally, as well as through his education and upbringing, developing in him throughout his life, as it develops in the lives of so many other Indians, works internally and subsconsciously, making him and others lose confidence, respect and love for national things and imitate the ways of the European rulers. And that is really the saddest aspect of India's political subjection. An European writer has recently described Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a Journal as an Indian turned westerner. Probably Panditji himself and many others too will take that description as very complimentary (Panditji has not expressed any disagreement with that description). But nothing indeed could be more pitiable than for any nationalist, particularly for a national leader, to become in outlook and habits the reflected image of his political superior. Should an Englishman be described as having become mentally metamorphosed into an Indian, far from deriving any pleasant satisfaction he would be violent on the describer and would feel he had been slandered.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This inferior mentality in our national leaders, which lies beneath their sayings and doings and their khaddar-clad outward form, is the most serious handicap in India's cultural rennaisance, the rennaisance that is necessary for her political forwardness also. And, painful though it is to say so, it is for such reason that it is difficult to lay trust and confidence in their stewardship. How can people, who despise the evolutionary social, cultural and other products of their mother-land, who always look for guidance and inspiration to their European political masters, who send away their sons and daughters for *education and cultural* training, work out their country's destiny and re-establish it on its natural foundations? Mentally alienated as they are from their own country, and cut off from the thought-strings of their countrymen as they have become, they can only introduce perversion and consequent weakness by trying to drag their people from their natural moorings. Laws of evolution, which follow local conditions and cause the origin and growth of customs, traditions, physical and mental formations and other features in different places cannot be overridden at will, however some unthinking people, whose vision has been dazled by the glamour of European civilisation, may try. The only thing that will happen, the more they try, will be the retardation of India's coming to her own and of her people feeling the strength and inspiration to stand confidently on their own legs.

Coming to national costume again, there are people who do not comprehend what national dress constitutes. Some even think that perhaps national dress means some standardised mode of attiring for all people in India. Nothing could be farther than that from the true significance of national dress. In an extensive country like India, having different climate and weather, to prescribe a uniform dress for all would be meaningless and most unscientific. Different parts of the country have in the course of ages already evolved suitable dresses; and it is such dress that is truly national, honourable, and hygienic for the people of respective places. A man from the Punjab going to Madras, say, may adopt the Madrasi dress for climatic reasons, but that should not mean that he should adopt even the unnecessary details of it or that he should carry it to his homeland. One may, however, raise that plea in justification of putting on European dress also. But the fact that the Europeans are the ruling races, most of whom look contemptuously at Indian culture, Indian customs, Indian traditions, and at almost everything Indian, makes the adoption of Europeanism by Indians a submission to a mentality slavish to their rulers and a shameless admission of the inferiority of their own things. This the anglicised Indians unfortunately forget.

THE CASE AGAINST PROHIBITION.

(By A Moderate Drinker).

If I venture to put the case against Prohibition in the columns of so staunchly prohibitionist a paper as *The Indian Social Reformer*, with its consistent record of anti-liquor advocacy over several decades, it is not because I hope to dissuade the paper from its life-long convictions. My object is merely this: to show that in the minds of moderate men there can exist legitimate doubts as to the validity of imposing a ban on liquor and, moreover, doubts as to the feasibility of enforcing such a ban. If I succeed in persuading even one ardent supporter of the principle of Prohibition that, after all, there is a case against it, my article will have served its purpose.

Before getting on to generalisations, I would summarise my own background, so as to give the reader a notion of the psychological premises from which I argue. This may seem to savour of conceit, but I take the risk. Briefly then, I was brought up, in India, in a society which set no stigma on the moderate consumption of alcohol. In my own family we drank moderately and occasionally, mainly on festive occasions. As I grew up, I learnt that alcohol had its abuses as well as its uses; in my unregenerate youth I occasionally drank more than was good for me, got drunk from time to time, and finally graduated through the school of commonsense and experience to a realisation that excessive drinking was a "mug's game". At present my attitude to alcohol is one of take it or leave it, that is to say, I often don't touch it for days on end, but on companionable and convivial occasions I drink enough to make me more cheery than is my wont. Should Prohibition become the law of the land, I would give up drink, with a sense of resentment at being deprived of what I regard as an inherent personal right.

The first ground on which I contest Prohibition, as applied to India or any other country, is that it constitutes an infringement of an inalienable civil liberty. Every member of every society, regardless of whether the orthodox majority regards drink as a form of moral turpitude, has the right to indulge in a personal practice which, in the vast majority of cases, does him no harm, does his family no harm and does society no harm.

The right to imbibe alcoholic beverages is something which depends upon no religious or political sanctions; it is an ethical and rational right granted to man by his Creator when the latter endowed him with intelligence enough to ferment the juice of the grape and restraint enough to drink as much of it as is good for him. To argue that, because some people drink to excess, therefore, all must be penalised, is logically unsound; as well say that, because some men are gluttons, therefore, no one should eat at all.

If we are to concede that majority opinion in a society is entitled to prevent individuals from touching what is anathema to the majority, then equally we cannot resist carrying the concession to lengths. Today, the orthodox Hindu and Muslim majority may enforce its will upon the unorthodox minority of depressed classes, Parsees, Christians, Europeans and the rest. Tomorrow, the orthodox Hindu majority may on equally strong grounds enact a law preventing anyone from eating meat. The day after, fanatical reformers may convince most people that tobacco is a vice which must be banned, or that pan-chewing is a crime against society. There is not the slightest moral difference between these forms of prohibition.

Again, if we say that because a section, perhaps an important section, of medical opinion considers alcohol bad for the health, therefore no one shall be allowed to touch it, we must equally grant that tobacco, or meat, or any other such substance is liable to be excluded from our routine. And here we must differentiate between the use of drugs like opium and cocaine, which are universally condemned as deleterious and degrading, and alcohol, which is actually approved by a large section of the medical profession and has no obvious adverse effect on the great majority of "addicts"—an opprobrious term which apparently includes everyone who drinks in moderation.

So much for the moral issue. On the practical side, it may be said at once that in no single country in the world which has tried it—and several have—has the complete Prohibition of alcohol proved a success. In each case, the State has been compelled to revise its attitude and substitute instead a system

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of controlled licences under which a modicum of liquor, of approved potency, is rendered available to people who decline to be deprived of it.

But, it is argued, India is different. In India public opinion is against drink; in India orthodox sentiment condemns drink; in India respectable society outlaws the drinker; in India the drink habit is not so deeply ingrained as elsewhere. All this may be granted. Yet the fact remains that among the masses, both in the countryside and in industrial areas, the habit of drinking in moderation is widespread. It is not spreading because of western influence; it has existed from time immemorial due to the ease with which intoxicants can be obtained over wide areas from the palm tree, the mohra flower and other sources. The peasant, who may be orthodox in other respects, imbibes quite generally if only because he regards toddy as a "pick-me-up" after a hard day's work. So it is; medical research has also shown that it is a valuable constituent in his dietary and its nutritive content helps to ward off beri-beri and other deficiency diseases.

So also, other hard-working and poorly-fed members of the lower strata of society drink regularly to keep up their strength; fishermen do, millhands do and manual labourers generally. That they sometimes drink to excess is undoubted; that a minority of them spend an undue proportion of their wages in drink is equally certain. But here again, we must not seek to cure a sore by cutting off the limb. Because some people spend too much money on clothes, or the cinema, we do not ban these entirely. To eliminate the evil of alcoholism (in its true meaning of excessive drinking) from the working classes, what is needed is education, education and again education. Only thus, and by temperance propaganda, can the worker be weaned from undue indulgence. But to impose an arbitrary ban on all liquor is merely to set a premium on evasion and bring the law *into contempt.*

For the present, I would drive home the moral of the above argument by saying that, taken by and large, drunkenness is very rare among any class of Indians. It is commonest among the small "europeanised" section of society which has imbibed western license along with western emancipation, but even here it is less common than is generally imagined. As for the working classes, a few may drink heavily on pay-day and the day following; the great majority are sober, decent citizens who spend a proportion of their wages on drink, partly because they need it and partly because it is one of their few comforts, and take the rest of their money home to their families. No social worker can honestly say that drink is a crying problem among the poor; far greater problems are insanitation, and malnutrition, and above all, ignorance. If we put first things first, we must tackle these problems before we seek to deprive the peasant and the worker of his alcoholic solace and sustenance.

It has been said that facilities for producing country liquor are present almost everywhere, in many areas almost embarrassingly so. Even under the present system of licensed liquor shops and strict excise supervision, illicit stills abound in jungle and field. It is impossible by an arbitrary ban to check the production and consumption of liquor throughout the countryside or even in urban areas. I have it on good authority that in alleged "dry" zones like Salem and Ahmedabad, more than a trickle of liquor enters and is consumed; if the Prohibition Department like to turn a blind eye and proclaim the success of Prohibition from the house-tops, that is nothing more nor less than self-deception.

But once Prohibition is accepted as the law of the land everywhere which is the ideal of Congress and other social reformers—the scope for lawlessness will be much enhanced. Organised bootlegging and rum-running on the large scale which the U. S. A. experienced during its "dry" decade will probably not come, if only because of the force of orthodox opinion. But petty smuggling and retail peddling of liquor by the "small man round the corner" will be omnipresent, and in the country districts at least, the law will be reduced to a farce. The mere process of locking up offenders will not help matters; the great majority of offenders will escape detection. Public drinking will perhaps be stopped; a premium will be set on clandestine drinking. And because human nature is the same the world over, and because forbidden fruit is always sweetest, drunkenness will become a much graver social evil than it is today. So will defiance of the law, and, so will crime generally, if the experience of other countries is anything to go by—and we have nothing else.

I do not need to stress the economic case against Prohibition. A policy which compels provincial governments to abandon between 25 and 30 per cent. of their revenues, in pursuit of an idealistic will-o-the-wisp, and in the hope that it will add to the "purchasing power" of the masses, while quite obviously it starves nation-building departments and handicaps the spread of education which alone can cure alcoholism, stands self-condemned.

For these reasons, I contend that Prohibition as a national policy is misconceived, impracticable, and foredoomed to failure. Both as a realist and as a liberal (with a small "l"), I am opposed to it. It is too late to persuade the Congress to abandon or modify its programme. It has become so obsessed with the Noble Experiment (which it does not regard as an experiment but as a "mission") that it accuses all anti-prohibitionists of being the victims of an obsession. Yet as one who is, consciously at least, obsessed by nothing so much as the need for gradualism, moderation, and above all, education, I raise my ineffectual voice to predict that Prohibition will prove the biggest mistake, the most "Himalayan blunder" ever made in India.

NEW HISTORY TEXT-BOOKS.

The following Press Note has been issued by the Information Bureau, Hyderabad-Deccan:

The Education Department of His Exalted Highness' Government have taken the initiative in revising and recasting history text-books with a view to eliminating any communal bias. This effort is among the several that are being made in the State for national regeneration and cultivation of a progressive outlook.

It might be recalled that the need for "Decommunalisation" in the treatment of books on Indian history was also stressed by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari in his Convocation address at the Dacca University last year. Certain Provincial Governments too have realised this need as is evidenced by the resolution passed recently in the United Provinces Legislative Council.

The Education Department engaged itself in this task two years ago by setting up a special Committee for the purpose. The Committee consists of certain teachers of history in the University as well as representatives of the Education Department. The triple principles guiding the work of the Committee have been:

1. The elimination of communal bias so as to conduce to the development of a spirit of toleration among students.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(2) Greater emphasis on the cultural and social aspects of historical events; and

(3) Simplification of language.

The Committee has further avoided descriptions of crime and intrigues and has instead incorporated events calculated to infuse in the minds of the pupils a sense of pride for a common national heritage. So far, five text-books have been completed by the Committee for the Classes III, IV, V, VI, VII, and VIII, and these are expected to be published shortly.

A few instances will serve to illustrate the principles observed in the preparation of the text-books. Legendary or semi-historical or controversial narratives such as of Allaudin Khilji and Padmani of Chitor, or the Black Hole of Calcutta have been discarded or treated briefly. The struggle between different sections in India for political domination has been presented in its true perspective and described not in terms of religion or race but in the light of the centripetal and centrifugal forces which have been at work at different times. Thus the struggle for supremacy between Akbar and the Rajputs or Aurangzeb and the Mahrattas has been treated in this light. On the cultural side, due prominence has been given to such movements as the Bhakti Movement which was inspired by seers like Kabir, Nanak, Namdeo and others and which was the healthy result of a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures. The Committee has fully availed itself of the results of the latest researches and investigations by reputed scholars.

THE PANDHARPUR ORPHANAGE AND FOUNDLING ASYLUM.

To most people Pandharpur is a place of pilgrimage where thousands of pilgrims flock every year in all sincerity of worship and earnestness of devotion. But few people are aware of the extent to which it is frequented by young, erring widows for an entirely different purpose. Inspite of law being in their favour, social usage has condemned these unfortunates to a life of perpetual widowhood. They are led into sin by designing immoral persons. When all attempts at abortion fail, they go to Pandharpur posing as pilgrims. Hundreds of infants are thus born at Pandharpur every year. The Pandharpur Orphanage and Foundling Asylum is for the last *sixty four* years doing the work of saving them from death by exposure or strangulation. This institution gives shelter to these unfortunate women, before and after confinement if it is found that they have no relations to go to, they are given shelter in the institution. A new building has just been erected at a cost of over a lakh of rupees and the institution is indebted to the extent of twenty thousand rupees on account of the new building. The current expenses are increasing month by month as new and necessary improvements are being introduced. This institution is being conducted by the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, presided over by Dr. Kashibai Nowrange and Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar is its Vice-President. The authorities appeal to all kind hearted people to respond heartily to this appeal on behalf of the helpless, the distressed and the fallen. Any donation, however small, may be sent either to the Hon. Secretary, Prarthana Samaj, Bombay, or direct to the Superintendent, Pandharpur Orphanage, Pandharpur.

WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE.

"In the last analysis, man will always be the subject of all our endeavours; whether the purpose be cultural or material, the action we undertake always has as its fundamental object the improvement of the condition of mankind and the protection, raising and enrichment of human existence."

This is the faith and creed of the little group of health and medical experts who are now preparing for the Conference on Rural Life which the League of Nations has called for next October.

Scientific experiment has approached every aspect of human living, and medical knowledge in particular has made great strides during the past decades; but, in every country, medical practitioners and social workers find serious gaps between scientific progress and practical achievement. We are still far from applying the knowledge we possess in ordering everyday living.

The first concern in any action for "the improvement of the condition of mankind" is health. And the League experts consider that the health and well-being of people living in rural districts is a question of special urgency. The country districts of any country still help to people the towns, since the birth-rate has remained relatively high in rural areas. But, all too often, these immigrants come from districts where living conditions are less healthful than in towns, and so bring poor physiques to the stress of city life. In spite of living in close contact with nature, where they should be able to enjoy smokeless air, sunshine and produce fresh from the soil, rural dwellers in many countries suffer a higher mortality rate than townspeople; they are subject to diseases such as tuberculosis and typhoid; and they have not learned to organise their planting and reaping, their building and digging, so as to ensure to their children an adequate nutrition and healthful surroundings. There is thus a common need in every country for an examination of the health problems of agricultural communities and a search for practical remedies. These remedies, if they are to be effective, must take account of the whole social economy of rural life—its economic resources and the way of life and social habits of country dwellers.

The League's experience has been that a study of health and welfare in rural communities grows ever wider in scope. Its first approach to the problem was made at the European Conference on Rural Hygiene, which met at Geneva in June and July 1931. That Conference was followed by the Inter-Governmental Conference of Far-Eastern Countries on Rural Hygiene, held at Bandoeng, Java, in August 1937. These two Conferences laid down the principles, methods and means of action of a policy for improving health in rural districts. The recommendations of the European Conference were unanimously accepted by the delegates of the twenty-three nations represented there, and at Bandoeng the thirteen Far-Eastern countries present adopted the scheme which the meeting proposed.

These recommendations have influenced the development of rural hygiene policies in European and Far-Eastern countries. Meanwhile, the Health Committee of the League has continued its study of various factors of rural well-being, and, as this study has gone on, it has become increasingly clear that considerations of public health and welfare call for a survey of the demographic, economic and social factors of rural living. The Assembly of the League recognised this fact when it decided to transform the second Conference on Rural Hygiene into a European Conference on Rural *Life*. This

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is the Conference which is to be held at Geneva in the autumn of this year. Its Preparatory Commission is directing preparation of documentary material to be issued as a basis of discussion. It will be drawn from the studies, not only of the Health Organisation, but also the Economic and Financial Organisation of the League, the International Labour Office, the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation and the International Institute of Agriculture.

THE JEWISH QUESTION.

The following report published in the current number of *World's Youth*, comes from Central Europe. It is by a Scotsman who has given his life to missionary work among the Jews:

The Jewish problem is the problem of a coherent minority acting as an irritant in the body politic of almost every country in the World. If 10% of the population of the cities of London, Paris, Berlin, Budapest and New York were very compact groups of Japanese, there would arise at once in each city a feeling of hate against the Japanese, and this might receive the name of "Anti-japanism," in the same way as the word "Anti-semitism" has arisen. Note how Negroes are more and more tolerated in the United States the farther north one goes, in proportion as they become fewer in number.

Simple and uneducated people, moreover, everywhere fear what is strange and "different." Ghosts are feared because they are ununderstandable. In the first century the Christians were feared and hated because they worshipped in empty churches where no gods were visible. In the same way the Jew is hated by simple people because he is "different" and this natural distrust of the stranger has been exploited to the full by evil demagogues within recent years. The old myth that Jews kill and eat Christian babies is again believed in many parts of Europe, having been engineered by politicians, but the myth arises from the mystery of the Passover supper, which is "different" from Christian Church festivals, and is carried on in the privacy of the home.

Amongst educated people, however, it is not the "difference" of the Jew that arouses dislike, but his *success*. Having been trained by centuries of ghetto life to live by his wits, since most lines of livelihood were closed to him by law, and having been trained by centuries of persecution to hold his property in its most movable form—money—and not in real estate, he has naturally become the business man of Europe and America, fitting into positions since his emancipation from the ghetto which the Gentile either could not or would not hold. Under the old Hapsburg Empire, for example, Jews were invited in to run the commercial life of the Danube basin, since the gentry thought only of the army as a career and despised business, and the peasant had not enough education to rise to be the middle man. With the social upheaval consequent upon the Great War, other classes in the community found that they had arrived on the scene too late, and that they could not compete with the old established business of Jews. Most Jews are honest business men, with a greater "flair" for business than the Gentile, at least in Central Europe, where, for example, the Gentile is usually less reliable from a business point of view than the Jew. In his heart the Gentile business man knows his inferiority in this respect and is jealous of the Jew. It is not the *poor* Jew that is hated by this class of person, but the *successful* and *honest* Jew. Thus to the middle class Anti-semitism is as much a form of jealousy as the Class War is to the proletariat.

But amongst sensitive and religious people there is a third reason for Anti-semitism. The provocativeness of the average Jewish nature is something that arouses dislike and resentment the world over. The writer, for example, has found many of the emigrants he has helped most objectionable people, with no sense of gratitude, who claimed every little help received as a right. The refugee who has succeeded in reaching the new country often demands as his right every advantage of citizenship, and does not see that this should be looked upon only as a privilege. The Christian Church in forcing the Jew into his unnatural life in the ghetto in the Middle Ages, is partly responsible for this trait in his character; but this flashiness and pride, this "loving of the chief seats in the Synagogue," is definitely also the product of a religion which does not understand that unique Christian quality humility.

GENERAL FRANCO AT MADRID CEREMONY

The medieval religious ceremony of welcoming the Chief of State back to his Capital after a victorious war was celebrated at Madrid on Saturday, May 20, in the Church of Santa Barbara, Patroness of Artillerymen, writes Major J. S. Barnes in the *Universe*: The approaches to the church were lined with troops and only a select public were admitted by ticket.

On the high altar—a blaze of candles—was placed the historic Crucifix of Lepanto, which had been brought from Barcelona where it had lain hidden during the rule of the Reds.

This is the crucifix that adorned the chapel of the flagship of Don John of Austria when the power of the Infidel Turk was finally broken in that decisive naval battle.

No setting could have been more fitting. On the Gospel side was erected the triumphal arch known as the Arch of Oviedo. On either side of the steps of the high altar, six massive silver candelabra were placed bearing torches. Outside the sanctuary, cutting off the altar, there were hung the historical claims of Navarre. On the walls were hung old Flemish tapestries depicting the great events of Spanish history.

All members of the Government were present, as well as the military chiefs. The *Caudillo*, Generalissimo Franco, in full uniform, was received by Cardinal Goma, primate of Spain, and conducted to the steps of the sanctuary while a choir of Benedictine monks from behind the altar chanted the tradition antiphon.

After the "Te Deum" the Caudillo, deeply moved, unbuckled his sword and, advancing to the steps of the high altar, laid it reverently at the foot of the Crucifix of Lepanto.

There followed the singing of the special blessing; and, while the Caudillo knelt, the Cardinal gave his solemn blessing in the following words:

"May the Lord be always with you. May He, from Whom proceeds all right and power, and beneath Whose rule is everything, bless you and with providential admiration bestow on you His protection, as also on the people whom He has confided to your rule. May the blessing that I give you be in token of Him. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

When the *Caudillo* rose his eyes were filled with tears.

The organ pealed out a triumphant voluntary.

Later in the day the Generalissimo visited the Monastery of the Escurial, where he prayed before the tombs of the King.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(Established-December, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

Head Office:—Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
108 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, Kt., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

London Agents:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
New York Agents:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
Paris Agents:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
Berlin Agents:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1 DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta. Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.

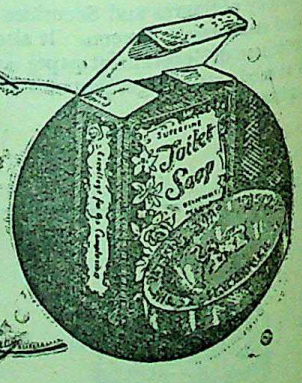


For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 10, 1939. No. 41

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

The British Submarine Disaster.
Corruption in Congress.
Gandhiji and Prohibition.
The Archbishop's Speech.
Minority Interests.
Text-Books and Teachers.
Mysore's Industrial Co-operatives.
Sri Dayanodaya.
"The Peace Front."
Indians in Ceylon.
Another Conversion and Marriage.
Anti-Prohibitionists.
Chinese Industrial Co-operatives.
The Minority Question.
Problem of Ceylon Indians.
Mysore Dewan on States' Problem.
Banning of Om Mandli.
Another Conversion-Marriage Case.
The 'Reformer' and Religious Persecution.
The League To-day.
Flag of Schools.
Newspapers and Advertisemets.

NOTES.

The British Submarine Disaster :—The sinking of the submarine "Thetis" at the final trials off Birkenhead, before delivery by her makers, with 99 persons who were in it, has aroused feelings of horror and sympathy throughout the world. If the submarine had been pursued and sunk by an enemy ship, after it had been launched, there would have been the anodyne of the excitement of battle and the pride of dying for one's country. Here, these men had no such satisfaction. The passengers of the "Titanic" knew that the ship had been broken by colliding with a mountain of ice and were able, in the short time left, to nerve themselves to meet their end. Here these poor men did not know what had happened to the ship. For four terrible days, while the supply of fresh air in the drowned ship held out, they were cherishing illusory hopes of rescue by the resources of skill and science of the greatest naval power in the world. During this time the public were told that there was every chance of every one in the ship being rescued. Then suddenly the tone changed. The ship could not be saved in time for the inmates to be taken out alive. There is to be an official enquiry and the full truth about this calamity will not be known until after it is finished. Utterly ignorant as we are of naval mysteries, we can not help a first feeling that the disaster was the result of culpable negligence not far removed from deliberate sabotage on the part of somebody in the know. Any other explanation seems inadequate to explain the sinking at the time and in the circumstances when it happened...The disaster will not be altogether in vain if it calls the world's attention once more to the crass inhumanity of the submarine and the urgency of banning its use in war. In peace, of course, there is no case for it. The submarine has no other destiny except blowing up ships or being sunk like the "Thetis."

Corruption in Congress :—It will be a mistake to attach too much importance to the cry of corruption in the Indian National Congress organisation which Gandhiji raises from to time. That he himself does not mean it literally, is evident from the fact that he continues to be the *de facto* leader of the Congress. The kind and degree of corruption in the Congress are not different from what it is in politlcal movements all over the world. A political movement is no more prejudiced by being known to be corrupt than is a kettle by being seen to be black. In the Congress itself corruption is not a matter of recent growth. The non-co-operation resolution was carried at the Congress session twenty years ago against the strong opposition of nearly every experienced Indian leader, by swamping the meeting with several hundred voters enrolled overnight from the highways and byways of Calcutta. It has since been from time to time reinforced by similar methods. There have always been *bogus* Congressmen, that is men who wore the phylacteries and shouted the slogans of the Party without any inward conviction. The number has no doubt swelled since the Congress accepted office. It is further accelerated by the evidences that there are, of tacit understandings between the Government of India and the so-called Right Wing. All is grist that comes to the mill, and however or for whatever reasons, a political party attracts numbers, they add to its voting power in the constituencies and its shouting power at mass meetings. Party leaders have not hesitated to claim the confidence of the constituencies because of the existence of corruption. The occasional denunciation of corruption in his party by its acknowledged leader, has an advantage. The outside world is impressed by the high moral standard set before the rank and file. A few purges now and then of some satelites for not speaking the truth, or for not acting in the spirit of non-violence, have also their propaganda value. The Bombay Health Minister, Dr. Gilder, being badgered about the hardships caused by Excisemen rummaging the luggage of respectable arrivals in the city, pleaded that high respectability was unfortunately found associated with smuggling liquor and cited the instance of a whisky bottle being found in the *khadi* bag

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of a passenger who, no doubt, was dressed from head to foot in the same material. We may add that the obligation to wear Khadi, is responsible for a good proportion of hypocritical behaviour in the Congress Party as at present constituted. Its abolition will appreciably diminish corruption in its ranks.

Gandhiji and Prohibition :—We looked forward to the result of the Parsi deputation to Gandhiji with some misgivings. Among the characteristics which he shares with the British is a passion for compromise. Starting with high sounding principles, the Britisher will compromise a great cause on some small side issue. William Pitt agreed to the impeachment of Warren Hastings, although he justified his Indian administration, on the ground that the fine imposed on an Indian ruler was a bit excessive. Similar incidents in British history can be found by the score, the most recent being Mr. Neville Chamberlain's dealings with Austria and Czechoslovakia. Gandhiji's political career too furnishes parallels. Our misgivings, however, have been belied in this instance. No official account of the interview with the Parsi deputation has yet been published but, from such reports as are available, we gather that Gandhiji not only did not yield a single inch but banged and bolted the door so to speak against anti-Prohibition efforts. But the most effective answer to the anti-Prohibitionists came from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhiji is always open to appeals on the economic ground and he seems to have felt that something should be done specially to relieve the persons who are now making a living by the liquor trade, and who may find their employment gone on the introduction of Prohibition. Pandit Jawaharlal had no such qualms. "They are better unemployed than employed in a nefarious trade," was his cut and dry reply to the question about finding employment for those thrown out of the liquor trade. That is a conclusive answer and the question must now be considered closed. Of course, the measures devised to relieve unemployment generally, will be available to the Prohibition unemployed also. Incidentally, Gandhiji is said to have been enlightened by the Licensed Victuallers who also waited on him in deputation, as to the actual contents of what he has been advocating under the name of 'nira'. It contain 5 to 6 per cent of alcohol, which is rather more than that in beer. We trust that there will be no more attempt to popularise the use of 'nira' on the part of Gandhiji and the Bombay Government who were reported to contemplate selling it in sealed bottles.

The Archbishop's Speech :—In his Rotary speech against Prohibition, the Archbishop of Bombay explained at the outset that neither he nor "those whom" he represented were committed to one side or the other in the matter of Prohibition. The words could only mean that the Archbishop and the Roman Catholic community —*the only* people he represented since he disclaimed that he was speaking against Prohibition and therefore could not be speaking for the anti-Prohibitionists—were indifferent to Prohibition. When later he descended on the anti-Prohibition side of the fence, he omitted in the heat of his argument to mention whether he had brought his community, "those whom he represented," down with him. As a result of this omission, Mr. B. F. Bharucha has claimed in an article that the Christian community as represented by the Archbishop was opposed to Prohibition. In a letter to children in the Catholic *Examiner*, the Archbishop removes this misimpression. In view of the importance of the subject, we quote below his solemn injunction to the children: "I would ask the elder ones among you to read the Address over carefully with your parents or teachers and to note my words that every Catholic is free to support or condemn Prohibition." What a pity that his Grace did not make it equally clear in his Rotary address that he spoke for no one but himself! It is no use telling the children this, so long as the parents and teachers are still labouring in the belief that the Archbishop has spoken the last word on the subject, not because of the wisdom of his words but because of their issue from the mouth of the Archbishop. And anyone who has the least acquaintance with Indian Catholics, must be aware of this. The Archbishop will require more than a letter to children to undo the mischief of his Rotary address.

Liquor Interests :—The public generally expects a more serious and dignified handling of a subject from a religious head than the Archbishop was able to give to Prohibition. His reference to "Chief Constable Dr. Gilder" was, in particular, in shocking taste, very like the cartoons in anti-Prohibition newspapers and, it is not impossible, perhaps inspired by one of them. We would not have referred to what the Archbishop evidently regarded as just another after-lunch performance to amuse the listeners, but for the solemnity with which he himself introduced the subject and the enthusiasm with which vested interests have taken up his speech. The Archbishop accuses Dr. Gilder of not presenting a coherent case for Prohibition. But His Grace himself was not very clear in his advocacy. He began with a request that the subject should be considered without regard to vested interests, political or commercial, and then argued that there was a moral case for the compensation of liquor interests. Moreover, this is as much in the event of the nations agreeing to disarm, munitions dealers should ask for compensation for the loss involved in the scrapping of their merchandise. It is possible that the Archbishop regards that also as moral sound, but he will find little support even among Europeans for it. Indian opinion on the liquor question is just as strong; otherwise we would not be having legislation for Prohibition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Text-Books and Teachers:—Public interest has been aroused on the subject of text-books prescribed in Bombay schools by a resolution moved by Mrs. Lilavati Munshi in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and later withdrawn by her on an assurance from the Prime Minister that a Text-books Committee would be appointed to go into the question. The case put forward by Mrs. Munshi was the importance of standardisation of text-books to bring about uniformity in the subjects taught to school children. Mrs. Munshi in her introductory speech gave a picture of what happened in the Bombay Municipality:

> When somebody represented to the Schools Committee to prescribe a text-book of which that person was the author or the publisher, and the name came before the committee, the majority of the members of the committee had no knowledge of the book which formed the subject matter of discussion. If the book happened to be backed up by an influential member of the committee and if he or the author or the publisher had canvassed well, it had a good chance of being prescribed, although very few of us had even seen that book. We have different languages in the Province and we do not know all the languages. So, it is not possible for members to read all the books in different languages. What happened was that these books came before the committee and they were prescribed, not because they were the best books but because they had the support of some members of the committee or the publishers or the author of the books had canvassed well for support.

Other bodies are similarly influenced in choosing text-books and as a result a variety of text-books are used in different schools for the same subject. The hardship to students who are forced to change their schools, and to their parents in having to change the text-books, was vividly depicted by the speaker. The great defect, it seems to us, in the prevailing system is that the selection of text-books is left to people who know nothing of their job. After all is said, it is obvious that in any sound educational system the text-book plays a minor part and it is only lay people who attach an almost superstitious importance to the printed word, who can be persuaded to change books frequently. In her eloquent plea for the greater use of visual education, Mrs. Munshi rightly stressed this fact. There are not lacking in the teaching profession, men and women who combine devotion to their daily work with a large vision of educational needs. They could render invaluable service on any text-books Committee and they should naturally form the majority of its members. If that is not done, we fail to see how any resolution to restrict the number of text-books on any subject can satisfy Mrs. Munshi's demand for good text-books as well as few text-books.

China's Industrial Co-operatives:—We publish this week an informative article on a recent industrial development in China by Mr. Rewi Alley, a New Zealander who was formerly Director of the Industrial Department of the Shanghai Municipal Council and is now Technical Advisor to the Industrial Co-operatives, the organisation which he describes in detail. We are indebted to Dr. Walter Brooks Foley of Manila who is well known to our readers, for the article. Dr. Foley who has organized an association in Manila to help the cooperatives financially, writes, "The last information we have received is that 800 of these small mobile cooperatives have been established in China since last August, and 1,000 will probably be in operation by June 1. The Co-operative Movement in England has recently become greatly interested and are contributing £ 100,000 towards this." A *Manchester Guardian* correspondent describes the movement as "guerilla industries" and points out that the co-operative experiment will be on a scale hardly ever seen before. The first task of the co-operatives will be on a barter basis with farmers. The possibilities of the movement are great and it might well lead to a new industrial order. For once the co-operative movement reaches the remote districts of China, there will be little scope for the old capitalistic system. The Chinese cooperatives have the whole-hearted support of their Government.

The Dnyanodaya:—In response to our invitation to cite a parallel to the Inquisition in India, the Rev. J. F. Edwards writes in the *Dnyanodaya*:

> In the Nizam's Dominions, for instance, to quote the latest case to hand, where the British Methodist Church alone has increased by eighty thousand in the past twenty years, an average yearly increase of four thousand, there is bitter persecution even of those who declare they 'want to be Christians,' and the persecution is being borne so courageously as to be one secret of the increase. The amazing story of the persecution of two such *unbaptised* enquirers we had just received when we read the *Reformer's* statement.

The Inquisition burnt people at the stake, Bishops and other high Church and State dignitaries being present at the function in their official habiliments, for the crime of not believing in the dogmas of Christianity as they were held by the Catholic Church. This Mr. Edwards wants to hush up in order to promote goodwill among Indian communities. We object to history being faked for any purpose whatsoever. Mr. Edwards' reply is that, if you will not agree to cover up Christian atrocities, I will expose Indian atrocities. As the latest specimen he refers, without mentioning details, to information he has just received of two men in the Nizam's Dominions being subjected to amazing persecution. Have these two men been burnt at the stake by the Government of the Nizam and in the presence of high officials of the State? Otherwise and if this amazing persecution is, as we suspect it is, the acts of a mob resentful of the contemplated apostacy of two of their fellow rustics, there is no comparison between it and the Inquisition. We ask Mr. Edwards to publish his information exactly as he has received it. If there have been any breaches of the law, the Government of Hyderabad may be trusted to take suitable action to punish the offenders. We assume, though Mr. Edwards is vague on the point, that he does not charge the Nizam's Government with persecuting the two unbaptised individuals.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, June 10, 1939.

"THE PEACE FRONT."

In the excitement caused by the sinking of the "Thetis" and the visit to Canada of the King and Queen, the small progress of the negotiations between London and Moscow, without whose co-operation the Peace Front against the Dictator Powers will be futile, has passed without comment. As a matter of fact, they are as good as broken off. If there was still a spark of life in them, the intervention of the Pope with an invitation to the two surviving European Democracies and the two principal Dictatorships to come to an understanding together to preserve Peace, has snuffed it out. The Pope is said to fear that the formation of a Peace Front with Soviet Russia as the central figure would lead to the Bolshevisation of Europe. In the remarkable essay on "The Roman Catholic Church and Democracy" which we reproduced last week from the *Social Question Bulletin*, it was pointed out that the Vatican being itself totalitarian in outlook has no prejudice against totalitarianism in principle. It is not particularly well-disposed towards Democracy—Gibbon's remark that the banner of the Church was never raised in the cause of the people is as true today as when the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" was published—but she can get on with it when it suits her. Her normal tendency, her natural tendency, is to oppose all liberal movements. The hope expressed by the writer of the *Bulletin* that, under Pope Pious XII, the leadership of the Church may give more vigorous opposition to anti-democratic forces in the future than in the past, can not be said to be in a fair way to be realised if the Pope's motive in calling a conference of Dictators and Democrats is to thwart the formation of the Peace Front with Moscow as its predominant partner. Mr. Neville Chamberlain's fear of associating with Moscow, has been forced to relax by the force of public opinion in Britain. How deep-rooted this is, is proved by the alacrity with which he has undertaken to guarantee the independence of Poland which is as anti-semitic and anti-Democratic as Nazi Germany, and the cold and cruel callousness of his refusal to stand by democratic Czechoslovakia. Herr Hitler with shrewd insight had accused Dr. Benes of Pro-Bolshevik leanings while Poland's antipathy to Russia was notorious. This was no doubt one of the causes which weighed with Mr. Chamberlain in cold-shouldering the only democratic country in Eastern Europe in her hour of supreme trial, though, as a matter of fact, Dr. Benes, for fear of offending the British Government, threw away the one chance which remained to him of repelling the German invasion of his country. G. E. R. Gedye who, expelled from Vienna by the Nazi Government, went to Prague as correspondent of the London *Express*, in his brilliant account of the fall of Austria and Czechoslovakia, entitled "Fallen Bastions" gives the following as he heard it from a friend of Dr. Benes:

> On the Sunday immediately before Britain and France forced Benes to agree to the surrender of the Sudeten districts, after Berchtesgaden, Benes sent for the Russian Minister to Czechoslovakia, Alexandrovsky, to see him in the Hrudschin. To Alexandrovsky Benes formally put the following two questions: The first question postulated Russia abiding by her treaties with Czechoslovakia and France. The Minister's answer was in the emphatic affirmative. Then Benes said: "If France dishonours her signature and refuses to help, what would be Russia's advice to this country as to the right course to pursue?" Alexandrovsky's reply was that the League of Nations should declare Germany an aggressor and Russia will come to Chechoslovakia's aid under the League Covenant even if Britain and France did not. After this, continues Gedye, there was a long silence between the two, broken at last by Alexandrovsky saying: "M. le President, is there not another question you wish to ask me regarding Russia's action should appeal to the League be made impossible by some trickery or other?" Benes looked at him for a long time very steadily, but did not open his mouth. Alexandrovsky rose, shook his head sadly, bowed and left. Thus did the man, whom the Goebbels propaganda machine had denounced daily as a Red, refrain from calling in the direct aid of Russia which he knew was available for him and which might have saved his country's independence.

The passage, even as summarised, is long but it reveals a hitherto undisclosed chapter of contemporary history and, what is more, it indicates what most probably will be the end of the present much-advertised coalition against the Dictators. France was obliged to enter into an alliance with Russia (now torn up) at a time when Britain had forsaken her. France has regained British friendship and has come under British dominance. The Peace Front will not materialise because without Russia, as Lloyd George and Winston Churchill have clearly shown, it will be a farce, and Russia will not come in merely to oblige the two western democracies unless they undertake reciprocal responsibilities towards her, which they will not except under extreme danger, and, if they did, will take the first opportunity to release themselves from on some pretext or other. For a long time Oriental chicanery was a by-word with Europeans. Has there ever been such chicanery as that displayed during the last eighteen months by the civilised Democratic countries of the West?

Since the above was written, the British Premier made a statement in the House of Commons regarding the negotiations with Moscow. He professed the usual optimism about their outcome but it is plain that his heart is not in the business and that he would any day prefer another Pact of appeasement with Germany to any sort of alliance with Russia. On the other hand, Moscow on her part is suspicious of the motives of the Western democracies and, in the words of M. Molotov, is not anxious to pull their chestnuts out of the fire without an adequate recompense. The situation has an amusing aspect. The three countries on her north-wes-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

Baltic borders which Russia wanted to be protected, have vehemently protesting that they will not have any protection from the Soviet-Democratic concern. The difficulty, Reuter naively reports, will be "evaded" if the Soviet Government should declare that they consider the territorial integrity and political independence of the Baltic States to be a vital interest, and the objections of the States themselves "circumvented" so as not to have a guarantee thrust upon them. A Pact which is based on evasion and circumvention, will not be proof against itself being evaded and circumvented. Anyhow the Moscow negotiations will be protracted until their Majesties are safely back in London. The reports from New York describe the great enthusiasm of the reception and also the great precautions that are being taken for the safety of the Royal visitors. The President's wife, in her syndicated article published in Friday's *Times of India*, mentions that many people would protest violently against the orders reported to have been given in New York city that all people in the sidewalks where the procession passes on its way to the World Fair, must stand motionless and that all windows must be closed.

INDIANS IN CEYLON.

For the past few months considerable tension exists between Indians in Ceylon and the Sinhalese. Faced by unemployment, the Sinhalese Government has resorted to the extreme step of deciding on the expulsion of Indians from the jobs at present held by them. Against this threat Indian leaders have invoked the intervention of the Government of India and of the British Government; they have asked for communal representation in place of the present general constituencies and they have even suggested the replacement of the Cabinet system by Government by Committee. These are retrograde measures. Ceylon has been fortunate in her reforms which ignored the differences between majority and minority communities. Eight years are too short a period for declaring the experiment a failure. Indians should be extremely careful in their agitation abroad not to set themselves up as opponents of national progress. In Ceylon this is particularly important. Mr. R. Rustomjee in his presidential address at an All Ceylon public meeting of Indians held in April, remarked that conditions in India favoured the Cabinet system while in Ceylon a Committee form of Government was necessary. Mr. K. Chandy's article on the minority problem which we publish this week, ought to disillusion him on that point. Here too representatives and leaders of communal minorities are opposing representative democracy based on a national citizenship, even though the communal electorates dilute Indian nationalism. If for any reason Ceylon is forced, against the wishes of her people, to substitute Government by communities for national government, India will very soon be moving along the same path. Ceylon Indians have every right to urge their case as effectively as they can in demanding rights from the Government of Ceylon. The matter, however, assumes much more serious proportions when they turn to outside forces like the Government of India and the British Government. There is an element of truth in the Sinhalese protest that Indians claim privileges in a dual capacity, as a minority community and as a body of aliens living in Ceylon. Mr. Rustomjee truly said in his address that Indians in Ceylon could not be treated as mere aliens. He was, however, on less sure ground when he went on to observe :

> Indian workers have spent the best part of their lives in Ceylon and many are domiciled in Ceylon. They are British subjects and expect the same treatment that is given out to the permanent population.

Obviously their rights are as subjects of Ceylon, and not as British subjects.

At the same time, the denial of political rights to Indians does not help to instil a feeling of citizenship in Indians in Ceylon; and the methods proposed by the Ceylon Government to meet the unemployment problem are far from equitable. The Indian community in Ceylon has a proud record of service in the past. It is poor reward for years of ungrudging labour to be now turned out to make room for Sinhalese unemployed. Many of these Indians, as Mr. Rustomjee points out, have married Sinhalese women. In the article which we publish this week by "An Indian in Ceylon," a case is made out for the enforcement of economic sanctions against Ceylon, by the Government and people of India. This is a dangerous weapon which we would not recommend against any country except as a last desperate measure; and against Ceylon not at all. Our correspondent remarks on the proximity of Ceylon from a geographical point of view. Mr. Rustomjee has mentioned in his address the historical and cultural ties that bind the two countries together. Even in politics, he says, our problems are common. The only possible attitude to adopt is that Ceylon and India are one. If we are to work to that end, India cannot, whatever the provocation, take up a threatening attitude. If responsible leaders of both countries could discuss the immediate issues that have now arisen, we do not see why the present crisis in Indo-Sinhalese relations cannot be surmounted. There is no reason for the Government of India to give up its traditional policy of sympathetic adjustment.

ANOTHER CONVERSION AND MARRIAGE.

We dealt in a leading article in last week's *Reformer* with the case of a Hindu school girl of Karachi who was converted to Mahommedanism and married to a Muslim youth in the course of a few hours.

About the same time as this drama was being enacted in Karachi, a similar one was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shaping itself in Bombay, the parts being reversed. In this case, a Muslim girl of a respectable family was abducted by an upcountry Hindu and taken to Benares where after being converted to the Arya Samaj, she was married to him under the Arya Marriage Act passed two years ago. The legal position is clearly set forth in the order, reproduced elsewhere from the *Pioneer*, of the Magistrate of Lucknow where the couple had gone from Benares after the conversion and marriage, and where they had been arrested at the instance of a friend of the girl's father who recognised her.

We have repeatedly called attention, both while it was being debated in the Legislature and after it was passed, to the disruptive anomalies of the Arya Marriage Validation Act. The Bill as orginally drafted had a definition of what constituted an Arya Samajist but this was omitted by the Select Committee and the question was left to be determined as a question of fact in each case. In this case the girl had secured certificates both of conversion and marriage and the Court did not feel called upon to go behind them.

The Karachi and Bombay cases taken together suggest some reflections. First and foremost they expose the unreality of the common assumption that abductors are always Muslim men and the abducted are always Hindu women. Abduction of Hindu girls are publicized in the Press as Hindu feeling has developed a high sensitiveness over matters of conversion and marriage. If equal publicity were accorded to cases of abduction of Muslim women by non-Muslims, it will most probably be found that there is no basis for giving these incidents a communal flavour. Another question suggested by the case is whether a Judge or a Magistrate who has to deal with such cases, should act as if his function did not extend beyond ascertaining whether the letter of the law was satisfied. The Judicial Commissioner of Sind, while strongly denouncing the circumstances of the conversion and marriage, felt obliged nevertheless to find that both were legally valid; and it was by a loophole presciently introduced in the Act that the girl was saved from the consequences of her infatuation. In the Bombay case likewise, the Lucknow Magistrate was put off by the production of some certificates from applying his mind to plain considerations which are involved in the case regarded from the point of view of social stability.

Almost every feature of the affair raises doubts about the *bona fides* of the man in the Bombay case. The sudden migration to Benares where the conversion and marriage were performed, is itself a suspicious circumstance. There is an Arya Samaj in Bombay and he could well have had the ceremonies performed here if he was assured that the girl was sincerely convinced of the truths of the Arya Samaj and that her consent to marry him was the result of her cool judgment and not the result of a momentary infatuation created, serhaps, by the neighbourhood of a cinema house. Any honourable man would have got into touch with the girl's parents and given them the opportunity of ascertaining the real mind of their daughter. From the man's own point of view this would have been wise. Incidentally, the case shows that the mere raising of the age in the Abduction section of the Penal Code, as suggested by the Sind Judicial Commissioner, will not meet all the needs of the situation. The Bombay girl was just over eighteen years of age but most Indian girls of fifteen would have shown more circumspection than she did.

While the Karachi Judicial Commissioner and the Lucknow Magistrate were within their judicial rights, we think that cases of this kind require to be handled with more freedom if the well-being of society is to be furthered by the administration of justice. The Judicial Commissioner was able to find a way which indirectly led to the correction of a wrong which he felt himself powerless directly to rectify. The Lucknow Magistrate had no such escape. Without in the least questioning the correctness of his procedure, we may ask if it would have been an undue extension of his judicial capacity if he had questioned the parties about the suddenness and furtiveness of their actions and instructed the Police to keep a watch on the movements of the couple. In view of the recurrence of cases of this kind, it would, we think, be desirable to institute special Courts empowered to investigate the circumstances before adjudicating the validity of conversion marriages.

Anti-Prohibitionists:—The Western India Council of the Liberal Federation have, it is reported, collected 40,000 signatures to a memorial protesting against the Prohibition policy of the Bombay Government. The protest actually is directed more against the pace of Prohibition than against Prohibition itself, since the signatories are believed to have expressly confined their objection to the suddenness of the measures. The value of such a protest loses rather than gains by its association with the Liberals, many of whom tried unsuccessfully to introduce Prohibition by easy stages when they were administering the province. Having failed in their efforts, they might well have left the Congress Ministries to total Prohibition without holding up a discredited alternative as the ideal method..... The anti-Prohibition dinner which was held on Thursday to celebrate the King's birthday as well as to register the organisers' opposition to Prohibition, was a costly futility. The money which was lavished on this function, might more usefully have been applied to relieving the Prohibition unemployed for whom the organizers of the dinner so often express the utmost sympathy.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CHINESE INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVES.

(By Rewi Alley.)

The destruction of 90 per cent of her pre-war machine industry which was situated in the maritime and river ports was not a death-blow to China because her economy is still largely agricultural and decentralised. But it was, nevertheless, an extremely serious setback—and if China is to carry on the struggle, she needs to replace immediately the productive power which has been lost. To win the victory which she believes will be hers, and to preserve herself from a semi-colonial status, she must not only re-establish but expand her industrial power now, under wartime conditions.

This situation forms the background for a new effort to bring together the great human and material resources of Free China. Salvaged machinery is set up in small industrial units. Refugee workers wandering over the face of the country are brought together and given a job to do. Determined young organizers and engineers, starting from scratch—are working with splendid initiative, earnestness, and faith in the future to create a new type of industry suited to China's wartime needs—an industry that is decentralised and thus relatively invulnerable to bombing and consists of small workshops that can readily be moved if threatened by an enemy advance. Giving concrete form to the new patriotism and new democracy now taking shape in China, these units are organized co-operatives. Their workers labour doubly well because they know that it is not for another's enrichment that they are working, but for themselves and for the country.

Beginning the ninth month of their existence, the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives have now five headquarters and 22 depots throughout Free China. Each depot serves as an organizing centre for a network of small industries, and several hundred units are now producing the goods needed in the localities they serve. Schools to train co-operative organizers and workers have been opened. Machinery and refugees are being distributed according to plan. Hundreds of new units are to begin production in the near future, and the final goal is 30,000 industrial co-operatives throughout the country.

A recent tour by the writer through the area under the jurisdiction of the Northwest Headquarters of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives strengthened his conviction that a chain of small industries run by and for the people, exploiting local resources, serving local needs, and linking up the villages and small towns of China, is the only sure foundation for the country's wartime economic development. Apart from its other aspects, it can solve the great problem of the refugees. The rapid spread of the idea, and the new enthusiasm of the workers in the units already existing are the best proof that industrial co-operatives are the real answer to the question of how, by collective effort, China's millions of producers can fight simultaneously for their own and their nation's existence. One of the widespread slogans of this war in China has been: "Those who have money must give their money. Those who have strength must give their strength." The industrial co-operatives provide the best medium for giving effect to this slogan.

The opening of new avenues of transportation in the Northwest has caused little villages, hitherto almost unknown, to assume a new importance. In one such place, situated near rich mineral deposits, the refugees and local workers who have collected there, have set about building a real co-operative town. The industrial co-operatives here include a foundry, a machine-shop, a flour-mill, a paper mill, and a pottery works. There are co-operative mining ventures in the vicinity and new ones are being planned. Refugee workers from other parts of the country have brought new ideas into this region, in which there was previously no industry at all. A valley stream has been diverted to flow through the co-operative paper factory, supplying it with water and carrying away waste. The channel of a river has been altered to turn a water-wheel which supplies power to run a furnace blower. It is safe to say that this backward hinterland of China will never be the same again.

In this town, the co-operatives shape the civic life. A training school for co-operative workers and organizers has been established near-by. Several enterprises have banded together to set up a co-operative hospital. A co-operative restaurant and lodging house are being planned. When the writer arrived, members of the local co-operatives met to welcome him in the loft of the co-operative machine shop. Songs were sung and jokes told, as they are when men meet the world over. The workers spoke of the co-operatives as their own "show" and indicated in every way that they were proud to belong to them and confident of the future. A foundry apprentice who had never been to school, declared that it would now be good for him to learn to read and write and the same atmosphere of ambition to achieve a new and richer life was apparent every where. In chorus the men sang the song of industry, "We Work Together to Build Our Defence"—vigorously and well.

In another co-operative centre, the industrial units are clustered along the lowest hillsides in cave villages. The same atmosphere of happiness at having found this new way of work prevails. A number of refugee mill girls from Hankow said they were glad to be there, and did not want to return to any other kind of industrial enterprise. In their co-operatives, they felt that they were in an environment that they could master, an environment much less relentless than the old sweat-shop cotton mills which had now fallen into the hands of the enemy.

In this district, the various units have formed a Co-operative Federation which assists the weaker co-operatives and helps its member-enterprises to find markets. A co-operative store does a thriving trade, and when the writer passed through it was thronged with soldiers who patronise it for the various supplies needed by their detachments. One group of soldiers was carrying bales of canvass to an army truck. Another was loading cotton gauze for field hospitals. Winter gloves and candy seemed especially popular with individual soldiers.

Co-operative enterprise is constantly spreading to new branches of productive activity and it seems that there is no industrial work that cannot be carried on along these lines. Transport is an important and integral part of industry. In the Northwest C. I. C. transport co-operatives are being organized one after another. One large unit consists of 150 mule carts, running on old truck wheels with rubber tyres. This co-operative transports cotton. Camel and donkey trains carry soda and salt. There are plenty of animals in the Northwest, and plenty of refugees to look after them. For the refugees themselves, handcarts are being turned out by a co-operative machine shop which also makes weaving looms which the women-folk of the transport workers can band together to operate.

New and better methods of work are constantly being introduced in the co-operatives. Old implements have been adapted to produce increased

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

output. Metal castings have taken the place of wooden cogwheels on handpowered machines. Other improvements of primitive tools have been carried out, many of them suggested by the workers themselves. Word of a better method of doing a thing apreads like wildfire. The war and this new industrial revolution seem to have completely changed the character of the slow-thinking Northwesterners who have proved themselves both willing and able to drop time-honored methods of work as soon as something better presents itself. Technical instructors of Nanking University, now operating in Chengtu in the far West, are fathering the co-operatives in this region and have devised an excellent wool-spinning machine which turns out just double the amount of yarn produced by the type previously used. This spinner will be welcomed in many a Northwestern woollen-workers co-operatives, and its adoption at this time can be considered a national victory for China.

Woollen manufacture is destined to play a much larger part in the economy of China's Northwest than it has hitherto done. The raw materials are there and the need is great. Chinese soldiers freeze to death because the only blankets they have are cotton ones from India. The population is inadequately clothed to face the winter cold. At the same time, great stores of wool formerly exported, are now available for domestic production. The Chinese *Industrial* Co-operatives are laying the groundwork for a new industry while filling orders for a million blankets for the army. Spinning presents a much more serious problem than blanket-weaving. But now, with the Nanking University's machine and the other improvements in local methods on which co-operative engineers are working, this problem too is approaching solution.

In one sleepy old city which was once famous there are paper workers in plenty. Here ancient methods still prevail. But with demand constantly increasing, the co-operatives have appeared on the scene and co-operative engineers are finding work. The printing co-operatives, too, are becoming a popular institution. In the Northwest, one puts out a daily newspaper, another a bi-weekly magazine. The local demand is great and the co-operative printers are kept busy.

Gold washing is another field in which co-operatives are active along the rivers of South Shensi. Most of the men engaged in it are refugees. The Northwest Headquarters sends out prospecting parties consisting of an engineer and twelve men to spot likely localities.

THE MINORITY QUESTION.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

For more than ten years past, the problem of majorities and minorities in India has been discussed by me, but as there seems to be a lack of clear understanding yet, I crave your indulgence for inflicting on the readers of the *Indian Social Reformer* a further contribution summarising the relevant arguments. Romain Roland said at the beginning of one of his articles that he was writing for easing his conscience and did not expect to convince. A very humble admirer of his has taken courage from that confession.

Lord Zetland said a few days ago that unless Hindus and Muslims co-operated as *equal* partners engaged in a common task, the future of India would be black indeed. Sir Mirza Ismail, speaking at Salem, referred to the nervousness felt by Muslims in India and to the example of modern Turkey where Mahomedans and Christians worked together as members of the same nation, the crescent and the cross intermingling in joint national processions.

In India, the case is very different. Wherever there exist these two large communities, there seems to be mutual suspicion, and conflicts usually arise during processions. It should be remembered that in the old autocratic days such conflicts were very rare. The reason was that the autocrat, whether a Prince or a Collector, was free from communal prejudices, and had also immense prestige and power for putting down lawlessness. It is obvious that this worsening has a direct relationship to the grant of the vote. Minorities, whether Moslem or Hindu, feel that the majority community is less tolerant and less likely to be just than an autocrat or bureaucrat and the latter is feared less also.

The voting system was introduced into India with the best of intentions. The MacDonald Award and the Harijan fast were also well-intentioned. The fallacy underlying the adoption of the English system is that whereas in England a person votes for a party candidate and hence for responsible Party Government, in India the voting is mostly for a member of the voter's community and hence ultimately for a communal government. Even where there is a Party, the emphasis, in most men's minds, is on the community. Congress majorities, although they actually include Moslems, are regarded as communal majorities; and hence the failure of the Congress to form a government in those provinces where Hindus do not form the majority. The Frontier Province is an exception which will cease to be one whenever Abdul Gaffar Khan goes out. It is an exception which does not disprove the rule. A communal majority does not possess the rights of a parliamentary majority because it is based on birth and not on political policies which men of different sects could adopt, but a wrong system has impregnated Indians, even politically minded Indians, with the idea that it has such rights and hence all the present unrest and confusion. Speech after speech could be cited for proving the point. There is scarcely any emphasising the difference. An example will be given from Travancore, where it is Hindu and Christian, not Hindu and Moslem, but the idea is just the same.

The Elavas are a Hindu community midway between caste Hindus and depressed classes Hindus. There has recently occurred a change in the method of voting; the details need not be discussed. Any speech in a Malayalam paper discussing this change illustrates the confusion. Advocates of the new system have repeatedly said that under the old method the Elavas were the 'slaves' of the Christians, and opponents, including the Caste organization of Elavas, *viz*, the S. N. D. P. Yogam, assert that they have now become the 'slaves' of the Nairs. No Elava, Nair or Christian orator has expressed the view that an Elava voter has a *political* opinion and ought to cast his vote for the candidate whether Christian, Nair or Elava, who holds that opinion. The object of the change, it has been repeatedly asserted in speech after speech and also in editorials, is the consolidation of the Hindus. The consolidation of Hindus socially is quite legitimate, and this has been confused with consolidation politically, which is equally illegitimate in genuine democracy. The British form, which is the model, is possible only when there are two great parties both consisting of Hindus, Christians and Moslems, and hence there is no meaning in the assertion which is repeatedly being made in speeches and writings that because Hindus form the majority, therefore

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Hindus have the right to rule, duly safeguarding the rights of Christians and Moslems. Although not so openly stated elsewhere the idea is generally prevalent all over India, and hence the counter-claim made by some Moslem Ministers that India should form a confederation of Moslem states where Mahomedans are the majority, and Hindu states where Hindus predominate. The parliamentary majority which is a matter of Parties and policies, has been submerged in the communal majority.

It ought to be stated that this confusion does not occur in the Travancore Government communique. There it is stated that whereas Latin Christians and Mahomedans are both backward and small in numbers, a successful candidate in a general constituency with seats reserved for these communities should get 60 per cent of the votes of his own community. This privilege is denied to Elavas not on the ground that they are Hindus, but on the ground that they are a numerous community. It was, however, forgotten that they are very backward, although not as depressed as the Harijans in British India; that they are weak in voting strength, and that they have interests separate from those of caste Hindus. As a result, their communal organization, S. N. D. P. Yogam, whose nominees were all elected previously, has not put up candidates for the bye-elections.

The confusion is most apparent in speeches and editorials which point to the election of Christians at the previous election with the help of Hindu (Elava) votes in constituencies with a predominance of Hindu voters as a great enormity and due to communalism and fraction, whereas the election of Hindus (Elava or Nair) at the bye-elections in such constituencies on account of the change in the voting system is applauded as a triumph of nationalism and democracy.

Such outspoken confusion between a parliamentary and a communal majority when regarded in terms of genuine democracy is not apparent in British India, but there is the underlying idea in many papers that because Hindus form the vast majority, therefore, Hindu culture and nationality could be equated with Indian culture and Indian nationality. This is what is causing nervousness even in a sober statesman of the calibre of the Dewan of Mysore.

Realising the communal prejudices of Indians, I had shown in article after article that the British method is unsuited for India, and that the ascent from autocratic government ought to be on the lines of the national government in England and Panchayets in India. It will take a whole pamphlet and not a single article to repeat all that was said. A story against me, which taught me the value of the Panchayat idea will, however, bear repetition. When I was a raw Assistant Commissioner, at the suggestion of the experienced Tahsildar, I appointed a Panchayet in a village for settling a long standing dispute. Riding back to camp, I asked a Panchayetdar who was accompanying me, what should be done in case the Panchayet passed an unjust decision. The old ryot said, "But, Sir, it is a Panchayet that you have appointed." The meaning was that a Panchayet should be expected to come to a just and a final decision from which there would be no need or occasion for an appeal.

After ten years and looking at recent incidents it is still my conviction that the Hindu-Moslem problem in India as also the Nair-Christian question in Travancore, are capable of being settled satisfactorily if the communal majority notion is supplemented by the Panchayet idea. Simultaneously active steps should be taken to secularise politics and create in the minds of the people, especially of the younger generation, fellow feeling and active sympathy with those of other faiths.

PROBLEMS OF CEYLON INDIANS.

(By an Indian in Ceylon.)

Ceylon has fast developed into an acute Greater India problem for the Government of India and the Indian people, as will be evident from the major crisis now enveloping the Indian community in Ceylon. The adoption by the Government of India, all along, of a policy of non-interference in the affairs of this small island, dependent on India for her political and economic existence, provides the obvious explanation. Perhaps, this is due to the fact that India with her infinitely superior power as a major state, was eager to be fair to a small Island in her continuous endeavours to keep her head above water.

The Board of Ministers and the Sinhalese bloc in the State Council in their restrictions of the political and economic rights of Indian nationals in the Island for the past eight years of autonomy, have brought about a state of affairs in which such non-interference cannot be kept up. Indians in Ceylon have no remedy available since the Governor, Sir Andrew Caldecott, has sanctioned the Amended Village Communities Ordinance, which has reduced over 600,000 Indian Estate labourers to rightless men and women slaving for the planter and towards keeping Government revenues in sound position. He has, in the second instance, now blessed the scheme for the compulsory dismisal and repatriation of 8,000 daily-paid Indian employees in Government service which when computed at 4 dependants per employee (according to the official estimate) would involve a total exodus of 32,000, with, however, a large number of additions to be weeded out from quasi-Government services, such as Municipality, and Urban Councils, making the aggregate, anything over 500,000 Indians, at an ultimate cost of Rs. 2,500,000 to the Ceylon tax-payer. This coup of the Sinhalese bloc is a studied counterblast to the impartial findings of the Jackson Commission Report.

The strangling process begun thus without any regard to the economic and political consequences and without any justification, does not come on the Indian community in Ceylon with any surprise; because they are fully aware of the instincts of the Ceylonese politicians sedulously supported by the reactionary press, endorsed in a luke-warm manner by the European planter, and acclaimed as a logical necessity by the Sinhalese bourgeois as the only solution for all the ills of unemployment in this country.

The State Council, at the instance of the Board of Ministers, has now thrown the gauntlet by the adoption of an initial vote of Rs. 500,000 for the repatriation scheme by a majority of 24, which clearly indicates a deliberate determination to put through this policy.

There is an unbridled outflow from India into this Island of huge credits without sufficient import cover, in the shape of consumption goods such as rice, textiles, dry fish, chillies, and onions, wheat, etc., to the tune of Rs. 54,000,000 as against Rs. 9,000,000 of exports from Ceylon. This policy, it will be noted, has been going on for the past fifty years as part and parcel of the immigration of estate labour on a large scale with its necessary accompaniments of trade expansion. The adverse trade balances against Ceylon on this account have now crystallised itself into non-self liquidating assets standing to the credit of Indian nationals. India has thus been throwing her credits into Ceylon with no hope of recovery; and this is the reason why immigration into the Island on such a large scale has been going on as a necessity to secure cover for such credits. At the same time, this has become a political problem

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

since 1931 as has been demonstrated by the various legislative activities directed against the Indian mercantile and working class interests in Ceylon.

The Government of India can on no consideration shirk their responsibility for this sinister development of a political plague-spot before their very eyes, in as much as they have allowed this large scale immigration as well as the flow of extensive credits every year in the shape of consumption goods into this Island unchecked and without cover.

A member in the Ceylon State Council in the course of the debate on the vote for Rs. 5,00,000 for repatriation scheme, has provided India with the cue to deal with the drastic action of the State Council in its present temper. He wants to cure drastic ills with drastic remedies. The State as a model employer can ill-afford to adopt a policy of wholesale dismissal of thousands of its employees without laying itself open to the charge of abusing its statutory powers towards effecting the maximum distress to these employees. In consequence, India has little justification to regret the adoption of equally drastic steps which would check Sinhalese politicians.

India should forthwith repatriate her estate labourers who form the mainstay of the Government revenue. India should adopt immediately economic sanctions in respect of consumption goods leaving her ports for Ceylon as her trade with Ceylon is only a trifle less than 1½ per cent of her total foreign trade. Again India should peremptorily demand financial and economic safeguards through the Colonial Office for over sixty crores of rupees standing to the credit of Indian nationals in the Island. India further should dispense with the services of the considerable number of statutory civilians hailing as nationals from Ceylon now in the Indian Civil Service thus implementing the Reciprocity Act. Unless India decides to meet this emergency, the intransigence of Ceylon would be still more disastrous.

Apart from the immediate adoption of these measures, India can ill-afford to allow a rebel camp to flourish in Ceylon in close proximity to her southern frontier, but 21 miles across the Palk's Strait. India, as the legitimate guardian of peace in the Indian Ocean, is obliged to police the area in consonance with her indisputable claim for such precautions in respect of her national defence. Moreover, India spends considerable amounts every year on military expenditure which Ceylon makes use of in times of emergency as in 1915, over and above securing defence for Ceylon, without the latter incurring any expenditure on this account. In commerce, agriculture, industry and finance again, India gives her maximum accommodation regardless of consequences and risks. India should understand by now that Ceylon's visible export balance in her favour is accounted for by the huge drain annually of tea and rubber exports as a set-off against dividends and depreciation funds of the Sterling and Rupee companies operating in the Island, as well as cover against imports from European countries. India is relegated to a secondary place in respect of repayments in goods against exports from India into the Island though she has been a helpful hand-maid to the tea industry and the European investor.

A considerable portion of the trade credits in the Island during the last 10 years have now become frozen assets undergoing automatic depletion through legislation directed against Indian trade interests. The diverse control schemes now set in motion by the Ministry of Commerce in Ceylon in Rice, Sugar and Wheat would certainly drive away the Indian operators out of the field since their legal provisions are essentially forfeitory in character. The Shop Act and the promised threat to Ceylonise seventy-five per cent of even private establishments is the last straw. At this rate there is absolutely no common ground to have any trade talks between India and Ceylon. Ceylon has decided to take the law into her own hands.

Nor is there any necessity to go into the merits of the question of the future representation of Indians in Ceylon legislature under the circumstances.

On all fronts the Indian community in Ceylon is now confronted with ruin and distress. There is but one solution to all these accumulated sins of omission and commission. India has to decide now to take the reins into her own hands and direct the course of events to avert certain disaster to her nationals and to this unfortunate Island.

MYSORE DEWAN ON STATES' PROBLEM.

There is one subject of the most profound interest to all of us, to which I cannot altogether omit reference. It is the subject of re-adjustment—re-adjustment in the internal organisation and the external relations of the Indian States. As I have already said, here in Mysore, a Committee is at work on these subjects. We are awaiting its report. But meanwhile it seems necessary to indicate the attitude of Mysore to the recent statesmanlike exhortation of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Rulers of the Indian States. The answer of Mysore to that appeal was—you will endorse this—a complete and full agreement. And from what I know of other States their answer is the same. For an Indian Prince there can be no higher object in life than this—to live for and to strive for the welfare and contentment of his subjects. There belongs to him, by age-long tradition, the natural leadership of his people in all that pertains to their prosperity and honour. In their approbation lies his highest reward. But how is he to secure this approbation? Apart from the necessary personal exertion and interest, two things must be provided—appropriate constitutional machinery to ascertain public opinion, and administrative agencies to give effect to the decisions arrived at in the light of that opinion.

To the importance of all this, the Rulers of our States are fully alive; and if action on their part has not been as rapid as some might wish, the reason is to be sought in the difficulties which beset the task.

The conditions of the modern world suggest the Roman maxim—"Hasten slowly." All around us we see forms of government and of society on trial. None has definitely passed the test. How then can we proclaim aloud or even feel in our heart, "This system is better than any other?" Even if a system of government or society appears to pass the abstract test, how can we be sure it will survive the acid test of crude realities?

I refer to these difficulties not to justify stagnation or re-action. To-day if we wish to survive we must take courage in both hands and move forward. Otherwise we perish. To leave the accustomed track involves risks, to keep to it involves greater risks. To reconcile the forces of progress and order—that is the task of wisdom.

In view of the difficulties of the problem one is gratified to note the tone of moderation and practicalness in some of the recent statements of Mahatma Gandhi on the subject of reforms in the States. It would be ridiculous to start with the presumption that the Ruling Princes of India are the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

enemies of their subjects. To have faith is fairer than to distrust and is more conducive to progress. The way of salvation in our political and social ills seems to me to lie in a patient and tentative advance made in the spirit of compromise and goodwill. Compromise and moderation — the policy of the middle path will consolidate our strength and lead us on from strength to strength.

I make this plea not only with reference to the question of reforms within the States, but also with reference to the issue of Federation. Even there, where is need, and the most clamant need, for the exercise of the spirit of compromise, not from this, that or the other side only, but from each and every side.

Speaking of Federation, I should like once again to make it clear that it is not correct to look upon our own particular questions—the subsidy and the retrocession of the C. & M. Station—as questions arising out of that issue. These two questions were there calling for solution long before Federation appeared on the horizon; and they would remain to be solved even if the Federation scheme be put aside. What Mysore has been asking for is that these old accounts be settled before the proposed new account is opened with Federation. Both are questions connected not with the State's relations with British India as such, but with its dealings with the Imperial Power; and that Power need not complicate our relations with a Federated India by handing over to the Federal authority something to which it can lay no claim. It is no satisfaction to us to know that our claims have been admitted in principle. We look for a final settlement at the earliest date possible, whether there is Federation or not.

BANNING OF OM MANDLI.

Mr. R. V. Thadhani writes to the Editor, *Sind Observer*:—

Sir,—I think in applying the provisions of section 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the Om Mandli and Om Nivas the Government of Sind have misused their powers.

In my opinion, section 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act has no application in the case.

Section 16 reads as follows :

"If the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that any association interferes or has for its object interference with the administration of law or with the maintenance of law and order or that it constitutes a danger to the public peace, the Governor-General in Council may by notification in the Official Gazette declare such association to be unlawful."

The Government of Sind in applying the provisions of this section have made use of the latter part, namely, that the Om Mandli constitutes a danger to the public peace.

For the meaning of the phrase "danger to the public peace" one has to look to the preceding parts of the section, namely, that the association interferes or has for its object interference with the administration of law and order. This phrase cannot be read independently to mean "Danger of any kind whatsoever to the public peace."

Taking the worst view of the case, all that can be said against the Om Mandli is that it is an institution where domestic marital ties are set at naught and girls of tender age and immature judgment are taught to look upon Bhai Lekhraj as the Reincarnation of Sri Krishna and that there is no sin in his indulging in spiritual kisses and embraces, etc.

I do not wish it to be conveyed that I accept this as at all proved. What I wish to convey is that even assuming that all this is true, this institution cannot be worse than so many houses of ill-fame spread throughout the country and the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act cannot be availed of to suppress them—much less can they be invoked to suppress the activities of the Om Mandli and Om Nivas.

I expect the readers of your journal will agree with me that the Criminal Law Amendment Act was never intended to suppress evils of this kind, namely, the existence of houses of ill-fame and the Om Mandli, if at all a den of darkness, cannot be worse than these.

In making use of the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the Government of Sind have created a precedent which is bound to react on them at one time or the other.

It cannot be gainsaid that, in having recourse to the provisions of this Act, the Government have yielded to pressure from the Hindu members of the Assembly and the actual regisnation of the two Hindu Ministers.

It was indeed at the point of the bayonet that the Government appointed a Tribunal and they don't quite seem to be sure about its legal status, as they often call it an Advisory Committee, and that its creation was under compulsion is clear from the speech of the Law Member who then admitted on the floor of the House that in taking action against the Om Mandli, they were stretching the law to satisfy the Hindu members of the Assembly.

My only regret is that His Excellency the Governor of Sind should have been a party to the publication of this notification.

ANOTHER CONVERSION—MARRIAGE CASE.

The Court room of Rai Bahadur Jyoti Prasad, City Magistrate, was packed to capacity when judgment was delivered in the case in which one Tribhuvan Nath Tandon was charged with kidnapping Razia Begam of Bombay from the residence of her father, Mirza Ali Beg, a head clerk in the G. I. P. Railway.

Ordering that the girl be set at liberty and that she might go with any person she liked, the City Magistrate remarked, "Mst. Razia Begam, according to her own statement, embraced the Aryan religion in Benares and thereafter she was married, in accordance with the Aryan religion, in an Arya Samaj temple. The girl got herself examined by Lt.-Col. Vaidia, I. M. S., Civil Surgeon, Benares, before her marriage and he certified that the age of the girl could be about 18 years as stated by her

"The girl has stated before me that she is now running her 19th year. She was examined by the Civil Surgeon of Lucknow, who is also of the opinion that she is about 18 years of age.

"I have seen the girl myself and I am satisfied that she is a major and that her statement that she wants to live with Tandon is voluntary. I do not think that under these circumstances I would be justified in detaining the girl in police custody.

"I, therefore, direct that the girl be set at liberty and she may go with any person she likes. I am assured that sufficient precautions will be taken for her safety.

"It was argued before me that the girl should be detained till the arrival of her father. This request was made to me in Court on Saturday and I was given to understand that the father was coming by the evening train. This request was made on behalf of one Sri Niwas Shashtri who alleges that he has been sent by the father of Razia Begum. He has, however, failed to show me any evidence to the effect that the father of the girl has sent any intimation to the effect that he is coming to Lucknow to take his girl. I, therefore, direct that the girl should be set at liberty."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It will be recalled that Tribhuvan Nath Tandon and Razia Begum (Shanti, as she was afterwards named) were arrested by the Hazratganj police on Thursday night at a house on La Touche Road.

Mr. S. S. Choudhary, Mr. Jagdish Narain Seth, Mr. B. L. Kaul, Mr. Raghunandan Prasad Mathur and others appeared for Tribhuvan Nath. Mr. Ahmad Shafi for Srinivas Shastri.

RELEASED.

Shanti Devi Tandon (or Mst. Razia Begam as she, was formerly called) was set free from the Lucknow Central Jail, on Saturday night following orders issued by Rai Bahadur Jyoti Prasad, City Magistrate Lucknow. The girl was taken in a car under police protection to the City Arya Samaj Bhavan where Tribhuvan Nath Tandon met her.

Tribuvan Nath and Shanti Devi left the Samaj Bhavan the following morning for an unknown destination. It is, however, understood that they have gone to some State in Rajputana, where Mr. Tandon has received some job.

"THE 'REFORMER' AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION." *

We admire the weekly *Reformer* as one of our most powerful moral sledge-hammers in India. Imagine our surprise, therefore, when in its issue of May 27 it could content itself with describing as a mere 'reference' to the Inquisition four or five detailed columns on the subject in the Marathi *Kesari* of May 9. This unusual mildness concerning such sordid details has made us wonder whether those four or five Marathi columns had been read, or whether it was that their sordidness was being minimized. In either case the imaginary inferences drawn about ourselves fall to the ground. We made no 'insinuation,' no 'inuendo' about 'matching the Inquisition,' but a plain statement of fact that the present century's Indian Christians can give many 'stories of religious persecution.' Our phrase 'similar stories' meant similarly shocking stories, not similar Inquisitional *methods*. In the Nizam's Dominions, for instance, to quote the latest case to hand, where the British Methodist Church alone has increased by eighty thousand in the past twenty years, an average yearly increase of four thousand, there is bitter persecution even of those who declare they 'want to be Christians,' and the persecution is being borne so courageously as to be one secret of tho increase. The amazing story of the persecution of two such *unbaptised* enquirers we had just received when we read the *Reformer's* statement, '*If there are cases of persecution, organized religious persecution* (our italics),. . . it is his' (*i. e.* our) 'obvious duty to come out with them.' The best way we *can* 'come out with them' is to advise our respected contemporary to arrange for a visit to the Indian Christian leaders or missionaries in the area mentioned. We are quite sure one result would be the *Reformer's* profound admiration of those of its countrymen who are suffering daily for their principles without any publicity being given them. Moreover, none would disapprove such publicity more than would the *Reformer*, and rightly so, as the *Reformer* has had its full share of obloquy during its nearly half century of noble service. May that service long continue.

J. F. Edwards.

*Dnyanodaya. June 1939.

THE LEAGUE TO-DAY.

In the present extreme tension of international politics, it is difficult to define the exact position of the League of Nations. Shorn for the moment of its capacity for taking an active part in the political discussions of the day, the League has nevertheless its own anxieties and doubts. Still there is a clear quickening of the faith which looks to the principles of the Covenant as valid guides to international conduct. The membership of the League has been again reduced in consequence of recent events. It is, however, noticeable that, as the world faces the accumulation of crises which seem to threaten yet another catastrophe, the language of the covenant, the doctrines of the League and the vocabulary of its creed are being consistently, if not consciously, invoked. This does not mean that politically there has been a direct "return to Geneva." In all probability, the present malaise must, for some time, invite firmer emphasis on the League's humanitarian and technical labours rather than on its capacity for solving political enigmas.

In this situation, especially when every country, great or small, has to put itself on guard against all imaginable dangers, the League's future cannot but be a subject of attention and even concern. Nevertheless, if the history of the last decade means anything, it certainly shows that, to quote the recent words of Earl Baldwin: "Unless mankind is for ever to be subject to the law of the jungle, we shall have to come back to the Covenant, or something like it again and again."

FLAGS ON SCHOOLS.

A circular issued by the Bombay Government says:—

"It has come to the notice of Government that a School Board has, by a majority, recently passed a resolution to hoist the National (Congress) Flag on its Primary School buildings and on its office building when there was substantial opposition to the proposal. Government desires to impress on all local bodies the fact that the National (Congress) Flag is essentially an emblem of non-violence and communal unity and has been deliberately designed to be accepted as such. It follows, therefore, that unless it is resolved unanimously by all the members of a public body to do so, the National (Congress) Flag should not be flown on any public buildings belonging to that body."

NEWSPAPERS AND ADVERTISEMENTS.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Dear Sir,

May I congratulate you on the courageous article in your issue of May 27th by Mr. J. M. Ganguli of Calcutta.

I refer especially to the latter part of the article wherein Mr. Ganguli blames newspapers for the advertisements they dispaly concerning every conceivable sexual disease, abnormality and desire. Occasionally an Indian friend lends me copies of a journal and I have been amazed at the disgusting nature of some of the advertisements which are blatantly displayed on nearly every page. This morning I began to cut out these adverts to send to you, but the collection was so vile that I care not send them. Can nothing be done about this sort of thing? Is this the only way a newspaper can pay its way?

Those of us who love this country and have the welfare of its people at heart, feel very strongly about these things. There is enough vice and bestiality in the heart of man without encouraging more, and it would be a great thing if Congress were to establish a strict censorship over all advertisements.

Yours etc.,
J. LAWSON GARFORTH.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(„ „).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(District Nasik).
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(„ „).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	(District Panch Mahals).
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
- BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
- BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
- CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
- ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
- MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
- KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
- AHMEDABAD.
- AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
- CALCUTTA.
- CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
- CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
- JAMSHEDPUR.
- NAGPUR CITY.
- NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
- POONA.
- POONA CITY.
- RAJKOT.
- SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the sale custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application,

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad,)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & **MADRAS.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,
Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate.
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

OFFICE—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JUNE 3, 1939. No. 40

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu.
The Pandit's Dilemma.
Lord Lothian's Apology.
Sir Hari Singh Gour on Hinduism.
Business and Politics.
Marriage Reform Legislation.
Archbishop Roberts on Prohibition.
Conversion and Marriage.
The Mahars.
The Ninth Constitution.
U. S. A. Deportation of Aliens.
The Rajkot Settlement.
The Roman Catholic Church and Democracy.
Nira and Teetotalism.
Where Soviet Russia Fails.
What Hitler Wrote About India.
The Fruits of Holy Obedience.
Visit of Dr. Montessori.
Age of Minors Bill.
Prohibition in N. W. F. P.

NOTES.

Sir R. Venkataratnam Naidu:—We received on Friday the 26th May, too late for notice in last week's *Reformer*, a telegram intimating that Sir Venkataratnam Naidu has passed away. Another link with the past snapped. Venkataratnam Naidu was distinguished as an educationist and a social and religious reformer. A man of strong, rather stern, principles, he was never a popular figure. His father was an army officer and a sort of military discipline was a part of Venkataratnam's mental heritage. He was one of the oldest Brahmo Samajists in Madras. His religion shaped itself as a rigid and rather forbidding puritanism to many outside the circle of his devoted friends and admirers. He was one of the most formidable protagonists of the Social Purity movement inaugurated by social reformers in Madras forty-five years ago. Total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, purity of private life, the abolition of the devadasi system, were its main objects. In pursuance of the second object, Venkataratnam led a crusade against public men who were known for laxity of private morals. He reminded Miss Muller when, at the open Congress session, she moved that the late Mr. Eardly Norton should not be heard when he rose to move a resolution, because he happened at the time to be a defendant in a divorce case. Alfred Webb who presided, disallowed Miss Muller's motion but the event created a great stir. At the Subjects Committee of the National Social Conference the next day, Ranade, after a heated debate lasting over a couple of hours, himself drafted a resolution insisting that no one whose private life was not pure should be accepted as a leader in any sphere of the national movement. In social reform, Venkataratnam was most keen on the abolition of caste. He was one of the pioneers of the movement for the abolition of untouchability. In later life he came in contact with the Maharaja of Pithapuram who regarded him as his friend and preceptor. Venkataratnam was Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University for a term. We do not think he took much interest in the Andhra separatist movement. As a Brahmo his outlook was universal and he had no inclination to parochial politics. When he ceased to take active part in public movements, he spent much of his time in meditating on things of the spirit, and not long ago we had the privilege of noticing a volume of his sermons and addresses, chiefly to students. His religious thought, as that of many other Brahmos, was profoundly influenced by the writings of the great British Unitarian philosopher and divine, James Martineau whose "Endeavours after the Christian Life" was almost a scripture to several generations of devout Brahmos. Viresalingam Pantulu, the first and foremost of Andhra leaders of social and religious reform, was also a member of the Brahmo Samaj but his religious thought was patterned on the Advaita of Hinduism and also, paradoxical as it may seem, on the pure rationalism of the English philosophers of the nineteenth century. Andhra nowadays has turned to politics to the exclusion of religion and social reform. She has no leaders today of the stature of these two moral giants, none to take their place as representatives of the deeper spiritual instincts and aspirations of her gifted people.

The Pandit's Dilemma:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been moved to write out his reflections on the situation in the Congress created by the Tripuri developments. He has, as he has himself stated in his autobiography, often suppressed his own convictions in deference to Gandhiji. He had persuaded himself that by doing so he would be best serving the cause or causes which he had at heart. But Tripuri has aroused in him serious doubts as to the rightness of his conduct in doing so. Undoubtedly by his acquiescent attitude he led other less glamorous politicians similarly to swallow their convictions and follow Gandhiji blindly. In our opinion, as suggested last week, Gandhiji is less to blame than acquiescent friends like the Pandit, for the uncomfortable pedestal on which he finds himself perched beyond reach of human counsel.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gandiji has frankly proclaimed that he has broken his compass and cannot find his bearings in the troubled sea of Indian politics. His friends, Rajagopala Charya, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and, now, Latthe (of all men) have come forward to proclaim their unswerving "faith" in Gandhiji. Pandit Nehru, on the other hand, finds himself in a terrible dilemma. As President of the States People's Conference, the Pandit had thought of taking the lead in the Rajkot trouble. But Gandhiji stepped into the scene and, for fear of coming into conflict with him, the Pandit silently abdicated his office. He could not, he says function where he did not understand. "I do not understand the logic at all of what has taken place." The fault is the Pandit's. He was like the proverbial blind man seeking in a dark room for the black cat which was not there. The events in Rajkot were not conceived or carried out in any logical sequence. Gandhiji has many qualities in common with the British which makes him so effective in dealing with Simla and Whitehall. Prominent among these is a contempt for theory and logic. The Pandit writes:

> But more and more the choice before many of us becomes difficult, and this is no question of Right or Left or even of political decisions. The choice is of unthinking acceptance of decisions which sometimes contradict each other and have no logical sequence; or opposition or inaction. Not one of these three courses is easily commendable. To accept unthinkingly what one cannot appreciate or willingly agree to, produces ultimately mental flabbiness and paralysis. *No great movement can be carried on this basis, certainly not a democratic movement. Opposition is difficult when it weakens us and helps the adversary. Inaction produces frustration and all manner of complexes, and is hardly conceivable when from every side comes the call for action.*

These are not the only alternatives and what makes the Pandit think they are, is that his vision has been blurred by the darkness in which he has so long confined himself in the honest but mistaken belief that he is thereby advancing the cause of Indian freedom. He has now awakened to the fact which was plain as can be for several years past, that "the acceptance unthinkingly of what one cannot appreciate or willingly agree to, produces ultimately mental flabbiness and paralysis." Did not Sarojini Naidu say at some election meeting in the United Provinces that if Congress nominates a stick as a candidate all should vote for it? The fourth alternative which has escaped the Pandit's observation, always remains. Every man can work for the cause he has at heart according to his own ideas. The great movements which have shaken the world in the past originated in one or a few minds. A crowd is an encumbrance not a help to constructive thinking. Reading the Pandit's articles brings to mind Hamlet's pathetic lines:

> The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
> That ever I was born to set it right.

Lord Zetland's Apology:—Lord Zetland's defence of British Imperialism at the Empire Day Dinner in London was in the nature of an apology. He said in effect that if there was any better Imperialism going round anywhere he would like to be told of it. The noble Marquess missed the point of the Indian nationalist charge. It is that Britain pursues in this country a policy and methods which it dare not pursue in her own territories or in the Dominions. He declared that the goal of India was Dominion status. As we have repeatedly pointed out, having regard to the racial, linguistic, religious and cultural differences between India and Britain, Dominion status has no sense as applied to India. Even the present Dominions, notwithstanding their cultural and dermal affinity to Britain, are kicking against Dominion status and demand to be called Kingdoms. We had great hopes of Lord Zetland when he came to the India Office. He has dipped into the spiritual springs of Indian life and would, we thought, infuse into British policy greater insight than the general run of holders of his office. Experience has confirmed the wisdom of the British tradition against entrusting a man who knows too much of any subject with its administration. When his lordship who had denounced the Communal Award as harsh and unfair to Bengali Hindus, set himself to enforce that very Award as a part of his official duty, the rift between conscience and official exigency began. Such rifts can not be confined to one particular subject. So long as Mr. Butler was Parliamentary Under-Secretary at the India Office, Lord Zetland's knowledge of India was not allowed to be used to the prejudice of India. Since his departure, if rumours are not altogether unfounded, the attitude of the India Office to India has deteriorated. Lord Zetland does not seem to remember that Dominion status today is not different from Independence and, if Great Britain is prepared to grant the one, it may as well agree to accept the other. If it is intended that India should have a different and inferior kind of Dominion status than Eire or South Africa, the Secretary of State may be assured that no one in this country is prepared to accept it. The only position which India can accept is that of absolutely equal partner with Great Britain in the Commonwealth which must be known as the Indo-British Commonwealth in order to mark our distinct status.

Sir Hari Singh Gour on Hinduism:—The London correspondent of the *Sind Observer* gives the substance of an address on Hinduism delivered by Sir Hari Singh Gour at the Indian Students' Union in London. Sir Hari Singh has left India for good and settled down in England. The starting point of his jeremiad was that the Hindus in 1871 were seven times as many as the other religionists while at present they were only as three to one of the latter. This is a misleading statement. Statistical comparisons are valid only when the aggregates of the things compared are approximately equal. Fifty blind in a population of 1,000 would be in the ratio of one

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1933]

twenty while in a population of 10,000 it will be one in two hundred. The numerical strength of the Hindus has increased during the last sixty years at a smaller rate than that of Christians and Muslims, as it might have been expected to, having regard to its enormously preponderant mass. The rate of increase of a population, we may observe in passing, is no sure index of the superiority of one religion over others as Sir Hari Singh assumed. All the testimony available shows that Hinduism far from being a declining and doomed religion has developed considerable strength and vitality under the impact of the modern spirit. Our enquiries during the last several years have consistently confirmed that Hindu shrines, temples and places of pilgrimage attract ever-increasing numbers in all parts of the country. A considerable proportion of the books published bear directly and indirectly on Hindu religious thought. Hindu thinkers are not content to write and speak to their own co-religionists. Hindu thought is permeating Western culture. As regards the intrinsic worth of Hindu civilisation, thoughtful men will admit that a system which has no recognised place for the trades of butcher and liquor-seller in its economic life, is superior to one of which the two are integral factors. The Indian Students' Union has appropriately invited Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan to be its next lecturer. No one is better qualified to expose the crudities of Sir Hari Singh Gour.

Business and Politics :—In an editorial devoted to Dr. Schacht's business interest in India and to the German press anxiety to bring about a trade agreement with India, the *Times of India* advises Indian business men to follow the example of the U. S. A. where President Roosevelt offered economic assistance to Germany if she abandoned aggressive preparations. Unfortunately deeds speak louder than words and the many warnings from Americans published by the *Times* itself, accusing Germany of breaking faith and supplying inferior goods, are sufficient evidence that business with Germany if it fails, will do so not because of Mr. Roosevelt's dislike of dictatorships nor even on account of a desire not to assist a war-minded nation with funds, but because trade has grown uncertain and undependable. The national boycott, which is no more than the introduction of sentiment into business, is peculiar to Asia, and even here it is not the strong point of the business community. We remember a few years ago when the boycott of foreign goods was vigorous in India, the *Times of India* was loud in its protests against mixing up "politics with business," and business "with sentiment." Now apparently it is a good thing. Does the *Times of India* seriously believe that British business men will refuse a good deal with Germany because they dislike the colour of her shirts? Indians must feel proud of the higher standards expected of them by the *Times of India*.

Marriage Reform Legislation :—The first number of the Magazine of the Poona Law College reviews the proposals of social legislation formulated last year in a lengthy editorial. It notes the awakening of the legislative conscience in regard to the question of marriage not only in the Central but also in the Provincial Legislatures, not only among Hindus but also among Muslims. Analysing the proposals, the journal finds that one group frankly addresses itself to the dissolution of marriages; while the other group is primarily concerned with the enforcement of monogamy by preventing polygamy, and only incidentally, as a means of enforcing monogamy, does this group let in divorce. Monogamy does not necessarily require to be supported by a divorce law, the most conspicuous example being the Canon Law of the Roman Catholics. Indian reformers, however, have gradually come to think that the present state of the Hindu law which, while allowing a husband to marry a second wife, is without any provision for the wife to release herself from a husband who has married a second wife or in other ways makes life intolerable to her, is anomalous and should be changed by giving relief to the unhappy wife. A perfect marriage in which "joy is duty, and love is law," is a true sacrament. The average marriage falls far short of it. But so long as the parties agree to differ so to speak, and to lead a peaceful existence so as not to disturb their friends and neighbours, there is no need for them to have recourse to the divorce court. But there may arise and do arise cases in which both or either of the parties, unable to live without constant bickerings, lead a cat and dog life causing demoralisation to children and the household generally. The journal suggests that in the proposals for enforcing monogamy, an exemption should be made where the first wives themselves urge their husbands to take second wives! We put this proposal before a Hindu matron and she promptly replied that all cases in which the first wife's approval is claimed are faked. Another friend pointed out that there is the possibility of the second wife also not giving birth to a son. A third friend mentioned a case within his knowledge in which the first wife bore a son soon after the second marriage. Then the second wife also bore a son and both women continued to make additions to the family to the embarrassment of the poor husband. Monogamy should be absolute. No exemptions should be allowed.... The journal points out that Mr. Jayakar's Act of 1929, intended to improve the position of female relatives in the order of succession, actually places a sister in a lower position than that she has been accorded by the Bombay Courts. The Editor adds: "Although the Bombay High Court has held that the Act does not affect the sister's position in Bombay, there is no provision in the Act itself to save her existing rank in the order of succession in the Bombay Presidency." Another difficulty connected with this Act is whether the term "sister" includes a "half sister." The Chief Court of Oudh has held that it does not: the High Court of Nagpur, on the hand, has held that it does.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, June 3, 1939.

ARCHBISHOP ROBERTS ON PROHIBITION.

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Bombay, Dr. Roberts, delivered an address on Prohibition at the luncheon meeting of the local Rotary Club on Tuesday. His Grace began by averring that he was not committed to one side or the other on the subject. But the whole speech was a criticism and an adverse criticism of the policy of the Bombay Government. We regret to have to add that it was also ignorant criticism. His Grace is a comparative newcomer in this country. So far as one can judge from his utterances and activities so far, he has not any very deep knowledge of Indian history or culture outside the narrow limits of the Church of which he is an exalted prelate. (Even if he had such knowledge it will be against the inveterate tradition of the Roman Church to allow that there is any light or truth outside it.) The Archbishop, to do him justice, condemned drunkenness in no uncertain terms. "Drunkenness," he declared, "paralyses reason and wrecks homes." He proceeded, however, at once to sidetrack the far-fetched significance of that remark by bringing in the analogy of "the intoxication of false ideals now wrecking whole nations of the world itself." The Archbishop may be reminded that these false ideals have nearly all originated in countries where his Church has exercised a predominant influence for over a thousand years —Spain, Italy, Austria. On the other hand, Hinduism and Islam are living influences in this country and both of them in their attitude to Prohibition belie the assumptions of His Grace. We were astonished to read in the speech of this high dignitary of the ancient Catholic Church that what the Government of Bombay had adopted as their policy in 1921 was irrelevant as an argument for their resuming the policy in 1939. How like the modernists who say that what a Galilean fisherman said or did two thousand years ago is irrelevant to the consideration of present day problems! Another astonishing declaration of the Archbishop's is that the reaction of the Indian to Prohibition will be the same as that of the American or Irishman because human nature is the same. The taste for drink does not come naturally to man. The craving for drink is emphatically not, as His Grace said, a craving shared by human beings with animals. A dog would sniff at a saucer of whisky, or nira for that matter, and walk away in disgust in search of less noxious drink.

The Archbishop adopted another line of argument which, coming from a member of the Catholic hierarchy, can not but fill one with wondering perplexity. Sir Richard Temple, it seems, had said at a previous Rotary meeting that the Indian child will tend, like any other child, to convert "don't" into "do." The Archbishop thought that this may be true of the average child anywhere but in his opinion it was not true of the average adult, man or woman. Nevertheless His Grace and his Church have bidden the average child for centuries, and is still bidding them, to observe the ten Commandments most of which are "don'ts." Does His Grace seriously believe—as Sir Richard Temple apparently does—that children taught the commandments not to lie, not to steal, not to hear false witness and not to commit adultery, will do the opposite when they grow to be adults? In spite of the authority of Sir Richard Temple, who is just now engaged in creating new ideals for Indian society through the cinema film, it is the fact that teachers and parents throughout the ages have mainly relied on "don'ts" to guide children in the path of rectitude. Manu, Moses, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus and Mahomed, every one of them used "don'ts" and he would be a bold man who will maintain that they thereby led men to commit the very offences which they sought to prevent. His Grace cited the example of Ireland which, he said, was threatened in her very soul by the demon of drink. The method adopted by the Catholic priesthood to avert the peril was thus described by His Grace:

> I have often watched Irish Gurus (he evidently meant priests) exorcising that demon, and they did so chiefly by letting the drink go round the dinner table and never touching it themselves. At the same time they maintained a constant campaign against the evils of drunkenness, not the evils of drink, for though one might count by the hundreds of thousands total abstainers who would say, "I will not drink," one hardly ever found a man there to say: "You shall not drink." It was another variety of Guru who tried to impose on the United States his religion of "You shall not drink" and the whole world knew with what results.

The services of the Irish priesthood to the Irish nation not only in the matter of drink but in all spheres of life, have won the world's admiration. But we venture to doubt if what the Archbishop saw was the sole or principal method adopted by the clergy and whether, even if it was, it would have worked but for the fear of excommunication and other religious sanctions in the background. We also doubt if the demon of drink has been exorcised in Ireland, as the Archbishop's words would suggest. Has His Grace tried the Irish method in his Bandra Parish? Would he consult the local priests as to its probable efficacy? The Archbishop's speech betrays at every sentence a partisan spirit due chiefly to his ignorance of Indian conditions. The *New Leader*, the organ of the Catholic episcopacy in Madras, with its closer touch with Indian sentiment, is nearer reality.

Devasthan Lands:—The Bombay Government has directed that in all cases of regrant of resumed devasthan inam lands attached to Hindu religious institutions the further condition should be attached to the regrant that the institution will be open to Hindus of all classes. If the holders or managers of the institution refuse to accept this condition, the lands will continue as khalsa.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONVERSION AND MARRIAGE.

Although the Koran allows the same rights to men as to women including the right of divorce, in practice Indian Muslim wives were exactly in the same position as Hindu wives in respect of their incapacity to dissolve their marriage-tie should they find themselves unhappy in their conjugal lives. This may be regarded as a striking illustration of the sociological law that all creeds and communities dwelling together tend to a single pattern of family and social life. Owing to this circumstance, the only way open to an Indian Muslim wife to release herself from a marriage tie which had become intolerable, was to become a convert to some other religion as by the Muslim law administered by the Indian Courts until a few weeks ago, change of religion automatically dissolved a Muslim marriage. The frequency of conversions on this account led Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi to introduce in the Indian Legislative Assembly the Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill some eighteen months ago. The Qazi listed in this Bill some eighteen grounds on which a Muslim wife can obtain a divorce. At the same time the Bill omitted the long-standing rule that conversion to another religion automatically dissolved a Muslim marriage. This measure was strongly opposed by Hindu members of the Assembly. They feared that the change would make it practically impossible to reclaim women, forcibly converted and married to Muslims, back to their families and their society. Qazi Muhammad Ahmad Kazmi recognised the force of this objection and agreed to put in a proviso that his Bill would apply only to women born in the Muslim faith and not to women converted from other faiths.

The importance of this proviso has received impressive confirmation from a case decided last week by Mr. Justice Davis, the Judicial Commissioner of Sind. A Hindu school girl of sixteen was persuaded by a Muslim youth to embrace Islam and marry him within a few hours of her conversion. The guardian of the girl moved the Court to declare the marriage void on the ground that the girl was a minor. The Court appointed an interim guardian and entrusted the girl to his care until the case was decided. The Muslim husband applied thereupon to have his wife restored to him. The learned Judicial Commissioner in his judgment held that the conversion and marriage of the girl were validly performed according to Islamic law which prescribed 15 years as the age of majority. But under the British Indian law the girl would be deemed a minor requiring the protection of a suitable guardian until she attained the age of eighteen. The learned Judge considered that the Muslim husband was by character and antecedents utterly unfitted to be the guardian of the girl. On the assurance that she would be treated with all kindness and would not be forced to relinquish her adopted faith, the Court handed over the girl to the guardianship of her father. A few days later the girl, it was announced, returned to her ancestral faith after performing purificatory rites before several citizens. The marriage would have subsisted if the Qazi's Bill had passed as originally drafted. But with the proviso inserted at the instance of Bhai Parmanand, exempting converted women from the provisions of the Act, it is automatically dissolved.

In the course of the trial several residents of the locality testified that the young Muslim husband, said to be the son of an ex-Prime Minister of Khairpur State, had at the head of a gang been in the habit of molesting the young women of their families. Some of them were retired officials and were Christians. They described Alam going about on a motor bike, throwing flashlights in the eyes of women and girls and creating a nuisance in Cincinnatus Town. They had waited as a deputation on the Police authorities but without effect. The learned Judge commented severely on the state of things disclosed by these witnesses. We quote from the report of the judgment in the *Sind Observer* of May 23 :

> It appears a matter of regret that in a city of the size of Karachi the authorities could do nothing really effective to save the young daughters of decent citizens from molestation and annoyance of this kind. Mr. Hardasmal said that they had not one uniformed policeman to spare for this beat, and, if that is so, then it would appear the police staff is undermanned. The Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mir Maqbul Khan, could do nothing really effective to abate this unmitigated nuisance. It appears, however, the bounden duty of the authorities to take some more effective action in the future than in the past to deal with undesirable characters such as the applicant.

The learned Judge called attention to the serious difficulties caused in similar cases by having two different ages of majority in the British Indian law. He said:—

> This case, in my opinion, shows the urgent need of the amendment of Sections 361 and 366 I. P. C. and other relevant sections relating to the protection of minor girls,—the age under Section 366-A is already 18 years—so as to raise the age under the criminal law to the age under the Guardians and Wards Act; and one of the most unpleasant features of this case is the manner in which the applicant interfered and continued to interfere with the minor girl when she was under 16 years of age, for, on the admission of both the applicant and the minor girl, they knew each other for two years. It is not reasonable to suppose that the first advances were made by a school girl under 15 years of age.

The two sections of the Indian Penal Code first referred to, relate to the offence of kidnapping. A boy under 14 years of age and a girl under 16 are under these sections minors and kidnapping them constitutes an offence. Section 366 A relates to procuration and here a girl under 18 years is defined as a minor. Prompt action has been taken by a Sindh member of the Indian Legislative Assembly to give effect to the learned Judge's suggestion. We publish elsewhere the draft Bill which Mr. Lalchand Navalrai proposes to introduce in the Assembly.

Two years ago Sind was convulsed over a communal problem arising out of an incident

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

between a Hindu College girl and a Mussulman fellow student. For the last several months, the affairs of the Om Mandli and its women inmates have kept this new little province on tenterhooks. And now we have this conversion-marriage case. It is high time that Sindhi leaders set about overhauling their social system particularly at the points where Hindu and Muslim factors come in contact.

The Mahars :—The Mahars are a highly-gifted people who, with the opportunities now provided for them by Government as well as by private agencies, will soon take their full share in the advancement of national progress. A study of their manners and customs by the Rev. Alexander Robertson, has been published by the Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta (Price Rs. 2). Principal John Mackenzie in his Foreword testifies to the high qualifications of Mr. Robertson for his task. He has lived and moved for many years intimately with members of the community. "He presents," writes Mr. Mackenzie, "the Mahar to us not as a mere object of scientific interest but as a man; and as a man possessing all the worth and dignity, and all the capacity for practical and spiritual intellectual attainment, that are found in other members of God's great family." Mr. Robertson, of course, commends Christianity as the best means of redeeming the Mahars and others hitherto regarded as untouchable among Hindus. But this opinion is not obtruded on the reader. The book is a careful and candid account of the Mahars.

The Aundh Constitution:—Constitutional government in the tiny State of Aundh in the Southern Mahratta country has been inaugurated by the Raja Sahib nominating his second son, Prince Appasahib Pant Pratinidhi, as Prime Minister. It is a well-established convention that a member of the ruling family should not hold a political office. The reasons for it are obvious. The unpopularity of the measures proposed by the Ministry will affect the prestige of the Crown which is expected to be above political partisanship. The first Act of the Raja Sahib of Aundh thus nullifies the whole spirit of constitutional government. It was reported that the Raja Sahib personally participated in the election campaign! The result, as it was described to us, has a comical as well as serious side to it.

U. S. A. DEPORTATION OF ALIENS.

The House of Representatives has passed without debate the Dempsey bill (H.R. 4860) to exclude and deport all aliens advocating "any change in the American form of government." Since there is no further definition of the term it would seem that aliens might be deported for expressing approval of any proposed change, such as the reorganization of government departments or, to use an older example, the repeal of the Prohbition Amendment. Foreign visitors, for instance, could not criticize any aspect of American government, either here or abroad—no matter how badly it might be working.

THE RAJKOT SETTLEMENT.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

The Rajkot settlement is exceedingly intriguing. Durbar Viravala telegraphed to Gandhiji that the Thakore Saheb did not wish him to enter Rajkot. Gandhiji nevertheless went. At Rajkot he performed a mental or spiritual Harikari, repudiating his Rajkot fast and the Gwyer Award, and told the people who had put their trust in him that they should not look to him, that he was wrong in getting help from the Viceroy, and that people should look to their Thakore. The Parishad seems to be non-co-operating. How this new light which dawned on him, is Satyagraha, I do not know, and whether it would lead to democratic government the future will soon exhibit. My present problem is mainly a desire for further enlightenment. I have come across men of Durbar Viravala's type, and, whether it is my natural pessimism or the truth, my feeling is that Satyagraha will not change them. Pressure from above and enlightened self-interest are the only forces known to me which change them — also, as there is a God above, sometimes the appeal of a wife or a child. Did the Viceroy give a clear hint that Gandhiji should not be compelled to go on a fast again? That would be the pressure of a stronger force. Or is it presumed that, as the result of the Committee deliberations, the Dewan would become a kind of Governor, with toy ministers as a buffer between him and the people? The King would then be the God in the temple, and the Dewan the God taken out in procession. Gandhiji is, I hope, much too shrewd to be satisfied with such a denouement as a final solution of the problem of the States. The world has known Kings by the grace of God, and Dictators through the will of the people as fashioned and tortured into shape by a determined party; neither is Democracy. A Governor or Dictator-Dewan who is a nominee of the Prince, and who rules under forms of Parliamentary institutions and with the help of ministers with no ultimate responsibility is even more different from Democratic rule.

The essence of parliamentary democracy is that a set of men whose choice depends on the people and who are usually dominated by one of them, always has the last word in policy and administration. The completed plan of it is impossible in an Indian State; but there would be no popular government, even in a restricted measure, if the final word should rest with the Dewan who is a nominee of the Prince. When the Prince is a saintly ruler, and the Dewan a practical idealist as in Mysore, greatly beneficent results follow; but that is a rare combination with no succession value, and the attempt of democracy is to find succession always, with heights and depths, with trials and errors, but with the welfare and the will of the common man as the sole and abiding lodestar of effort. This is very different from the will of a King or of a Nazi, Fascist or Communist Dictator, or of the nominee of a Prince in India.

It is the ultimate source of authority that matters, and not the forms. A historical recent example will illustrate the point. If a citizen of an Indian State with no knowledge of parliamentary democracy in England happened to be a visitor to the House of Lords on the 11th December 1936, he would have witnessed the following events. The clerk of the Parliament stood beside the table of the House of Lords and said in French that the king wills it. The members of a Royal Commission, dressed in scarlet and ermine sat in front of the Throne (to represent the King). They asked the Black Rod to summon the Commons; the Speaker and the Commons arrived and stood at the Bar of the House of Lords. The Head of the Commission notified to the Lords spiritual and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

temporal and the Commons that the King had given his assent to the Act of Abdication. These formal events would give our citizen of an Indian State quite a wrong picture about the abdication. The person really responsible for the abdication as representing the will of the people was one of those standing at the Bar, *viz.* Lord Baldwin. The rest was all formal, because the British race believes in forms, and follows precedents even after they have lost their ancient meanings. In ancient days in the Cochin State, salutes were fired from an old muzzle loading cannon. After the sepoy had finished loading, he shouted to his officer in Malayalam, "Now you may shout your cry." The officer then gave in English the order to fire, and the gun was fired. It was indelibly impressed on the schoolboys standing near that there is a difference between reality and forms.

There is only one method whereby any measure of self-government which might be introduced in Rajkot or elsewhere would lead ultimately to real democratic control. In whatever restricted sphere it might be, and subject to whatever amplification or confirmation, in that sphere and in that manner, the wish of the people, as expressed by the minister or ministers, must prevail, whatever might be the private feeling or conviction of the Dewan and the ruler. If every measure proposed by the ministers should be subject to control or veto, there would never emerge from such a system any form of real democracy. It is better that simple people should make mistakes and learn than that a wise and shrewd Dewan should exercise final control—because there is no method by which a succession of such Dewans would happen, and because the growth of the people in wisdom and in self-respect is possible only under a system of trial and error by themselves.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND DEMOCRACY.*

The collapse of the Roman Empire forced the Church into government affairs to protect itself and Roman culture. There was no other organization with enough ability or vigour to meet the complete social and economic collapse in the years following the sacking of Rome. During the several hundred years that the Church remained the dominant political force in Europe, its fundamental theories of church-state relationship were developed, and these have naturally influenced subsequent thought and action.

It is often pointed out that the Church has an unspeakable dread of communism and is openly friendly to the corporative or fascist state. That the Church is seeking an adjustment, during a period of transition, that will be to its advantage in years to come, is not unreasonable to believe. The Church is anxious to avoid major set-backs. She has withstood three—by the Mohammedans, the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Protestants—and sees a fourth looming large. Communism seems to her to be the inevitable culmination of the ideals of the French Revolution—another menace driving at the heart of the remaining territory of the Church. Where the Church has had authority it has openly fought expressions of the liberal temper. It has not been a matter of making an easy adjustment to new ideas and practices. Rather it has been a matter of facing a heresy that threatened its very life.

Yet the Church has for centuries encouraged, sponsored, and at times even been preserved by, the essentially communistically organized monastic orders. It has exerted a major progressive force toward the development of a system of international law. It has demanded the rights of an international organization in matters of religion and morals. It has preserved scientific and religious truth during times of doubt and decay.

The Church has adjusted itself to changed conditions in the past. Will it find its future more secure under liberal democracy or the anti-democratic movement usually called fascism?

Pope Leo XIII in his political testament urged persistent enmity with the Italian government as the only way open for the Holy See to preserve its independence. The day the Holy See gave up its uncompromising attitude it would irretrievably fall under the influence of the Italian government. Events of the last few years tend to show that Pope Leo XIII feared with foundation. Although many of the Church officials in Italy are friendly to fascism, the fact remains that the Church is not at ease under a totalitarian government which controls propaganda and exerts pressure on the Church. It has sought an honourable treaty with Mussolini, but has found that the fascist state has no more regard for a treaty with a Church than with another government.

The von Papen-Pacelli Concordat gave the Church a foundation for dealing with Hitler, but almost immediately efforts were made by the Nazis to undermine it by propaganda to the effect that the Church was seeking political power. This gave the Nazis an excuse for violating the Concordat in fields of education and youth work. Since the time of the Concordat there has been increasing friction. Catholics are persecuted, priests are charged with crimes, churches are damaged and even cardinals attacked. Yet not once has the Church attacked the form of government, or political policies of Hitler. The Bishops even wired Hitler consent to his Czechoslovakian policy. The Church has sought bases of agreement, showed patience, criticized only where abuses and flagrant violations of essential Christian truth were involved.

The Church has tried to get along with Hitler, but again it seems that an international and totalitarian Church and a national and totalitarian state find so many points of overlapping interest and power that conflict is inevitable. Nazism increasingly reflects its religious nature in avowed paganism. The Church can make a satisfactory adjustment to paganism with only great difficulty. One doubts if a common fear of communism can suffice for long as a basis for friendly relations. "The Nazi Government will yet hear more from the Roman Catholic Church."

Spain has been the focal spot of most of the charges of co-operation between Fascism and the Church. From the beginning the Church opposed the Republican Government, excommunicating those who framed the Constitution. Here "the entente between the Papacy and Franco has been so constant and intimate as to combat utterly any claim to neutrality." As one noted Catholic put it, "the terrible thing, from a Catholic point of view, is that in the eyes of millions of Spaniards fascism and Christianity have become identical, and in hating one they must automatically hate the other."

The majority of people were loyal to the government as were many of the parish priests and a few of the Hierarchy, but the majority of the Spanish Hierarchy followed the land-owning class and the army. Although an effort was made to turn the war

* *Social Question Bulletin.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of fascist aggression into a Holy Crusade, the effort has never been convincing. The factor that probably comes closer to explaining the sympathy and support of the majority of the Spanish Hierarchy is that Franco promised to reestablish the Church as the state church, with power over education and protection of land holdings.

The answer to the question of whether the Church was wise in throwing its support to the anti-democratic government lies in the future, but if the word of Franco counts for no more than the pledge of Hitler or Mussolini, the future holds embarrassment for the Spanish Church.

As one surveys the relation of the Church to democracy, does it not seem that in the United States, at least, the majority of Catholic laymen are earnest supporters of democracy? But this support grows more from their participation in the national life of a democracy than from the pro-democratic leadership of the Church. When the democratic principle is extended beyond the political life to touch the racial, social and economic realms, there is often the charge that such effort is leading to atheism and socialism, which oppose the Church's interests.

In the United States the Church has adjusted itself to political democracy, and as a minority group it has had more to gain than lose. But in Spain the Church opposed democracy as there it had more to lose than gain. In Germany and Italy its opposition has been negative and based on limited areas of conflict where the Church was involved. In Spain and Mexico the Church has opposed the democratic governments, not only on specific Church matters but on the larger front of opposing the trend towards liberalism which has long been considered an enemy.

One cannot fail to recognize the fact that the Church in its official statements and attitudes is more favourably disposed toward a movement in the direction of the corporative or fascist state than toward the more socialized state which develops with efforts to introduce the democratic principle into economic and social problems. The Church itself is a totalitarian organization. It shares with fascism the belief that communism is its worst enemy. Both deny the class struggle and preach harmony among the classes. Both reject the idea of a classless society. Both favour a state system under strong authoritarian leadership, the Church leaning toward the type seen in Austria under Dolfuss, or in Portugal. Both commend and strive for a state organisation along vocational lines in which conditions of labour are fixed by law and strikes and lockouts are prohibited. Hitler proclaims his ideal in *Mein Kampf* and the Roman Catholic position is fully stated in *Quadragisimo Anno*. The German Labour Front is in complete agreement with this statement so far as social and economic principles are concerned.

In certain definite ways the Church favours the fascist organization of society and gives its support to it. In other ways it opposes it. In the United States the Church might be brought into a position of support for a totalitarianism that would fulfill the requirements of reactionary Americans, for fascism is not implanted from without but grows from within through the collapse of capitalist economy. If the Church has a stake in capitalism it would probably support efforts to bolster the capitalist economy. We have been facing the weakening of capitalism for several years and have found centres of fascist sentiment developing. The Church in certain sectors has been one of these through its local support of Hague, support of Franco, use of censorship and political pressure measures. The effect of such pressure on our foreign policy was made evident by the maintenance of the arms embargo on Spain through minority pressure though according to the Gallup Poll about 8 in 10 voters favoured the Loyalists. Minority pressure at this point may have definitely changed the future history of Europe and South America in the direction of fascism. It is such activity that shows the fascist danger.

The Church has a strategic position in creating the democratic spirit in the lives of millions who come from anti-democratic countries in Europe. The Church can be a strong force for democracy, though to date its opposition to anti-democratic forces has been largely negative. Where it has taken a positive position as in Spain, it has favoured fascism, on religious grounds, to be sure, but grounds with definite political results. It is well to point out here that to understand Catholic doctrine one must see the Church as an eternal expression of Christian life, though which alone salvation may be gained. Church-State relations are influenced by a concept of an eternal Church and a temporary and changing state power.

The newly elected Pope, Pius XII, faces a trying church-state problem. It is generally believed he was elected because of his record as a diplomat. Though the head of a totalitarian organization, it is generally believed he understands democracy more intimately than any of his predecessors. He is largely responsible for the Concordat with Germany, and headed the staff of diplomats who have tried to work in accord with the three fascist dictators. It is evident this policy is one of co-operation rather than antagonism.

With the evident interest in democracy on the part of Pius XII, the vigorous pro-democratic attitudes of such members of the Hierarchy as Cardinal Mundelein, the new emphasis on the catechism, the new drive for education in the ideals of democracy, it seems that the leadership of the Church may give more vigorous opposition to anti-democratic forces in the future. However, is it not true that these democratic expressions in general would be far more convincing with more democratic action where specific issues are involved? To date the largest pro-democratic force in the Church has been played down to the advantage of the anti-liberal group. Within the Church as well as without, the liberals have suffered at the hands of the conservative press.

NIRA AND TEETOTALISM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Not long ago Gandhiji used himself to apply the axe to palmyra trees for being cut down by his followers, as much as to say, that they constituted a kind of a curse in creation. This propaganda went on for a pretty long time. The palmyra trees that were sought to be cut down were specially singled out for this kind of "aggressive Satyagraha." I was told in my younger days that palmyra trees like buffaloes are a part of the "Vishwamitra Sristi" being counterparts of cocoanut trees and cows. Although their yield and utility to mankind are more marked compared to cocoanut trees and cows still war was waged by Gandhiji.

But the onslaught acquires added significance if it is realised that the palmyra trees have always been regarded as the mainstay of the depressed classes, now known as Harijans who tapped them and prepared a kind of jaggary which was used in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

place of the article prepared from the more costly sugarcane juice. This they exclusively used themselves, for the higher classes rarely used the same as an article of consumption; firstly on account of the insanitary surroundings in which it used to be prepared by persons regarded as untouchable, and secondly because it was prepared from toddy though of an unfermented kind, for which, the higher classes took an almost invincible repugnance. I do not, however, dispute its general untility from the point of view of Ayurvedic medical scieuce which recommends it as an ingredient in its medical preparation.

Palm juice, whether of a palmyra or of any other palm tree in its fermented or unfermented stage, was tabooed by the higher classes. The unfermented palm-juice was never distinguished from the fermented juice. If at all it was used by the lowest-classes designated as the depressed classes. The degree of prejudice the palm juice acquired from historical times increased, because, it was offered to evil spirits or, 'Kshudra Devatas' by the depressed classes. Should the higher classes now accept this beverage because its qualities are extolled beyond measure? This is as much as to say that the higher classes all these days did very wrong—at any rate they did not do the right thing in saving themselves, from the use of this Nira.

The reasons for the unqualified repugnance of the higher classes of Hindus for Nira are not only its insufferable smell but also its tendency to intoxicate. It is believed that Nira when taken beyond a particular measure does intoxicate. Even Westerners like Abbe Du Bois plainly said so. In such a case where is the difference between Nira and toddy? Whatever the shortcomings of Indians generally and of the Hindus particularly in the eyes of the Westerners, one thing, teetotalism prevalent in the cultured and civilised classes of Hindus, was taken as their great virtue. It extorted their unstinted admiration. Will it not, therefore, constitute now a sort of a fall if the classes which tabooed the use of a substance as irreligious and obnoxious were to be asked not only to use it themselves with impunity but also popularise its supposed beneficial qualities amongst all classes of people and encourage its use amongst them?

It is beyond any doubt that Nira does really cause intoxication if drunk beyond certain limits. The nature of this limit must needs depend upon the nature of the constitution of a given individual. How is it possible to set a limit in the case of each individual saying that he should indulge in it so far and no further? Above all, is it within the range of possibility for the government, granting that people would learn to drink it with discrimination and thus avert bad consequences to regulate tapping, sale, and distribution of 'Nira' without this trade degenerating and flowing into dishonest channels? Will not this be an easy means of encouraging addicts to drink toddy under cloak of Nira or better still, make them commence with Nira and end with toddy, arrack, or other spirits?

The intoxicant qualities of Nira, if taken in excess once admitted, it ought to be necessarily eschewed as contributory to internal defilement in the same way as toddy or liquor. Addiction to Nira in initial stages is bound to lead a person unmistakably to the degrading and infamous vice of drunkenness. Hence, addiction to Nira can in no sense be reconciled with the ideal of teetotalism. It can not be called total abstinence in the case of a person who pretends to having given up toddy but yet goes on drinking Nira which has tendency to form a habit and to inebriate.

Is not Nira then in Dr. Johnson's words "An old coat with a new facing, or the Old dog in the new doublet?"

Bombay,
May 30, 1939.

Yours etc.,
N. C. NARSIMHA ACHARYA,
Advocate.

WHERE SOVIET RUSSIA FAILS.

Editor.

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Is it not the poor, the disinherited, the formerly oppressed and downtrodden in Soviet Russia who have now come into their own? It is often asked. Truly, masses of them have and all credit will be given when it is due. But it must be noted that it is *conditional*. Should any individual or portion of these masses happen, politically or economically to obstruct in any way the plans of the State, they are ruthlessly wiped out. The bourgeois, whose property and money were wanted for the proletariat, were simply killed out of hand or exiled. The Kulaks, hardworking small peasant proprietors living for generations on their bits of ancestral ground, because they dared to object when dispossessed of their land and to be thrown into the collective farms, were driven away into far distant parts, some say to famine-stricken districts, anyway they disappeared. The vagabond children, poor little wretches, homeless and deserted after their parents had been killed, had become quite unmanageable—after a time all disappeared! And there are assertions as to the method of their disappearing.

Any individual whose existence was awkward to the state disappeared! Mysterious "wreckers" who happened to be civil or military officials in higher places, were being arrested and tried in half or wholly mock trials, confessing in a benumbed and dazed manner to the most fantastic and grotesque crime and passing out at the rate of some hundreds a month to face the firing squad. Surely the most ghastly series of trials ever known since the days of the Spanish Inquisition, or the dark periods of witch-burning. The ship of the Soviet State has sailed in recent years literally upon a sea of blood. Even some of its staunchest admirers in England could not stand the horror of it. Maxton Fenner, Brockway and others, got over a message to Stalin which ended with the words, "Stop the Killing."

Whatever may be said for the extraordinary development, progress and uplift materially, of the proletariat, what is one to think of a government whose only way of dealing with difficult and inconvenient people of its own State, is by killing them? Are they still doing this? We have no reason to think that they are not.

Let the present comparatively prosperous and progressive conditions of life in the Soviet State be carefully studied, and it will be found that the orthodox Communist principles have been much modified, and in some cases abandoned; the fact being that Stalin has found that undiluted Communism is not workable. The old fantasy of a classless society, some say, is already beginning to fade out. It was found that the industrious skilled worker did not put out his best when he received no more wages than the lazy and unskilled "comrade." This gravely affected economic progress. So the skilled worker is given more wages; more wages means he can live better, better houses, better clothes, better food, even some are beginning to keep servants. Where is this going to end? Will not numbers of these people be living in better conditions of life

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

than others? They will become more cultured, and seek the society of others of equal culture and so a higher class will gradually be created. It is also prophesised that it will be found that the free individual enterpriser, the capitalist will become a necessity. Will not this be enough to kill this fallacy of the equality of man? God has created a universe characterised by endless inequality, and limitless diversity.

When has there been more cruel exploitation, more barbarous oppression of liberty than in the Soviet State? Deny it who can.

The people of Russia have always been characterised by what is called a slave mentality, and submit docilely to a change from the Czarist tyranny to that of Stalin's. Probably their temperament is such that they can only be governed by a despot. The peculiar mentality of the Russian can easily be discerned in their literature. Intensely introspective in their genius, there is always an undercurrent of of submission to fate, despair and an acute and morbid sense of futility.

The people of India, if they ever find themselves under Communist despotism, will soon see what the Communists' idea of liberty, freedom and justice are! With very loud and insistent demands for liberty of opinion, freedom of the press, and civil liberties, before power has come into their hands, it is quite apparent, after they hold the reins of government, that what they mean by liberty of opinion, is liberty for their opinion, but not for any one else's. Freedom of the press, means freedom for their press, but not for anyone else's. Civil liberties mean, a preference given to those of their own way of thinking, and coercion and persecution are admittedly allowable methods of government amongst them.

And Justice? It will certainly not be that immortalised by Shakespeare in the Merchant of Venice. It will "fall" only upon those who hold the same political opinion or who do not have the courage to obstruct them; and the aristocrats, the wealthy, the landowners may think themselves fortunate to escape without being liquidated.

A leftist leader from India comes to one of our University towns, is entertained, and speaks to a large meeting mostly of youthful admirers. Taking advantage to the full of all the amenities of English life, the kindness and friendliness of the people, the perfect freedom to go, do, say, what he likes so long as it is not anti-social, an amount of freedom which he would probably find nowhere else in the world, and for which our government is responsible, he is able to proclaim with much gusto, "I hate the British Government" and enlarge upon his deadly enmity with evident delight. No one turns a hair and nothing is done to interfere with him in any way.

The situation into which this man puts himself and his utterances betray an utter lack of appreciation, of comprehension of that freedom surrounding him, and which he draws in with every breath of British air. It is altogether beyond his ken.

Cambridge,
May 1, 1939.

Yours etc.,
I. J. PITT.

[If all this is so, why does Mr. Chamberlain woo the Soviets so frantically instead of joining the anti-Comintern pact?—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

WHAT HITLER WROTE ABOUT INDIA.

[As there seems to be a certain amount of interest and a good deal of confusion as to what Herr Hitler wrote about Indians in his *Mein Kampf*, we reproduce below the passage from the uncensored English translation of his book. In his suspicions of Indians who claimed an importance for themselves in Germany and elsewhere as leaders of Indian nationalism, Herr Hitler whose interest is not in ideas but in results, instinctively arrived at conclusions borne out by political trends in India. The Indian National Congress long ago abandoned foreign propaganda and, as the premier political organisation in the country, deprived even its own leaders abroad, whether exiles, students or tourists, of any more than personal worth. The whole trend of Indian politics has been against seeking in foreign countries a strength which in the last resort must come from India herself. If Indians would recognise this in travelling in foreign countries, they would gain by it. The most responsible of our leaders, and therefore the ones who could really speak with some authority, have been scrupulously correct in this matter. If all Germans took up the sensible attitude of Herr Hitler that Germany was their peculiar problem and India, Egypt, the Balkans, etc., should be left to work out their own destiny, politics would be much simplified. Herr Hitler's approval of the British Empire was a shrewd political move which succeeded in immobilizing Britain after he came into power. After all one cannot quarrel with a man who shows himself so ardent an admirer. None of this can be construed as insults to India as some over-sensitive souls have done. Herr Hitler's references to inferior races and to the inability of Indians to win independence by their own efforts have undergone modification. The Japanese, also stigmatised as an inferior people, have been accepted as "honorary Aryans" not only by Nazi Germans but by South Africans as well. Herr Hitler recently expressed the opinion that India would be free when she was led by an Indian Hitler who was bound to arise. Herr Hitler himself has declared that his acts and public statements constitute a partial revision of his book.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

As early as 1920-21, when the young movement began slowly to appear on the political horizon and movements for the liberation of the German nation were formed here and there, the Party was approached from various quarters in an attempt to bring it into definite connection with the liberationist movements in other countries. This was in line with the plans of the 'League of the Oppressed Nations', which had been advertised in many quarters and was composed principally of representatives of some of the Balkan States and also of Egypt and India. These always impressed me as charlatans who gave themselves big airs but had no real background at all. Not a few Germans however, especially in the nationalist camp, allowed themselves to be taken in by these pompous Orientals, and in the person of some wandering Indian or Egyptian student they believed at once that they were face to face with a 'representative' of India or Egypt. They did not realise that in most cases they were dealing with persons who had no backing whatsoever, who were not authorized by anybody to conclude any sort of agreement whatsoever; so that the practical result of every negotiation with such individuals was negative and the time spent in such dealings had to be reckoned as utterly lost. I was always on my guard against these attempts. Not only that I had something

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939

better to do than to waste weeks in such sterile 'discussions,' but also because I believed that even if one were dealing with genuine representatives that whole affair would be bound to turn out futile; if not positively harmful...

The attempt to make possible the disarmament of the all-powerful victorious States through a League of Oppressed Nations' is not only ridiculous but disastrous, It is disastrous because in that way the German people are again being diverted from real possibilities, which they abandon for the sake of fruitless hopes and illusions. In reality the German of today is like a drowning man that clutches at any straw which may float beside him. Any one finds people doing this who are otherwise highly educated. Wherever some will-o'-the-wisp of a fantastic hope appears these people set off immediately to chase it. Let this be a League of Oppressed Nations, a League of Nations, or some other fantastic invention, thousands of ingenuous souls will always be found to believe in it.

I remember well the childish and incomprehensible hopes which arose suddenly in nationalist circles in the years 1920–21 to the effect that England was just nearing its downfall in India. A few Asiatic mountebanks, who put themselves forward as "the champions of Indian Freedom," then began to perambulate throughout Europe and succeeded in inspiring otherwise quite reasonable people with the fixed notion that the British World Empire, which had its pivot in India, was just about to collapse there. They never realized that their own wish was the father of all these ideas. Nor did they stop to think how absurd their wishes were. For in as much as they expected the end of the British Empire and of England's power to follow the collapse of its dominion over India, they themselves admitted that India was of the most outstanding importance for England.

Now in all likelihood the deep mysteries of this most important problem must have been known not only to the German-National prophets but also to those who had the direction of British history in their hands. It is right down puerile to suppose that in England itself the importance of India for the British Empire was not adequately appreciated. And it is a proof of having learned nothing from the world war and of thoroughly misunderstanding or knowing nothing about Anglo-Saxon determination, when they imagine that England could lose India without first having put forth the last ounce of her strength to hold it. Moreover, it shows how complete is the ignorance prevailing in Germany as to the manner in which the spirit of England permeates and administers her Empire. England will never lose India unless she knows racial disruption in the machinery of her administration (which at present is entirely out of the question in India) or unless she is overcome by the sword of some powerful enemy. But Indian risings will never bring this about. We Germans have had sufficient experience to know how hard it is to coerce England. And, apart from all this, I as a German would far rather see India under British domination than under that of any other nation.

The hopes of an epic rising in Egypt were just as chimerical. The 'Holy War' may bring the pleasing illusion of our German nincompoops that others are now ready to shed their blood for them. Indeed this cowardly speculation is almost always the father of such hopes. But in reality the illusion would soon be brought to an end under fusillade from a few companies of British machine-guns and a hail of British bombs.

A coalition of cripples cannot attack a powerful State which is determined, if necessary, to shed the last drop of its blood to maintain its existence. To me, as a nationalist who appreciates the worth of the racial basis of humanity, I must recognize the racial inferiority of the so-called 'Oppressed Nations' and that is enough to prevent me from linking the destiny of my people with the destiny of those inferior races.

THE FRUITS OF HOLY OBEDIENCE

The 1939 William Penn lecture was delivered before the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Friends on the subject "Holy Obedience" by Thomas R. Kelly, associate professor of philosophy of Haverford College. Excerpts from the abstract of the lecture as published in the *Friends Intelligencer* (Philadelphia), for April, 1, 1939, are given below:—

"Out in front of us is the drama of men of nations—seething, struggling, labouring, dying. Upon this tragic drama in these days our eyes are all set in anxious watch-fulness and in prayer. But within the silences of the souls of men an enternal drama is ever being enacted, in these days as well as in others. And on the outcome of this inner drama rests, ultimately, the outer pageant of history.

"Meister Eckhart wrote: "There are plenty to follow our Lord halfway, but not the other half. They will give up possessions, friends, and honours, but it touches them too closely to disown themselves." It is just this astonishing life which is willing to follow Him the other half, sincerely to disown itself—this life which intends *complete* obedience, without any reservations—that I would propose to you in all humanity, in all boldness, in all seriousness.....

"When such a commitment comes in a human life, God breaks through, miracles are wrought, world-renewing divine forces are released, history changes. There is nothing more important now than to have the human race endowed with just such committed lives.

"This is something wholly different from mild, conventional religion which, with respectable skirts held back by dainty fingers, anxiously tries to fish the world out of the mudhole of its own selfishness. Our churches, our meeting houses are full of such respectable and amiable people. We have plenty of Quakers to follow God the first half of the way. Many of us have become as mildly and as conventionally religious as were the church folk of three centuries ago against whose mildness and mediocrity and passionlessness George Fox and his followers flung themselves with all the passion of a glorious and a new discovery and with all the energy of dedicated lives.....

"The fruits of holy obedience are many. But two are so closely linked together that they can scarcely be treated separately. They are the passion for personal holiness and the sense of utter humility .....

"Another fruit of holy obedience is entrance into suffering. I would not magnify joy and rapture, although they are unspeakably great in the committed life. For joy and rapture need no advocates. But we shrink from suffering and can easily call all suffering an evil thing. Yet we live in an epoch of tragic sorrows.

"There is a lusty, adolescent way of thought among us which oversimplifies the question of suffering. It merely says, 'Let us remove it.' And some suffering can, through more suffering, be removed. But there is an inexorable residue which confronts you and me and the blighted souls of Europe and China and the Near East and India—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

awful, unremovable in a lifetime, withering all souls not genuinely rooted in Eternity itself.

"Our return from Europe with the sound of weeping in one's ears, in order to say, 'Don't be deceived. *You* must face Destiny. Preparation is only possible now. Don't be fooled by your sunny skies, by distance in time or space, or the false security of a bank account and an automobile and good health and willing hands to work. Thousands, perhaps millions, as good as you have had all these things and are perishing in body and, worse still, in soul today.' An awful solemnity is upon the earth, for the *last vestige* in earthly security is gone. *It has always been gone* and religion has always said so, but we haven't believed it.....There is no escape for you or for me. There is an inexorable amount of suffering in all life—blind, aching, unremovable, not new only terribly intensified in these days....

"In my deepest heart I know that some of us have to face our comfortable, self-oriented lives all over again. The times are too tragic, God's sorrow is too great, man's night is too dark, the cross is too glorious for us to live as we have lived, in anything short of holy obedience. It may or may not mean change in geography, in profession, in wealth, in earthly security. It does mean this: Some of us will have to enter upon a vow of renunciation and of dedication to the 'Eternal Internal' which is as complete and irrevocable as was the vow of the monk in the Middle Ages. Little groups of such utterly dedicated souls must, knowing each other in Divine Fellowship, take an irrevocable vow to live in this world yet not of this world, and if it be His will kindle again the embers of faith in the midst of a secular world."

VISIT OF DR. MONTESSORI.

Dr. Arundale, the president of the Theosophical Society, has been trying for some time to arrange for Dr. Maria Montessori to come to India in order to give her attention to the problem of child education in this country. She has now agreed to stay here for six months from October, 1939. The first visit of Dr. Montessori to India is of very great importance to education here. The whole world is aware of the scientific revolution in educational principle and methods which she has effected during a life-time devoted to the reverent and scientific study of the child.

From birth to youth and through the adolescent period, Dr. Montessori has now developed her method and doubtless will speak of the whole field of her study during her visit here. In addition she will conduct a training course in the primary section of her method, that is for children from birth to the age of six years, for she believes that only as we go to the baby, shall we find the clues to guide us in studying the later development of the man who is already expressing himself through the baby form.

This course which will be of three months' duration, will be held in association with the Besant Theosophical School, Adyar, Madras, from November to January. Like all her courses it will be international, but Dr. Montessori fully realises that conditions in India are radically different from those abroad and intends to adapt her principles to the needs of Indian children. She herself is particularly happy to come to India because she believes that this country will be more receptive in many ways to a truly spiritual view-point of education. The course should be of particular value for mothers, doctors and child-specialists as well as teachers and it is a great opportunity for us to come into personal contact with an educationist of such genius and inspiration.

The Montessori diploma will be awarded to those who attend regularly and pass the necessary tests—this has not been possible hitherto without attending a course in Europe.

During the other three months of her visit—which Dr. Montessori hopes will only be the first of many—she will tour all over the country to acquaint herself with conditions everywhere and to lecture before universities and other learned bodies.

Further detailed information may be obtained from K. Sankara Menon, Secretary, First Indian Montessori Course, Olcott Gardens, Adyar, Madras.

AGE OF MINORS BILL.

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, M. L. A., proposes to give notice of introducing the following Bill in the Central Assembly with a view to get the Indian Penal Code Act XLV of 1860 amended:—

The object of this amendment is to raise the age limit of a person, female as well as male in connection with the offence of kidnapping and abduction to under eighteen years, instead of the existing limit of under sixteen and fourteen years in the case of a female and male child respectively.

This reform is over due. Experience shows that advantage is being taken of the weak intellect, immature judgment of minors both male and female, and their present day fancies and fantasies, in seducing them to immoral and unlawful purposes. The age of majority according to the provisions of Majority Act is eighteen years, and twenty-one, if the person is under a guardian appointed by courts.

The Indian Penal Code has already been amended in cognate Sections. In Section 366 A of the I. P. C. the age of a minor girl for the purpose of that Section has been raised to eighteen years. Nowadays kidnapping and abduction of immature and less intelligent boys and girls has much increased. Therefore there is no reason to make any distinction between the case of a male or a female child, as was done a long time ago.

In Section 366 B of the I. P. C. the age limit in the case of a girl has been raised to 18 years. In Sections 372, 373 of the I. P. C. which also deal with the moral ethics of persons, the age limit has been raised to under eighteen years. Lastly some High Courts and recently the Judicial Commissioner of Sind in "Mohini-Alam Romance" Case, have recognised the urgent need of this amendment.

Where it is necessary and expedient to amend the Criminal Law of kidnapping and abduction in India, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

(a) This Act may be called the Amending Act of the Indian Penal Code, Act XLV of 1860.

(b) It shall apply to the whole of British India.

(c) It shall come in force on.....

That in Section 361 of the Indian Penal Code, the words under fourteen years of age, if a male, or under sixteen years of age, if a female, be deleted and words "under eighteen years of age" be substituted, after the word "minor."

PROHIBITION IN N. W. F. P.

"The province of the North-Western Frontier will go completely 'dry' in the course of the next four or five years," declared Dr. Khan Sahib, Premier, who was in Simla in connection with the Home Ministers' Conference, in the course of an interview to the "United Press."

Asked whether there were any forces in the Frontier Provinces to obstruct any such proposals of complete prohibition, Dr. Khan Sahib replied:

"There is no such community in my Province who think themselves anglicised and would obstruct our work."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* **Bombay.**

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* **Madras.**

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the sale custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the sale Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

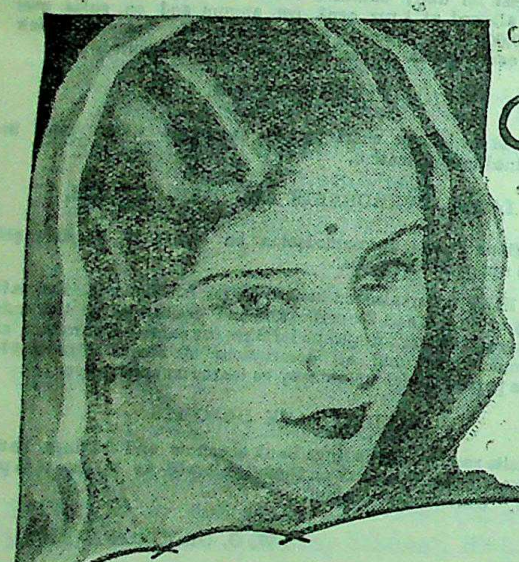
THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

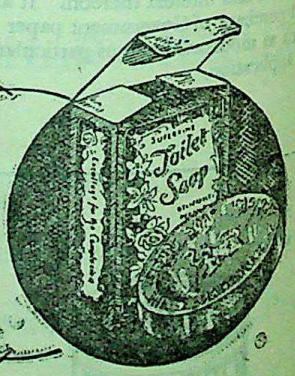
NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2—26 Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE *Sandal* SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:—K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MAY 27, 1939 No. 39

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Gandhiji in Rajkot.
Indian States and Prohibition.
Satyagraha against House Tax.
Ministers' Salaries and Allowances.
Dr. Schacht in India.
Holiday and Business.
The "Dnyanodaya" on Bassein Celebrations.
Om Mandli.
Home for Mahars.
The World Situation.
Britain in Palestine.
Crimes Against Women.
The Konkanastha Mahars Co-operative Colony, Bandra.
The War in China.
The Kingdom and the Church.
Prohibition in Mysore.
Baroda Co-operates with Bombay Prohibition.
Did Prohibition Fail?

NOTES.

Gandhiji in Rajkot:—Gandhiji's action in wiping the slate clean of all the proceedings connected with his intervention in the Rajkot affair and in leaving the Thakore Sahib free to devise measures of constitutional reform suitable to his State, has been characterised as 'recantation' by people who have applauded Mr. Neville Chamberlain for the Munich Pact and for his present endeavours to guard against the consequences of that Pact. They do not see any incongruity in the British Prime Minister changing his mind and still retaining his office. Gandhiji holds no office. Whatever he does he does in a purely personal capacity. No one is obliged to accept his views. If people who rely on his popularity with the masses for their political careers, choose to adopt his views even when they swing from one extreme to another, they are doing much the same thing as the members of Parliament belonging to the Conservative, National Labour and National Liberal Parties, who supported Mr. Chamberlain when he brought back the Munich Pact and support him now when he is forming combinations to thwart Herr Hitler in carrying out the policy of the Pact. In invoking the Paramount Power which it is the declared object of the Congress to eliminate from Indian politics, to coerce the Thakore Sahib in to accepting Gandhiji's interpretation of the Thakore's notification, Gandhiji resorted to a step in conflict with the Congress objective. In the heat of his righteous indignation at what seemed to him the breach of faith of the Thakore Sahib, for whom he cherished friendly feelings, Gandhiji momentarily lost sight of the Congress objective. He has since perceived it and, like the man of Truth that he is, he has publicly declared that he was wrong and that he does not hold the Thakore Sahib to the conditions of the Gwyer Award. Incidentally, Gandhiji's frank avowal has relieved Indian States of a nightmare which has been oppressing them for the past two years.

Indian States and Prohibition:—A gratifying feature of the movement for Prohibition is the sympathetic attitude of important Indian States. We publish elsewhere the Press Notes issued by the Baroda and Mysore Governments regarding the measures they have adopted to co-operate with the Bombay and Madras Governments in giving effect to their programmes. Both the States Governments have closed liquor shops in the border villages so as to prevent smuggling. The Mysore Government has also definitely initiated Prohibition in some part of its own territories with the object of extending it eventually to the whole State. The Prime Minister of Hyderabad, Sir Akbar Hydari, has also at heart the cause of Prohibition and we may hope to see the first steps towards it taken a no distant date. Hyderabad has large untapped sources of revenue which can easily make up for the loss sustained by the introduction of Prohibition. We earnestly trust that other States will follow the example of the progressive States.

Satyagraha against House Tax:—The Government of Bombay has levied a tax of 10 per cent on the rateable value of houses in Bombay City and Suburbs to recoup part of the loss of Excise Revenue consequent on the introduction of Prohibition. In our view the reason for selecting Bombay city to introduce Prohibition is that it is from Bombay that the habit of drinking is acquired by the workers in factories and carried to their villages. It follows that the introduction of Prohibition in Bombay is a measure of benefit to the whole province and Government would be justified in raising the revenue needed to countervail the loss on Prohibition from the whole province. The principle that each locality should pay for the closing of liquor shops in its area, may or may not be a sound one but it does not hold good in the case of Bombay. However that may be, Government have announced that the taxation now proposed is tentative and that it may be revised at the end of a year. Some wealthy landlords in Bombay, it seems, have refused to pay the tax on the ground that they have been advised by high legal authority that its levy is illegal. The Government of Bombay felt constrained to explain that the tax has been sanctioned by the Provincial Legisature and has received the assent of the Governor and the Governor-General and that it is therefore today the law of the land. No opinion of lawyers, however eminent, can post-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pone the enforcement of a law. Government, of course will not go to the Federal Court to find out whether a tax which they have themselves levied after the necessary legislative procedure, is or is not legal. It is for the aggrieved persons to do this and meanwhile they should pay the tax under protest. None of the firms or individuals who are said to have adopted the attitude of a satyagrahi about this tax, would perhaps have done so if the bureaucracy were still in power. Many of us have still to acquire the habit of yielding to our own people when they are running the administration, the same respect as we have been yielding when the Government was in the hands of British personnel. This speaks poorly of the sincerity of our demand for self-government. Obviously many of us never clearly understood what we were asking for.

Ministers' Salaries and Allowances:—*Public Information* of the United Provinces, displays prominently in its issue dated April 1939, a comparative table of the salaries of ministers of various provinces and the travelling, motor car and contingency allowances drawn by them. The figures are from the 1939-40 Budgets and they afford a useful basis of comparison between the expenditure of the leading Congress and the two non-Congress provinces on their Cabinets. The scale of salaries for ministers in the Punjab has been retained at Rs. 3,000—3,500; in Bengal at Rs. 2,500—3,000. The Congress Provinces have, of course, enforced the Rs. 500 per month rule throughout. Here there is not much to choose as the Congress ministers have to follow the dictates of the party organisation. In the matter of allowances, where party scrutiny is lacking, the difference between Congress and non-Congress provinces is not very noticeable. The figures (average) are as follows: Punjab, Rs. 8,775 per year per minister; Bengal, Rs. 7,842; the United Provinces, Rs. 7,550; Madras Rs. 7,450; Bombay, Rs. 6,186; Sind, Rs. 7,450; Bihar, Rs. 8,050; the other provinces being less than Rs. 5,000. These figures deserve wide publicity. There is a general belief that the Congress Ministers tend to make up in allowances for any deficiency which their low salary might make in their standard of living. It is impossible to hold that view after a scrutiny of the information contained in these tables. Another point which arises is on the question of salaries. The limit of Rs. 500 was imposed by a party which had no experience of the cost of office to an individual. Now we have had that experience for two years. The scrupulous regard for public funds shown by ministers in the Congress provinces must in itself be a factor to inspire confidence in them. It would, we think, be in the interests of the country as a whole if the ministers could confer among themselves on what would be a just salary for cabinet members. The Congress might well leave the question to these men who are best fitted to pronounce an opinion on the subject. If it were done, we are sure the figure will not reach the high rewards still retained in the Punjab and in Bengal. But they would certainly not be Rs. 500 a month.

Dr. Schacht in India:—Many Indians were surprised at the nervousness shown both by the Nationalist and the Anglo-Indian press of Bombay at Dr. Schacht's visit to this country. When we protested against the *Bombay Chronicle's* hysterical abuse of any Indian who did not share its revulsion to Dr. Schacht, that newspaper assumed a high degree of omniscience on international affairs as well as a special knowledge of Indian feeling towards Nazi Germany and Dr. Schacht in particular. Not to be outdone in attacking an Axis power, the *Evening News of India*—under *Times of India* proprietorship—produced a leading article on the eve of Dr. Schacht's departure from Bombay implying that the distinguished German had left the country on finding that he was not "welcome." It was rather a surprise, therefore, to learn that Dr. Schacht a few days later was not only still in India but was at Simla as the guest of the Viceroy; that he had been invited to attend the birthday durbar of the Maharaja of Mysore as a State guest and that Sir Mirza Ismail was giving a party in his honour; and on Wednesday that he had addressed a public meeting at Madras presided over by Mr. S. Satyamurthi, Deputy leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly. Mr. Satyamurthi not only stressed the need for friendly relations between India and Germany but spoke optimistically of his chances of converting Dr. Schacht to ahimsa.

Holiday and Business:—Much has been made of the fact that Dr. Schacht is not in India purely on a holiday but has in view the consideration of business possibilities—far too much. It must be remembered that whatever Dr. Schacht can do in this direction is rendered possible by the continued presence of German Consulates in this country. There is also a good deal of business with Germany even at present although it is not ostentatiously carried out. If anti-Nazi enthusiasts want to sever all relations with Germany, it is not with casual visitors but with the Consulates and the established business houses that they should begin. Otherwise all they achieve is a certain popular reputation for the fearlessness of their opposition to Nazi-Fascist system, and this is in most democratic countries the supreme test of one's devotion to democracy. In his speech at Madras, Dr. Schacht said he was on a holiday visit but was also studying the people and the possibilities of trade between Germany and India. To those innocent minds which believe that Dr. Schacht is the only German working to this end or that trade with India is a new idea for Germans emanating from Dr. Schacht, this will cause another hysteria. A Reuter's message from London announces that Germany is considering an economic drive in India, primarily directed to those undeveloped fields where Britain has given up her preferences in the recent trade agreement. As for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the barter system which Dr. Schacht was the first economist to apply on a large scale to international trade, it is interesting to note that other countries are following in Germany's footsteps. The fact that Dr. Schacht did not disclose his business interest in Bombay was doubtless due to wrong advice from local Germans who were momentarily thrown off their balance by the unprecedented virulence of the press attacks.

The "Dnyanodaya" on Bassein Celebrations :— Bassein about thirty miles from Bombay, celebrated recently the bi-centenary of a famous battle in which the Marathas overcame the Portuguese. In articles devoted to this theme in the Marathi *Kesari*, there has been a discussion of the conditions prevailing at the time and particularly the compulsory conversion of Indians to Catholicism, and a reference to the Inquisition. Now the point about Bassein is that it was the chief Indian centre where the Inquisition was set up and, bi-centenary or no bi-centenary, we fail to see how the history of Bassein could be complete without the fact being mentioned. There are ways of doing so and the *Kesari* apparently had not chosen the least provocative. For the *Dnyanodaya* has been stung into observing:—

> Suppose the people of other religious faiths, the Christians, for instance, were to string together similar stories of religious persecution from the *present* century, would that help the building of a worthy Indian nation? To Mr. Vaidya and the *Kesari* editors, who wrote a long editorial in a similar strain, based on the Bassein Victory of the Maratha Army over the Portuguese on May 12, 1739, we would point out that such squalid journalism mars the joy we can *all* feel in commemorating the remarkable prowess of India's soldiers displayed in what the English historian of the Marathas, Grant Duff, describes as 'the most remarkable siege ever prosecuted by the Marathas.' And to inject into Marathi journalism the spirit that poisoned these four or five columns of the *Kesari* on May 9 is to lose the far more important battle for that self-control and religious tolerance on which India's future so greatly depends.

The method of insinuation is unworthy of Mr. Edwards, a veteran editor and one who as the official spokesman of six missionary organisations has a special responsibility to refrain from hinting at things which he will not mention outright. If there are cases of persecution, organised religious persecution, matching the Inquisition, as Mr. Edwards more than suggests, it is his obvious duty to come out with them. We had occasion to protest recently against innuendoes in the political press. In religious journalism the innuendo is even more reprehensible. We would venture a friendly appeal to Mr. Edwards to consider seriously whether it will make for a worthy, or even healthy, India or for religious tolerance to indulge in this peculiar form of attack. We do not think that Mr. Edwards actually means what his words convey to any reader, that religious journalists should buy each other's silence on the sins of their respective communities by a "gentlemen's agreement." Whatever he meant, however, we would point out to Mr. Edwards that it was not in the best traditions of Christianity: "Charity," wrote Paul, in a memorable passage, "doth not behave herself unseemly.....is not easily provoked thinketh no evil."

Om Mandli :— We are by no means happy over the manner in which the Om Mandli of Hyderabad and Karachi has been suppressed by an executive order under a law meant to deal with violent revolutionary crime. Many of the persons at whose instance the Allah Bux ministry reluctantly agreed to suppress the institution by an executive fiat, would, we suppose, resent being classed as political reactionaries. The Om Mandli, it may be remembered, was twice acquitted by Courts of Law of the offences alleged against it. It would be a dangerous thing if the action of the Sind Government should be regarded as a precedent to be followed. Every one who starts an institution for women, does so at the risk of foul aspersions cast upon his character. A pure-souled reformer like Viresalingam Pantulu had to endure in his old age aspersions about the conduct of the Widows' Home which he was conducting at his own expense for the free boarding and schooling of destitute widows. The *Reformer* has good cause to remember the incident because, in its defence of Viresalingam Pantulu, it got involved in a litigation which, of course, resulted in its favour in the first and two appellate Courts. We know other men of unblemished integrity whose names were similarly traduced by irresponsible gossipmongers. It is unfortunately true that of late several institutions professing philanthropic objects have been found guilty of carrying on nefarious activities. The United Provinces Government has initiated legislation for the control of institutions professing to help women. Control and supervision by a responsible agency are to be welcomed as they will protect well-conducted homes from vicious criticism as well as prevent ill-conducted institutions from their harmful activities. A report went the round of the Indian newspapers that one of the women inmates of the Om Mandli had her face blackened and was taken round the town on an ass as a punishment for her folly. Whatever might be the crime of the woman, punishment of this kind is a relic of medeival barbarism.

Home for Mahars :— We publish today an account of the movement which culminated in the opening of the first nine houses of the Konkanastha Mahar Co-operative Housing Society by the Prime Minister of Bombay on Monday. This like the Tanners' Colony on the East side of the Railway line, where a Tanning Institute was opened some months ago, owes its origin to Mr. Kher. After protracted correspondence at some stages of which even the most patient of its promoters, Mr. Vaikunt L. Mehta, felt inclined to give up the scheme, the advent of the Congress Government facilitated the accomplishment of both projects. In his speech at the opening ceremony, Mr. Kher feelingly appealed to the inmates of the new Homes to make them happy for their women and children by supporting the policy of Prohibition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, May 27, 1939.

THE WORLD SITUATION.

The chief event of international significance this week is the signing of the Pact at Berlin by the Italian and German Foreign Ministers pledging their two countries to stand as one unit in international polity. "When the agreement with Germany is signed," said Signor Mussolini speaking at Cuneo on the 20th May, "it will form a bloc of 150 million people, against which nothing can prevail." The Pact was signed on Monday, the 22nd May with much ceremonial solemnity. On paper at least the Pact establishes the closest union possible short of amalgamation between the two States. The two Governments bind themselves together to retain contact permanently with one another in order to agree on all questions affecting their own interests or the European situation as a whole. If one of the two becomes involved in warlike complications with another Power or Powers, the other will come to the aid of its ally with all military forces of land, sea and air. The remarkable feature about this document is that everything about it is absolute. There are no "if's" or "but's" in it. Whenever there is trouble, both parties must stand together without debating the rights and wrongs of the quarrel. This looks impressive but Italy had a very similar Treaty with Germany and Austria before the last War, and that did not prevent her from going over to the side of the Allies when the latter promised her more than the Germans, in case they won the War. Italy is not the only country which has broken treaty obligations and we do not mention this as a point against her. We refer to it only as showing that, if there is not a complete identity of interests and sentiments between the two peoples, neither Germans nor Italians will find it difficult to find or invent excuses to justify their violation of the agreement much earlier than the ten years which is the duration stipulated for this "permanent" Pact. In a theatrical aside in her "Life of Stresseman," Antonina Vallentin grows dythyrambic over the Germans' love of Italy.

> One of the most persistent elements in the German outlook is the love of Italy. Side by side, indeed, with this yearning for the South, which is also strongly marked on the Slav soul, this passionate feeling for Italy penetrates the whole German character as the outward expression of a much more complicated aspiration. Every impulse of the northern peoples, these disinherited children of the sun, that is born of an ill-defined desire to escape from the dismal round of daily toil: every yearning for effortless fulfilment like the yearning for a past now haloed in a golden glow,—all our almost physical longing for warmth and light and placid loveliness, is embodied in what we mean by Italy.

This German love for Italy is not reciprocated by the Italians. They have not forgotten how their country fared under Austro-German rule, how ruthlessly every liberal movement was oppressed, the flogging of Italian women by order of the Austrian commander in the streets of Brescia. Mussolini's treatment of the Germans in Tyrol, whom Hitler has left out of his programme of bringing all Germans into the Reich, is symbolic of the Italian attitude towards Germans. The Berlin Pact is purely dictated by political exigencies. It will endure only so long as these exigencies endure.

In contrast to the promptitude of the Rome-Berlin Axis, British-French efforts to gather round them a non-descript group of European nations, have been making slow progress. The new group is not confined to democratic States. Its slogan is no longer Democracy versus Dictatorship. It will include dictatorships like Poland, and Turkey, Greece and Roumania. But these countries are situated far away from Britain. The vast German bloc lies between them and France. The only Power that can give them effective and timely help in a time of crisis is Soviet Russia. It is, therefore, necessary if the Peace Front, as it is now called, is to function, that Soviet Russia should be brought into this Front. Now, all the Balkan States fear the Bolsheviks and their propaganda while their feeling towards Germany is rather one of distrust than fear. They are afraid that once the Reds are admitted to defend their independence against Germany, they will have to invite German assistance to prevent the Sovietisation of their peoples. In Great Britain itself there is an influential body of opinion which does not like an alliance with Russia. Communism is still the *bete noir* of British officialdom. It has infected even the Provincial Governments in India. How is it possible to accept Soviet Russia as a main pillar of the Peace Front and continue to penalise communist propaganda? The British Premier, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, wants to bind Russia to come to the assistance of the Peace Front countries without claiming any reciprocal obligations on the part of Britain. This is possible only in the case of India. Russia naturally objects to this one-sided arrangement. She does not appreciate the privilege of helping the Democratic Empires without expecting anything from them in return, not even the relaxation of the measures against Communist propaganda.

It is interesting to note in this connection that while Japan, whom the Soviet Government least likes, has not agreed to join the Rome-Berlin Pact, she has reiterated her pledge to stand by the anti-Comintern Pact, and has been mentioned in the former, along with Hungary and Manchukuo, as "friends." Of the importance which must be attached to their joint relations, both the Fascist and Nazi Governments are "conscious." Japanese Ministers meanwhile have declared that the Japanese way is neither the democratic not the dictators' way but the Imperial way which has not so far been defined. They have further declared that the attitude of their country in the event of a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

European war will be one of "sympathetic neutrality." More recently they have, it was reported, taken a decision as regards Japan's attitude to Europeans. It is evident that Japan is rapidly emerging out of the imitative stage of her evolution as a modern nation and is striking out a course of her own which, we earnestly trust, will be in accord with the spirit of the great Indian Teacher whose shrines are scattered all over Japan and who is worshipped by her millions in various sects.

BRITAIN IN PALESTINE.

Initiating the debate in the House of Commons on Palestine last Monday, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, made a reference to the promises made to Jews and Arabs during the War, debts of honour, he said, which could not be paid in counterfeit currency. This was a prelude to the announcement that the reform proposals published last week, were a fulfilment of both promises, even though they had rejected the "claims" of both Jews and Arabs. Mr. MacDonald did not trouble overmuch, from the reports published here, to answer the Arab objections and his only mention of the MacMahon correspondence was to say that he was not referring to it. He took up the attitude that after the Balfour Declaration the British Government had explained to Hussain their determination to plant the Jews in Palestine, so far as it was compatible with the economic and political freedom of the Arabs. There is a difference in the interpretation placed by British imperialist and Arab nationalist on this message which was delivered by Commander Hogarth to Hussain. Mr. MacDonald interprets it as a reiteration of the Balfour Declaration; while the Arab view, as explained by Mr. Antonius in "The Arab Awakening," is that it was intended to satisfy the Arabs that not only their civic and religious rights were to be safeguarded as the Balfour Declaration had announced, but that the political independence of Palestine was not to be questioned and that the pace of economic progress would be a regulated one. Mr. Antonius cites a Foreign Office document called the "Declaration to the Seven" which is explicit on several points. The document was in reply to the doubts of seven leading Arabs who had communicated their disquiet at the Balfour Declaration to Britain. It would have been wiser for Mr. MacDonald to have avoided the pitfalls of Palestine post-war history and contented himself with considering the present situation. Such a course would have saved others, notably Lord Zetland, from attempts to interpret the MacMahon correspondence in the terms of British post-war policy. The Colonial Secretary denied the description of the Balfour Declaration as one which sought to give the people who had no country, a country which had no people, and said that it was a common belief at the time. We can understand it being a popular impression but surely the Foreign Office was better informed. The long and at times tortuous negotiations carried on with Arab chiefs could not altogether have escaped the British Government's attention. Not to let your right hand know what your left hand is doing is not usual in politics; nor is it advisable. Even more unhappy was Mr. MacDonald's veiled threat to Arabs. "No doubt," he said, 'physically we could force on the Arabs of Palestine any kind of Jewish National Home but we could not do it with any moral justification." Even before the rise of Nazism in Germany, Britain was not able to do this. Can she do so now that the Arabs have a powerful potential ally in any anti-Jewish policy they may choose to adopt? The suggestion of magnanimity and the implication that, if the proposed reforms are not accepted, there might be a less sympathetic attitude, might well cause Arab leaders in Palestine to think twice before they decide for the British connection.

If Mr. MacDonald glossed over the Arab case, he was particularly careful in explaining to the Jews that the Balfour Declaration did not mean all that they thought it did. His explanations on this issue are convincing in so far as they show that Britain had a back-door open to escape from if the promise proved impossible to fulfil. To any one who peruses the Declaration, this is obvious and the Jewish leaders themselves felt it was not adequate for their needs in Palestine. But the Colonial Secretary apparently forgot in his desire to persuade the Jews that the Government was still carrying out the old policy, that every statement he made reducing the promise of the Balfour Declaration was a concession to the Arab case and a confession that British policy in the last twenty years has been a misguided one. The offer of reforms which was made last week, was a statesmanlike attempt to reverse that policy and had it been supported by an equally well-considered speech in Parliament, it would not have been difficult to win Arab support and restore confidence in the Mandatory Power. Mr. MacDonald's speech, however, leaves the impression that though a new policy has been announced, the old mentality still persists and that the change has been dictated mainly by exigency.

If the Colonial Secretary's speech initiating the debate failed to carry any message of conciliation to the Arabs, the reason became soon apparent in the voting on the debate. The Government majority was reduced to a bare eighty nine from the usual 250. The opposition found a measure of support from the Conservative members of Parliament who denounced the new policy as a concession to threatened force. For more reasons than one, the idea of a national home for the Jews has grown more popular outside Palestine since the War. The obvious reason is the sympathy engendered by the persecution to which the Jews in Central Europe have been subjected. There is also a feeling in Conservative minds in many countries that the creation of national sentiments and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

loyalties in the Jews would clear international and internal politics of an influence which is supra-national and antagonistic to national traditions. There is also the imperial consideration which argues that there are not two interests in Palestine but three. All these combined to strengthen the opposition. One of the Labour members argued that the trouble in Palestine was the result of outside interference and that, left to themselves, there would be no dispute between Arab and Jew. This is a peculiarly facile method of avoiding discontent in a subject country and it is used even with reference to India. In Palestine a special humour attaches to this contention. Mr. Noel-Baker might be reminded that but for outside interference there would be no separate Palestine, kept apart from other Arab States; no British problem in Palastine; and no Jews in Palestine for the Arabs to live peacefully or to quarrel with.

CRIMES AGAINST WOMEN.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Commenting on the apathetic attitude of the Congress in the matter of increasing crimes on women in Bengal, a thoughtful writer has very rightly remarked that it is possible for a society to endure in a state of political dependence, but not if women are prevented from leading a chaste life. Indeed, a society, or for the matter of that a civilisation, in which the chastity of women is endangered, is bound to degenerate and crumble because the birth of sons and daughters capable of maintaining and furthering the progress of civilisation does necessarily depend on the mental and physical state of motherhood which must be inspired by pure and virtuous ideals and which should have an easy sense of security against attacks on the practice of those ideals. A few years back a painstaking English historian, giving a careful review of the rise and fall of different civilisations at different periods in the world in his book, showed that so long as woman's chastity was carefully upheld and safeguarded, a civilisation prospered and progressed, but as soon as slackness in public morality came degeneration followed.

My object today is rather to point out to those, who take a serious view of increasing crimes committed on womanhood, that in order effectively to prevent such crimes much more will have to be done than simply agitating for more watchfulness and for a more vigorous application of penal laws by the Government. Perhaps they lay much stress on Government action, because they do not realise the extent to which such crimes are committed even in the inner-most circles of society. And very often they are committed in such undetectable manner and under cover of possible conventions and fiduciary relationship that it is not possible for Government to take cognizance and action. In fact it is in such ways that more crimes are committed than by kidnappers and rapers, who provide news to newspapers. More and more youngmen are found to take out their cousin or friend's sister, or a neighbour's daughter in the evening, unaccompanied by others, to cinemas, or for outing in a rickshaw or a taxi or on foot; and how often are they not seen misbehaving. Maternity house reports also give an increasing number of illegitimate births. Suicides by young women disappointed in clandestine love or when caught in misdemeanor, or when under laws of nature such misdemeanor becomes unavoidably exposed, are becoming increasingly common. Doctors say that birth-control requisites are more in demand from these dispensaries by unmarried men and women.

Do not these things show how crimes against women are increasing within particularly the so-called educated and cultured society? And yet the actual number of such crimes committed must be much more than the number that comes within notice. And these crimes are committed not by ruffians and criminals of the stamped variety, but by educated people moving freely and uncensored in society and even receiving respect and admiration for their smartness and accomplishments and for the positions they may be holding in their circle. Are these people less or a thousand times more dangerous and beastly than the kidnappers and rapers, who goaded by uncontrolled impulses are foolishly enough to come under the operations of penal laws? Such impulsive offenders are more easily reformable and managable under deterrent penal provisions and otherwise than those whose faulty education has deadened conscientious scruples and whose mind under imaginative excitement dwells on some or other means of satisfaction of sex instincts. It is the latter who spread vice, who tempt others, who dishonour relationship of trust and confidence, who cleverly avoid cognizable infringement of state laws, and who in fact by their unpunished and even uncensored career of unlicensed sex-crime, give encouragement in vice to others.

I am referring to these people, whose number though unnoticed is greatly increasing, because unless they receive our watchful attention those thoughtful well-wishers of society who are rightly perturbed over increasing crimes against womanhood, can indeed do little. The futility of seeking state aid in the suppression of such dangerous social crime will also become all the more evident when it is realised who constitute the graver danger, the above people or the convicted criminals. But if Government action must be inadequate against such crime, what is to be done? The only answer to the question is that individual and social consciousness must be strongly developed against sex-crime and against influence and propaganda which cause excitement, encourage loose thinking and so distort and misinterpret evolutionary ethical and moral principles and traditional social taboos as to make people light-hearted in impulsive indulgences. But such influence and propaganda are so strong and wide-spread and so influentially backed that it is very difficult to make a move against them. If, for instance, one were to suggest the demolition of cinema houses, where thousands of young men and women are day in and day out excited by the sight of obscene pictures, one is sure to be howled out of modern society. Even the papers and journals which denounce crimes against women but which nevertheless print cinema advertisement-pictures of women lascivously posed for sex appeal, will at best remain indifferent if they would not actually ridicule the suggestion. And yet it does not require much abstruse thinking to understand that people thus excited constantly by sex-exciting pictures projected on the screen or printed on daily papers cannot be expected to remain safe from slips. There are also other advertisements of drugs, drinks, toilet articles and in fact even every little thing in which woman's figure is shamelessly utilised for sex-appeal and thereby for effective drawing of public attention. A hair oil, a soap, a tooth-paste, a lamp-stand and so on, not to speak of the birth control requisites, *invigorating* pills and drugs, or the quick-cures of bad diseases, are all advertised through the aid

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of brutally exposed woman's figure. And these advertisements are coveted and welcomed even by responsible papers, which avow interest in national welfare and social prosperity.

If, therefore, as a result of animal lust being thus constantly excited in men and women by such advertisments, and pictures, sex crime in society increases who must be held responsible? The advertisers and the advertising papers, or those out in the districts who are at times driven by lust to mad crimes against women, or the Government for slackness in bringing the latter to book? I am not defending Government inaction or slighting the crimes of brutes. I am only stressing the point that if lusts are constantly excited by immoral literature and obscene pictures and otherwise, sex-crimes are bound to increase, whether exposedly or, what is much worse, secretly. To every thoughtful editor I earnestly urge the immediate necessity of exerting his influence not so much in making the Government pursue some kidnappers, but in making papers and periodicals and publications cease and refuse to publish cinema advertisements, advertisements of drugs and medicines of sex-diseases and pictures of women used for such and other advertisements. Civilization, if it were worth anything, shall not crumble down if public exposition of women's physical form in pictures and statues for commercial purposes, be strictly banned. I invite them also to agitate as strongly as they can against the cinema evil, which whatever some national leaders may say of its possible educational value, is in actual effect demoralising the country's youth. It is only by comprehensive all round propaganda, by which bad and lust-provoking influences will be removed, bad-moraled men and flirting women will be ostracised from society, no matter what their social or official position be, and people's faith in pure ethical and moral principles is strengthened, that a result-giving fight against crimes on women can be conducted, and not otherwise. And in such propaganda newspapers and journals can render inestimable service only if they would be inspired by high ideals of human service and not actuated by mere considerations of monetary gain. If I were, therefore, to remind the newspaper conductors of such service, must I only look for disappointment and indifferent comments, and not for any earnest response from any quarter?

THE KONKANASTHA MAHARS CO-OPERATIVE COLONY, BANDRA.

The difficulty experienced by Harijans in obtaining liveable housing accommodation in urban areas is well-known. The Harijan Sevak Sangh, Bombay, has arranged for the leasing out of chawls to be rented to Harijans. This is one method of solving the problem. Several Harijan families, who are unable to secure housing accommodation in Bombay, live in thatched cottages in the suburbs, but this form of housing is, by no means, satisfactory. Groups of Harijans settle down for a time in some areas, but are shifted occasionally from place to place. One of such colonies is at the foot of the Pali Hill, on the road from Bandra to Danda. The colony comprises nearly 100 families of Mahars from the Konkan who have put up thatched huts on land, the use of which was temporarily allowed to them by Government. Most of the persons in this colony are employed in the railway workshops and other factories in Bombay suburbs, their earnings varying from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 40/- per month. Some ten years ago, the present Prime Minister of Bombay, the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, formed contacts with the residents of this colony and conducted some educational and social work in their midst, which, however, was interrupted when he participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement.

The contact which the residents had establishd with public workers in the suburbs was renewed when a branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh was started in 1938. One of the earliest proposals before the Sangh was for the provision of housing accommodation for the Mahars who comprised this colony. It so happened that while inquiries were being made into the proposal received from the Mahar members of the Bombay Branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, Mr. E. W. Perry, I. C. S., who had originally settled then on the site in 1918, happened to be posted as Collector of the Bombay Suburban District. The colonists again got into touch with the Collector through Mr. K. Natarajan, and after some discussion, the Collector suggested that it might be possible for Government to consider the question of allotting the site permanently to the Mahar families, provided they undertook to have a co-operative housing scheme and put up *pukka* buildings. The idea was enthusiastically taken up by the Mahar workers in the area, and a small amount as initial share capital was collected. Negotiations were also opened for the grant of the site, and a scheme drawn up for a co-operative housing society. The facilities and concessions that would be required from Government were also discussed with Mr. Perry, who was, however, shortly thereafter transferred.

Certain difficulties were raised subsequently about the allotment of the site. Part of the site represents valuable building plots in the Khar Development Scheme, and the colonists were asked whether it would be possible for them to pay for the plots at the land values prevailing in the neighbouring suburb of Khar. The question of the housing of those who, owing to their poor circumstances, could not join the proposed society, was also considered. Another difficulty was the paucity of the initial capital that could be subscribed by the promoters. Nevertheless, a scheme was drawn up which was signed by 30 persons, and a proposal for the registration of the society was submitted to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies. An application was also addressed to Government through the Collector of Bombay Suburban District for the grant of the site at the concessional rate of Re. 1/- per sq. yd. A request was made that both for the land and the buildings, Government might sanction a loan to the extent of three-fourths the value, making the loan repayable in 40 years and reducing the rate of interest to 5 per cent.

The Society was registered on 10th July 1936 and at the advice of Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki, the founder of the co-operative housing movement in India, the bye-laws for co-partnership housing societies were adopted. Provision is kept in the bye-laws for co-opting on the Board of Management 3 persons who might not be members of the Konkanastha Mahar community and would be non-residents of the colony. Several further discussions took place with the Collector of the Bombay Suburban District and other officers regarding the allotment of the site and the grant of the other concessions asked for, but a considerable delay occurred in the disposal of the Society's application. A representation was addressed to the Hon'ble the Revenue Minister on the present Ministry assuming office in July 1937. After detailed examination of the proposals, the Collector decided to recommend to Government the allotment of the site. The promoters

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thereupon decided to hold the first general meeting of the Society and to appoint a committee and to start work. The first general meeting was accordingly held on 6th January 1938 under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Mr. Morarji R. Desai, Revenue Minister, Government of Bombay, at which meeting, the bye-laws were adopted and a committee of management appointed. In his address at the meeting, the Hon'ble Mr. Morarji Desai advised the members to be loyal to the Society and to meet their liabilities regularly and punctually and to build up a harmonious colony in which they should live in peace and omity. He congratulated the promoters on the tenacity and solidarity shown by them. Six months more elapsed before orders were received from Government regarding the allotment of the site. Land admeasuring 12,766 sq. yds. in plots Nos. 614—621, 621A, 622, 622A & 623 in the Suburban Scheme No. 7 (Khar) were allotted to the Society at the concessional rate of Re. 1/- per sq. yd. subject to payment of a fourth the price by the Society, the remaining money being treated as a loan by Government. The Society was called upon to divide the area into plots not less than 200 sq. yds., of which not more than a third could be built upon. For the construction of buildings, Government sanctioned a loan to the extent of half the value of the buildings, carrying interest at 6 per cent. and repayable in 25 years. The members of the Society conveyed their sense of gratitude to Government for the allotment of the site and the other facilities granted, but represented that in view of their poverty it would not be possible for them to raise capital initially to the extent of half of the value of the buildings. They also represented that the rate of interest sanctioned, namely, 6 per cent. might be reduced to 5 per cent. and the amount of the loan increased to three-fourths of the value of the buildings. At the same time, negotiations were opened with the Harijan Sevak Sangh with a view to securing initial capital in case Government did not accede to the Society's request. Thanks to the interest shown in the scheme by the Hon'ble the Revenue Minister and his colleagues, the Society's request for a loan equal to three-fouth of the value of the buildings was acceded to, and the rate of interest was reduced from 6 per cent. to 5 per cent. This showed the keen desire of the Ministry to provide housing for this backward section of the low-paid industrial workers in the City and Suburbs of Bombay.

After receipt of these orders and the transfer of the site to the Society, steps were immediately taken to prepare and submit plans to the Executive Engineer and the Collector for the construction of the cottages which were to be put up according to the original discussion between the promoters and the then Collector, Mr. Perry. The initial capital raised by the members of the Society amounts to Rs. 5,928-8-0 and as only 9 of the members have agreed to complete during the current year their quota of capital representing a fourth of the total cost of land and buildings, building operations have been undertaken only for these persons. It is expected that the construction work for a majority of the remaining members will be taken in hand after the close of the monsoon.

Three types of cottages were decided upon according to the means of the members, details of these being as under:—

Particulars.	Type A.	Type B.	Type C.
Cost of Land	Rs. 400/-	Rs. 300/-	Rs. 250/-
Cost of Buildings	„ 2200/-	„ 1300/-	„ 850/-
Total Cost	Rs. 2,600/-	Rs. 1,600/-	Rs. 1,100/-

The monthly instalments payable are Rs. 15/-, Rs. 10/- and Rs. 7/-, for the three types of cottages. The plans and estimates were prepared by Messrs. Kora & Bhat, and tenders were invited by the Committee. The lowest tender received from Messrs. Premji Madhaji & Velji Purshottam was accepted and the foundation stone of the buildings was laid by Mr. K. Natarajan, who was one of the original promoters of the scheme, on 28th January 1939. In this address at the ceremony, Mr. Natarajan congratulated the colonists on their enthusiasm and energy and paid a tribute to the earlier efforts of the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher, which had led to the growth of a conscious desire for better living in the minds of the colonists. He also expressed the hope that the foundation of the colony would lead to the spread of education among the Mahar population in Bandra and that a library and reading room would be opened in the colony. He presented a book of Hymns for the proposed library, and it is very gratifying to find that Mr. Natarajan's appeal evoked an immediate response. Mr. Madhavlal M. Bhat, a prominent resident of Khar, has kindly consented to give an endowment of Rs. 1,000/- for the construction of a building for the library. The contractors have been assiduous in carrying out the building operations in view the keen desire of the members of the Society to occupy their new habitations before the monsoon. The cottages have now been completed and an application has been made to the Bandra Municipality for the provision of the necessary amenities in the shape of water taps, roads and lighting arrangements.

In view of the Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher's association with the colonists since 1929, the promoters waited on him in deputation to request him to perform the opening ceremony of the Colony. This he did at 8 a. m. on the morning of Monday, 22nd May 1939.

THE WAR IN CHINA.

(Contributed.)

The criminal misery of Nanking has at last become general knowledge, though there are few who grasp its despairing total. Temperley's book, "What War Means: The Japanese Terror in China," is straight stuff. Unfortunately there are some people who shrink from confronting the evil of the present world, by refusing to believe what they term "atrocity stories." The first necessity of work for peace or for any other improvement, is to face the facts honestly. Then the interpretation of the facts, the formulation of programme, and the going forth to action, are further steps—all subject to modification as new facts require. Certain friends take a position, and then dismiss or arrange facts in defence of the position which puts them in illusory ether.

Our final estimate of the number of civilians killed in Nanking was 12,000, nine-tenths of them apart from military operations, and including many women, children, and aged men. That figure is in the ratio of one to every four families, then in the city. We have specific reports from resident families, given with some reluctance and concealment because retaliation was feared, of one member in every five families killed, injured, or taken away not to return. More than 30,000 military prisoners who had abandoned their arms, were mercilessly butchered, most of them tied in long lines and machine-gunned on the river-bank. Many thousands of women were raped (8,000 was a careful figure set early in the process, and the most conservative given by any observer).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Immediately outside the wall, there was extensive burning by the Chinese army in preparing its own defence. Within the wall, the buildings and their contents were practically intact at the time of transfer; but during a period of six weeks, beginning one week after entry, the Japanese military burned several thousand buildings (over 4,000 street numbers). These all belonged to the ordinary citizens whom they have come to "liberate," and none to the Government or Party whom they execrate. For the whole city, 24 per cent of the buildings were burned. An additional 63 per cent suffered serious looting, primarily by soldiers, which stripped almost all the people of their unburned tools, stocks, clothing, even food. The foregoing figures are from the Nanking International Relief Committee's survey (printed as "War Damage in the Nanking Area,") which inspected every one of the 40,000 house members in the city and investigated in detail every tenth one. The losses were the more shameful because less than two per cent were incurred by actual military operations.

Nor was the fearful injury limited to Nanking. The investigations directed by our trained sociologist, Dr. Lewis Smythe, to estimate the remaining resources and the relative needs for various types of relief, found that in a wide area of country 40 per cent of farm buildings had been burned, nearly half the implements and animals lost, and one resident in every seven families killed. The brutal destruction of villages still continues spasmodically but on a considerable scale, often because infuriated farmers have attacked a small patrol that seized their women, or because local people have been caught between the conflicting demands of querillas and Japanese for supplies and labour.

Can you think what life was like among defenceless people in long periods of such terror and danger, when the appearance of a soldier in the street, or a rap at the door, or a false report by disreputable police hirelings, meant immediate risk to person and almost certain loss of humble possessions? Three weeks were intensely bad, and not until June did gradual easing off end in reasonable security of life and limb. There is still confiscation of land and buildings at will; more than 20 per cent of the real property in Nanking has been taken by the military, by their Chinese servants of varying titles and by the 3,000 Japanese civilians and 302 Japanese shops now set up in the city in the best buildings that escaped burning. I do not know of one case of free commercial transfer; and among scores of instances with which I am familiar, the only actual compensation was $ 5 per family given to some thousands of persons in a large area seized entire. That is "economic co-operation," about which diplomats make after-dinner speeches. One side provides the property and labour; the other, gun in hand, takes control and profits with only nominal investment aside from the gun. In our experience it works just the same from electric power plant to corner-store and private residence. Attila was a simple greenhorn.

The International Committee in December of last year provided 250,000 people with housing (in highly relative security), including 70,000 in 25 refugee camps. It was necessary to supply food for many of the latter, even until May, though numbers had gradually dwindled with partial restoration of order. Some $ 815,000 in Chinese currency has been expended to date, mainly in food (exchange was $ 3·40 to the American dollar until spring but now is more than six to one). Cash relief, conduct of the camps, work relief projects, clothing, sanitary and health work, and small loans for starting trade or production, have been the other chief forms of aid.

The romance of the local struggle to carry on relief, which has literally cost life and blood and imprisonment and tears; the story of the co-operation of German Nazis and British businessmen with us American missionaries who have had to do more than our national share; the part of Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Catholics in our inner groups; the remarkable qualities shown by many of our hastily gathered Chinese staff; the actual achievement in the face of guns and of a still potent distrust expressed in repeated "dissolutions" and orders to Chinese to have nothing to do with us: All these require more space and skill than are now at your service.

Nanking's population has now come up to practically 400,000 (as compared with 250,000 in the Safety Zone period and just 1,000,000 before the war). Recent additions are largely refugees from the country, some of whom went there from the city in search of safety, but have now used or been deprived of all their money (and often of their clothes) in the precarious hinterland of guerillas and punitive raids. There has been a remarkable effort by farmers, small merchants, and some makers of household necessities to reestablish themselves. Yet even now we can scarcely tell how half the people keep alive, and are undertaking a specific investigation of occupation and income in order to find out.

There is a good deal of common labour in the military supply and transport services, and a socially unhealthy provision for soldiers' requirements of all sorts. But I am long past blaming a coolie for serving his country's enemy in order to feed his crying children, or a girl from doing anything to avoid starvation, if they don't bring too much direct injury to others (such as joining in armed extortion rackets, or spreading heroin and opium). For a good deal of comfortable morality can hardly stand against the basic needs of life itself, and the war has already brought down scores of millions of us in economic and social ruin. Incidentally, we now have large open brothels, advertising in the official newspaper; and an entire new class of brazen girls as waitresses in restaurants, a complete revolution in manners for Nanking.

One of the grim features of life for an American pacifist in Nanking is the experience of seeing squadrons of bombing planes through hundreds of successive days, some with American equipment and almost all fed with American gasoline. In the river an extensive navy propelled with American oil; on the roads hundreds of military trucks from General Motors and other American makers. Plus the realization that many of his pacifist friends in America are condemning the weaker nations of the world to destruction by resolutely opposing international co-operation in the first weak steps toward world government, and by opposing withdrawal from economic partnership with aggressors, lest Al-Capone nations should be displeased.

The past year and a half does not leave to an analytical mind much remainder from certain conventional beliefs in a benign providence, and I can see little indication of God in the tremendous wave of cruelty and greed that has engulfed a big piece of our world. Yet the worth of human character, and the need of men for the life and vision that Jesus gave, have never loomed so great. The invigoration of fighting unarmed for the lives of persons in pressing danger, and the thrill of standing for truth and humanity when you know that any moment you may be wiped out by unregarding force—may be that's life eternal, if we lose our slavery to time. There is a new sense of freedom to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

go ahead according to the light that's given, take whatever comes. If life stopped now, it still would have been worth while, and the investment of others in nurture and opportunity, which used to weigh heavily, would not have been lost. So far an open procedure in the immediate struggle, and an attempt to keep clear of narrow partisanship, have been rewarded by continuance. But one vindictive military policeman, one narrow reader of suspicious clippings, can radically tear out a lifetime's work.

THE KINGDOM AND THE CHURCH.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The article under this heading in the issue of April 8th apparently has two objects. First, a denunciation of the Churches, by which term no doubt is meant what is now called organised Christianity, by showing up their failure to carry out the commands of Jesus Christ towards the establishing of a kingdom of God upon earth, and secondly, to make out a case for the Communist creed from the teachings of Jesus Christ. Let us touch on the first object, beginning with the writer's words, "The Soviet decrees banishing Christianity from Russia, and the Indian attitude of approving Christ and rejecting Christianity." The reference to the Soviet decrees is a gross understatement. One of the principles laid down by Lenin for his State is the rejection of religions *in toto* as "dope for the masses," and the very definite anti-God dogma to be taught to children in all the schools. The attitude, "approving Christ and rejecting Christianity" is not peculiar to Indian quarters, though the unusual venomousness of its presentation there, justifies one in looking for the "cloven hoof" of primitive race hatred. Lacking this in other quarters we nevertheless find the same attitude common to neo-pagan, unitarian and so on. The objection of these cultists to dogma and organization is very hard to understand, and their mystic conceptions seem to be as sane and reasonable as the concept of a house without foundations, walls or roof. In fact, there is no getting away from dogma or organisation, anywhere and in everything. The man who says, I believe that Jesus Christ is not God, gives forth a dogma as fully as the one who states, I believe that Jesus Christ is God. Dogma is the assertion of a belief or opinion.

To belabour the Churches for all their sins of commission and omission makes a feeble argument against them. Inspiration from Heaven has no medium to work through but faulty human nature. But because we believe in that nature as made in the "image of God," we can understand how the Divine spark can light up a response in the human soul, however much this is clogged and shrouded with error, and never can attain to any height but by repeated struggle and failure.

Now we may come to the second object, that of making out a case for the Communist creed from the teachings of Jesus Christ. The writer may protest that he uses the term "Socialism" and not "Communism." But it is evident that there is no difference between the two, as he understands them. Here we find a desire of great intensity to present Jesus Christ as a figurehead for the Communist creed, and the expression of certainty that no one could fail to find in the Gospels a support of the same. The writer is pitifully hag-ridden by the spectre of Imperialism, Capitalism, exploiters and oppressors of the disinherited. His grievance against the Church seems to be that its adherents are "dupes of Imperialism" and permeated with the ogrish and malevolent qualities of the abovesaid spectres. This is sad indeed. But I think if these bogies are boldly seized, set up, and faced, they will be found mild and harmless if they do not altogether crumble away in our hands.

Let us start with this terrible imperialism. What is it? Where is it? What are the facts? It can be proved that the old imperialism which is in the minds of its denouncers, has in modern times no connection with Christianity nor has it any more affinity with the West than with the East. In fact the chief exponent of the worst type of the old imperialism now discredited by all truly civilized Powers, is Eastern Buddhistic Japan.

In Europe this devilish imperialism exists in the heated brains of two men only, the Dictators. Whatever their religious professions may be, they have little and in one case no resemblance to Christianity, and but for them this evil would have died a natural death in their countries as elsewhere.

As for the much vilified British Imperialism, it resolves itself into no more than the ceaseless endeavour to administer with impartiality, good government and justice to each and every country of a greater variety of clime, race and culture than has been possessed by any other empire. Her government is steadily pursuing a continuity of policy, having become inured to the "fiery darts of the enemy," who assail with wilful misunderstanding, distortions of truth, imputation of unworthy and base motives, suspicion, distrust, seizing upon and exploiting the failures inevitable in all human institutions, and making no allowance for the stupendous difficulties which beset her administration.

Now I come to the bogy capitalist. He is indeed very black and hideous. Almost every evil under the sun is attributed to him. Let us look at one out of the various specimens in the real. Born under no better conditions of life than that of the artisans he afterward employs, he works his way up by tireless industry and business ability to the amassing of a large fortune, by means of which he is enabled to provide a good living for thousands who are not fitted for any kind of work but the simplest and for thousands who are gifted and able to rise, in competence or affluence. The unchecked freedom of the individual to develop great enterprises seems also to be a necessary factor in the democratic system.

"Exploiters and "oppressors" can be classed together, and examined. What is the meaning of the word exploitation? It is now-a-days almost always used wrongly, that is in a sinister sense. An employer cannot get his work done without labour. Poor people wanting work, entirely dependent on their earnings, neither fit for, nor in the least desiring work of an intellectual kind, are provided with manual work—what they want—good living conditions, and suitable wages. Here the advantage is on both sides. This is exploitation of labour, the term used in its original sense. But if the employer, taking advantage of the helplessness of the employed underpays them, neglects their interests, makes profit only for his own, that is exploitation in its sinister sense. By those using the term now-a-days so constantly, every kind of relation of employer and employed, good, bad and indifferent, are lumped together indiscriminately under the approbrious term "exploitation." This is all wrong.

One is struck by the curious attitude of the writer of the article towards the Life and Death of Jesus Christ, as if it were no more than a political murder of "the noblest purest, loveliest man that ever breathed." Needless to say, this is not the Christian attitude, nor will his claims for Jesus Christ as a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

revolutionary be made good by a dispassionate study of the Gospels, as he avers. From the time when "the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," this Divine Figure has been exploited as a figurehead for one ideology after another. Interpretations upon words and phrases are made to fit in with the respective ideologies, while those on the contrary are omitted. In the present case, for instance, such sayings of Jesus Christ as "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's," "the poor ye have always with you" and His honouring of Zacchias, the wealthy tax-gatherer, by calling him and going as a guest to his house, are not noticed; further one of the greatest of the apostles and martyrs and the constant companion of Jesus, St. Peter, so understood His teaching that he could write in I St. Peter II. 11, "dearly beloved..... submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the King as supreme; or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evildoers, and for the praise of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men: as free, and not using your liberty as a cloak of maliciousness: but as the servants of God. Honour all men. Love the brotherhood. Fear God. Honour the King." (Incidentally we have here the foundations of monarchical democracy).

But a really dispassionate study of the whole New Testament will prove that Jesus Christ over and over again emphasizes the fact that His Kingdom was not of this world. He laid down principles for life that were completely new. Truly, these did revolutionise the world. But He, Himself, had no concern, in the three short years of His ministry, with their practical application. This was left to His Church.

The writer bases his assumption of a renegade Church upon such flimsy and crooked premises, that it is evident he has made neither a dispassionate nor serious study of the New Testament. I would beg of him to lose no time in making such a study, and concurrently, an intensive study of Communism (let it here be said that Communism is undoubtedly an idealism, and its inaugurators have been great in selflessness), not so much its theories, but how it has worked out and is working out in real life. If he can truly do this without bias, he will not so appalingly dishonour Jesus Christ as to connect Him with that creed, the stark antithesis of His manifestation of "God in Love." We know well that a burning and passionate compassion and longing for justice for the weak, helpless and downtrodden is at the root of that attraction of Communism, but its lure is that of the will'o-the-wisp over the quaking bogs. Founded and grounded upon hatred, and blank crass materialism, its fundamental tends to the subserving of the individual to the State, the government of the community as a herd. The State is everything, the individual, as individual, is nothing. This is a denial of the God Who came into the world to seek, and died to save, every individual "lost sheep." Reckoning only with the material world it leaves out of count that which alone makes live worth living, man's immortal spirit. "Man doth not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God." The bread of this world, it is feverishly eager in providing, but denies, what to many is more precious than life, freedom of the soul.

Cambridge,
May 1, 1939. }

Yours etc.,
I. J. PITT.

[Mrs. Pitt takes up cudgels on behalf of Christianity, imperialism and capitalism. We are not concerned with the details of her argument but in broad outline she seems to have entirely missed the point of the Indian attitude of "accepting Christ and rejecting Christianity." If this, as she believes, had been the result of primitive race hatred, surely it would have diminished with increasing familiarity. If one wants a reason for the Indian attitude it must be sought in the vigour of proselyting missions. We must confess we are a little tired of hearing smug European accusations of race hatred against other peoples. We agree with Mrs. Pitt that too many people try to obtain the sanction of Christ's teachings for their theories. It is all the more surprising that she should have sought later in her article to use a quotation from Peter to support monarchic democracy. Mrs. Pitt's sympathy for British Imperialism is understandable. To others, however, it is more difficult to reconcile Britain's ceaseless endeavour for justice, etc., etc., with what she is carrying out in Palestine, for instance. Mrs. Pitt's naive assumptions for British Imperialism remind one of Mr. S. Fowler Wright's argument in "Should We Surrender Colonies?" Chevron 6d. Special, that whilst Germany took her old Colonial empire by force, "some of the most extensive and valuable parts of our Empire were the fruits of hardy pioneering in empty lands, or of discoveries in uncharted seas. A virile island race sent out cargoes of living men to populate these distant desolate lands." Mrs. Pitt sets great store on the "unchecked liberties of the individual" in the economic sphere. This has been the fatal error of democracy. For historical reasons, the men who distrusted political power, the power of the State, so much that they fought for civil liberties, were prepared to depend on the good nature of big business, economic power. The failure to secure a minimum of economic rights for the individual has weakened the foundations of democracy.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

PROHIBITION IN MYSORE.

One of the representations made to the Dewan on 4th April by the Mysore State Temperance Federation was that, with a view to helping the labouring classes from the immediate temptation of drink and wasting their hard-earned wages of the whole month on the pay days, "Government may be pleased, as a first step, to close the drink shops in urban areas like Bangalore City, Kolar Gold Fields, Mysore, Bhadravati, Davangere and Mandya during pay days."

The Government took up the suggestion. It was found that, according to existing rules, special discretion is given to the Deputy Commissioners to reduce the hours of sale in industrial areas by closing the shops on week days from 11-30 to 1-30 p. m. and on the afternoon of the pay days and by directing the shops to keep open on Sundays only between 11-30 a. m. to 4 p. m.

If this discretion is exercised rigorously, it would be possible to reduce drinking on pay days. The Government have instructed that Deputy Commissioners should exercise their discretion in favour of closing the shops. The Deputy Commissioners will consult employers of labour in large industrial concerns and specify the day in the month for the disbursement of wages, and on this day the shops will remain closed.

The Deputy Commissioners of Kolar, Mysore, Chitaldrug and Shimoga will exercise this discretion of closing shops on pay days in relation to Kolar Gold Fields, Mysore City, Davangere and Bhadravati. Bangalore City had to be excluded as the Civil and Military Station authorities could find no necessity for such a measure in their area. It would be easy for the workmen in Bangalore City to run to the open shops in the Civil and Military Station.

In this connection, it may be noted that the existing rules provide for effective control of sale and that the rules are worked in the proper spirit. The Deputy Commissioner has power to notify at the time of the auction sales that specified shops will be closed on the occasion of specified festivals. If a jatra is considered a festival, this rule empowers the Deputy Commissioners to close the shops located in jatra areas during the time of such jatras.

Another rule prohibits the issue of occasional licences for the sale of liquor during jatras; and even existing shops, except in Municipal towns, have to be removed to a distance of one mile from

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the place of jatra during the duration of the jatra. Deputy Commissioners, Revenue Assistant Commissioners and District Excise Officers have power to close any shop temporarily in times of religious excitement. Again, the Deputy Commissioner may order the transfer of shops from one locality to another within the limits of the same town or village, or the closure.

In short, the existing rules provide sufficient scope for issue of any general subsidiary instructions on the basis of which the Deputy Commissioners can take action about prohibiting sale of liquor during jatras.

With reference to the request of the Temperance Federation that the Government of Mysore, in view of their sympathy towards attempts at Prohibiton by the neighbouring provincial Government, "may be pleased to declare a dry area belt on the border of the Prohibition districts, and close the liquor shops situated within about 10 miles in the border all round," it was found that even in the Madras Presidency they do not seem to have removed or closed the shop in any adjoining belt area. They are satisfied with the rationing and some restrictions on sale.

The Government of Mysore have already done this.

In the meanwhile, Prohibition work in Closepet is carried on. Figures showing the comparative consumption of excisable articles and the number of toddy yielding trees in Closepet in March indicate that there has been a fall of 142 gallons and 13 gallons of arrack in the Taluks of Closepet and Channapatna, respectively. While the consumption of ganja and opium in the Channapatna Taluk shows no large variation, there has been a fall of 47 seers of ganja and 2½ seers of opium in the Closepet Taluk. Under toddy, there is a decrease of 331 date trees and 62 coconut trees in the Closepet Taluk and of 144 coconut trees in Channapatna Taluk.

BARODA CO-OPERATES WITH BOMBAY PROHIBITION.

As the Government of Bombay have introduced prohibition in the Valod Mahal, and as the liquor and toddy shops of the Mahua and Vyara taluka of the Baroda State are situated on the border of the Valod Mahal, the Government of Bombay, in order to avoid smuggling of Baroda liquor and toddy into the prohibited area and also to prevent people of this prohibited area going to drink at the Baroda State shops, asked for the co-operation of the Baroda Government.

Upon this the Commissioner of Excise, Bombay and the State Excise Commissioner met on the 28th February 1939 at the Baroda Residency and after discussion decided that the Baroda Government should co-operate with the Bombay Government as shown below. The Baroda Government have accepted this.

(1) Sixteen liquor shops lying within 2 miles of the Valod Mahal border will be closed.

(2) Nineteen liquor shops which lie within 5 miles of the Valod Mahal border will be rationed.

(3) Eighteen toddy shops situated within 2 miles of the Valod Mahal border will be closed and the number of toddy shops and booths existing at present within 5 miles of the Valod Mahal border will not be increased.

(4) No new liquor or toddy shops will be opened within ten miles from the Valod Mahal border and no shops situated beyond will be moved into that area.

In case of smuggling of Baroda State liquor into the prohibited area being proved, the Baroda Government will take action to blacklist the licensees concerned.

As decided the liquor shops have been either closed or rationed from April 139, while in case of toddy shops the changes will take place from August 139.

By the above arrangement including 32 shops already agreed to be closed and 51 shops to be rationed, in all 66 shops will be closed and 70 shops rationed.

DID PROHIBITION FAIL?*

After suffering long in silence I now lift my voice to say that I am thoroughly tired of, and disgusted with, the of-repeated statement that "Prohibition failed," particularly when this statement is made by leaders, and spread over printed pages for the unthinking world to read.

If the matter is properly analyzed a different aspect is given to the whole matter.

Prohibition eliminated the saloon during its reign. It made impossible a place bearing the mark of respectability into which women could go and illustrate how some women can degrade their sex, cheapen themselves in the eyes of thinking people and lower the ideals which have been builded around womanhood during centuries. It made impossible a place where parents—they are not fathers and mothers, just parents—could take innocent and unsuspecting children and create an appetite which in later years will completely destroy thousands of them.

Prohibition eliminated all things which pertain to decency and respectability in connection with alcoholic beverages, and placed upon them the rightful stigma as a disgrace and enemy of the human race. Prohibition proclaimed alcohol as a poison, not a food.

Prohibition made it possible to attend public functions without being made conspicuous by declining to participate in the general drinking of alcoholic beverages so commonly followed today, and gave parents a feeling of security in the knowledge that instead of drinking being made easy and honourable, it was held up as law-breaking and disgraceful.

Prohibition made liquor an outlaw; classified the bootlegger and saloon keeper as law-breakers; made it unpopular among thinking people to sidestep responsibility; eliminated the guise of respectability on whole liquor business, and placed upon the whole picture the light which brought out all of its points.

On and on one could go reciting what prohibition did without exhausting the supply of material, but these things illustrate and perhaps will stir thinking.

No one who can think two thoughts the same day will suggest that prohibition did all expected of it, but why point out its failures in that which is supposedly a suggestive and educational article or speech? Let's stop thinking and speaking negatively, and direct all minds into constructive channels by pointing out the helpful features of prohibition, and outline plans which will ultimately lead to total elimination of alcoholic beverages of every kind, under every circumstance, for every person, under every condition, at all times, and in all places. Liquor cannot be controlled, guided, socialized, respectabilized, or minimized. It must be eliminated.

The Montverde School, C. F. EVANS, *Registrar,*
Montverde, Florida.

**The Christian-Evangelist.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „)
Nandurbar („ „)
Shirpur („ „)
Shahada („ „)
Sakri („ „)
Sindkheda („ „)
Taloda („ „)
Malegaon („ „)
Satara (District Nasik).
Kalwan („ „)
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1 DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the sale custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the sale Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office: KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20. Editors:—{K. NATARAJAN / S. NATARAJAN

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MAY 20, 1939. No. 38

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan in South Africa.
Palestine.
Widows' Homes in the U. P.
Liberals and Prohibition.
Claims of Nira.
Parsi Charitable Relief.
Traffic in Drugs.
Sardar Patel on the Political Situation.
The European Kaleidoscope.
Western Religions and Western Thought.
The Arya Samaj.
The Gandhi-Bose Letters.
More Paradox.
The Narcotic Problem in Nanking.
Child Welfare.
Sir Radhakrishnan's Review of World Situation.
Annamalai University.
The Mission to Lepers.
Teachers' Trip to Japan.

NOTES.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan in South Africa:—We reprint from *Indian Opinion* the address which Sir S. Radhakrishnan broadcasted from Natal on the eve of his departure from South Africa where he spent three weeks on a lecture tour. The address breathes the right spirit in which the problem of Indians in South Africa and other countries where they are not as yet treated as full citizens, should be approached. Sir Sarvapalli met the leading public men, Ministers, Professors, publicists, and he bears testimony to their goodwill and broadmindedness. He was welcomed wherever he went and there was not a trace of race arrogance in the reception accorded to him throughout the country. *Indian Opinion*, which is generally more discriminating in its praise than its blame, writes in terms of warm appreciation of the impressions left by Sir Sarvapalli. What is more, it pledges itself and the Indian community to make an effort "to imbibe the spirit which he has tried to infuse into us." What is that spirit? It is, as we understand it, that Indians, while not relaxing their efforts to secure citizenship rights, should in every way possible avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the White men among whom Sir Radhakrishnan found many who have a vivid sense of their duty to bring about a radical change of policy in race relations. Much misunderstanding and prejudice is the consequence of the careless use of words. The strongest differences of opinion may be expressed in words which do not leave a sting behind. Sir Radhakrishnan himself is a master of this art. He has never concealed or minimised wrongs wherever he found them but his words have always been carefully chosen so as to convince without irritating. Even in India where language has been cherished as a divine gift—the misuse of a single word was censured as a heinous sin—our leaders have not all learnt the art of persuasive speech. In South Africa there are perhaps less opportunities of cultivating this gift, though Indians there have had the benefit of the example of such supreme exponents of it as Gokhale, Gandhiji, Srinivasa Sastry and, now, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. We lay stress on this point as we have felt that the unguarded words of leaders from overseas, have sometimes needlessly aggravated the task of conciliation.

Palestine:—The British Government's proposals on Palestine which were made known through a White Paper on Wednesday evening, are the surest indication that the possibilities of war breaking out are exceedingly remote. The reform scheme is one calculated to antagonise both Jews and Arabs. The Government have at last made up their minds to break openly their promises to both the Jews and the Arabs and this is made clear in a sentence which phrases it as the rejection of claims. Palestine is promised independence in ten years, unless circumstances require a postponement. In that event a conference between Palestinians, the League of Nations, the neighbouring Arab States and the British Government will first consider the position. In the meantime, the British Government will administer the country associating in its work both Jew and Arab so as to ensure the safeguarding of all sections of Palestinians. Jewish immigration will be allowed for the next five years at a rate which will limit its population to a third of the total. A quota of 10,000 a year has been fixed, with an extra 25,000 allowed as a contribution to the Jewish refugee problem. After five years, further Jewish immigration will only be with the consent of the Arabs. If one considers the fact that between 1933 and 1936, 1,75,000 Jews came into Palestine, the quota fixed by the British Government seems reasonable. These figures, however, have never been equalled in the past and they were the result of Europe's intolerance. It is hard that the Arabs should be asked to pay for this. If there can be any assurance that the British will regard the present ten-year transition as more binding than the other promises she has made in Palestine, and that she will not manipulate the "circumstances," the Arabs might well accept the scheme. At any rate it offers for the first time a basis of negotiation in which the future of Palestine as an Independent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

State is the accepted centre. This is a gain to the Arabs.

Widows' Homes in the U. P. :—The Government of the United Provinces have published the text of a Bill to provide for the control of Hindu Widows' Homes in the U. P. The control of institutions intended for the education and protection of Hindu widows, is a very necessary measure not only in the United Provinces but all over India; and we welcome this essential piece of legislation. The Bill provides both for the registration of all such homes and for its regulation through advisory committees with a one-third personnel of women on them and through Inspectors, "as far as possible women," set up by the provincial Government. In certain respects, however, the Bill might well be improved. We would like to see a wider application of the principles of the Bill. All women's institutions—as, for instance, rescue homes and orphanages—suffer from the same dangers as the ones which the Government seeks to mitigate and all are entitled to the same protection. The Government should frame its Bill for all widows' homes not only Hindu. In such a measure it is advisable for all communities to be brought into its operation, both in the penalties for infringement and in enforcing the beneficient proposals. The last clause in the section defining the power of the Provincial Government to regulate the institutions, has apparently crept in by mistake: "Rules regarding the standard of moral purity required of the inmates of the Widows' Home." The evil against which legislation is sought, is not the bad morals of the inmates but the frequent laxity of the staff. The Bill itself carries the mark of this intention.

Liberals and Prohibition :—The attitude of the Liberal Party towards the Prohibition measures adopted by the several Congress Governments is aptly described by the phrase "willing to wound yet afraid to strike." At the meeting of the Committee of the Liberal Federation held in Bombay on the 30th April, more than one speaker attacked these measures but in the resolutions passed no reference is made to Prohibition. Congress Governments were blamed for sacrificing revenue which might be spent on social reforms. Prohibition is the greatest of social reforms and money spent on it, which is the same as the revenue sacrificed by it, is social reform expenditure. The argument that the introduction of Prohibition should be spread over a number of years, comes with ill grace from Liberals. When Excise was a Transferred Department, Sir Chunilal Mehta whose colleagues were hard-boiled Liberals, initiated a scheme for the introduction of Prohibition in twenty years. The Rev. J. F. Edwards in his valuable contribution published in the *Reformer* of April 1, referred to it in terms of high appreciation. In the few years that it was in force it produced remarkable results. But the next Ministers reversed the policy. A scheme which does not provide for the introduction of Prohibition outright, stands in danger of being scrapped by a new Ministry. In the present condition a plea for delay is a plea for abandonment. The Liberals have done themselves no service by taking up an attitude of obstruction to such a vital social reform. The concern for financial prudence professed by them in regard to Prohibition, might have saved the Bombay Presidency several crores of wasteful expenditure which still hangs like a deadweight upon it, if it had been exhibited by the Liberals who, as Members of the Executive Councils and Ministers, controlled the administration which conceived and carried out the Back Bay Reclamation scheme, the Worli scheme of "warehousing" workers, as Patrick Geddes called it, and the Sukkur Barrage. The money spent on these schemes is as good as lost, while Prohibition fits perfectly the Gladstonian maxim that wealth best fructifies when left in the pockets of the people.

Claims of Nira:—Inspirational politics by its very nature swings from one extreme to another. Some years ago the cutting down of toddy trees suggested itself to Gandhiji as the quickest and most direct way of stopping drink. Hundreds of khadi clad volunteers fared forth axe on shoulder, to cut down the unoffending trees. The *Reformer* protested against the vandalism among other reasons as fostering the instinct of destruction which is a part of our animal heritage exemplified in the impulse of children to pull to pieces anything which comes to their hands, a flower, a butterfly. We do not know when this programme was given up. Anyhow Gandhiji now advocates not the cutting down of toddy trees but the extraction from them of *nira*, the juice of the tree before it ripens into fruit. The drinking of *nira* is recommended not as a concession to those habituated to toddy. It is advocated as a sort of panacea for various ills, as the result of the experience of several people living in the hothouse atmosphere of Shegaon. When Prohibition began to be discussed as within the range of practical politics, the late Dr. D'Monte, in order to demonstrate the virtues of *nira*, sent this writer a foaming glass of it one early morning, along with a sprouting coconut, both delicacies which he recommended as *nira*. Within a few minutes of its arrival the *nira* announced its presence by filling the room with its foul odour and it had to be returned to the kindly donor with apologies. In the light of this experience, there is no need to advise any one who has not acquired a nose for the fluid, not to take to it even as a medicine. As a matter of fact, we have heard the virtues claimed for *nira*, claimed with equal conviction for ass's milk. The administrative difficulties in the way of Prohibition will be immeasurably enhanced by the spread of the *nira* cult, which is sure to result if trees are allowed to be tapped.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In their efforts to this end they do not mind adopting methods which kill what they want to save, the Soul of India. Gandhiji has a true view of the end but his methods are virtually those of the politicians. Only he calls them non-violent but in essence they are the same. India's most constraining need today is to secure free access to the International Round Table. With all her great spiritual and cultural heritage, she counts for nothing in international affairs while the independence of little Lithuania and even less Albania seem just now to be of deep concern to the great Democratic and Dictator Powers. This on the face of it is an anomaly which can not last. Whoever may hold the carcase of India, her soul will find fulfilment in helping its world in the quest of Peace. There is talk of Asiatic movements to counter the European. Gandhiji has rightly expressed the Indian mind when he told a correspondent some days ago that India can not view world problems, as questions of geography. The Indian soul can find repose only when the unity behind the diverse races, creeds, countries and continents, becomes the basis of world polity. Dreamer? Yes, but the dreamer of today is the prophet of tomorrow. India may adopt for herself Francis Thompson's lines in his "Poppy:"

I hang 'mid men my needless head,
And my fruit is dreams, as theirs is bread;
The goodly men and the sun-hazed sleeper
Time shall reap, but after the reaper
The world shall glean of me, me the sleeper.

The Arya Samaj:—The Additional City Magistrate of Lucknow passed orders on the 11th May on a case which has been occupying him several months. In it a Zemindar of the United Provinces was prosecuted by a Mr. Tewari for seducing his wife. The woman was Christian by birth. Her name was Blanche Edwards. She, it was alleged, was converted and married to Tewari under the Arya Marriage Act. The Magistrate said he felt great doubts as to the validity of the marriage.

"I further hold," he added, "that the lady was not induced by Tewari for the sake of having her as his 'sahagini' (inseparable portion of the body) but was induced for dishonourable objects. She was encouraged to defriend others."

The Magistrate based his order of acquittal on the ground that Tewari and the woman were trying to blackmail the Zamindar. He added that the conduct and the life which the evidence on record had proved to have been led by Tewari and the woman, was despicable and dishonourable. We have called attention in these columns to other anomalies to which the Arya Marriage has given rise. No authoritative statement has been issued as to the exact views held and enforced at the present day by the Arya Samaj. Apart from this, we should like to know what the Arya Samaj stands for today, whether and how far it retains its original character of a religious movement or whether it is now only a secular movement carrying on political propaganda in the name of Hinduism.

THE GANDHI-BOSE LETTERS.

To appreciate the implications of the recently released correspondence between Mr. Subhas Bose and Gandhiji, one has to go back to the Congress session at Tripuri out of which the necessity for these negotiations arose. The Congress at Tripuri adopted a resolution directing its then President, Mr. Bose, to form his Working Committee on the advice of Gandhiji. It definitely laid down that the Committee should have the confidence of Gandhiji. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant in moving the resolution, declared that, unless the Congress adopted it, Gandhiji would not give his guidance and support to the Congress. Nor was this all. A United Press message from Tripuri, hitherto uncontradicted, ran as follows:

> Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar had telephonic talks with Gandhiji and secured his approval to the text of Pandit G. B. Pant's resolution. Accordingly it has been decided not to accept any amendments.

Mr. Rajagopalachariar's own speech on March 10, the day of this message, ended with a solemn appeal to the session to adopt the resolution. He said:

> .....Mr. Bose will get the fullest co-operation from Mahatma Gandhi which is at the moment lacking. I, therefore, advise you to reject all amendments except verbal ones and pass the original resolution.

Reports of messages arriving by special messenger from Rajkot where Gandhiji was at the time, to Right-wing leaders at Tripuri also supported the belief that the sponsors of the resolution were in close touch with Gandhiji. The first surprise, therefore, in the present correspondence is Gandhiji's definite statement that he had nothing to do with it, that he had only seen it first at Allahabad a week after the Congress and more emphatic still, "Pandit Pant's resolution I cannot interpret. The more I study it, the more I dislike it." The full meaning of this revelation in the letters has been grasped by few. It means nothing less than this, that Gandhiji has found out a gulf between himself and the Right-wing itself.

The realisation of the failure of those nearest to him to understand his point of view, it can be well imagined, is the cause of Gandhiji's depressed tone in this entire correspondence. There are few exchanges of letters between public men which could yield as little result as the correspondence between Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Gandhiji. Mr. Bose was directed by the Pant resolution at Tripuri to name his Working Committee in consultation with Gandhiji. Naturally, therefore, his letters are devoted to the purpose of getting the nominations from Gandhiji and also at a later stage to recommend his pet scheme of a national ultimatum to Britain. Gandhiji, however, has other things in his mind and he invariably answers the most pressing entreaties with his conclusions on the prevalence of corruption and violence within the Congress. In fact, in view of his repeated stress on corruption, it is well to bear in mind what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has recently

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pointed out, that Gandhiji means something quite different to what is usually understood by corruption. "I see no atmosphere," writes Gandhiji in one of his letters, "of non-violent mass action... I have the firm belief that the Congress as it is today, cannot deliver the goods, cannot offer civil disobedience worth the name." Gandhiji does not state his reasons for this belief but on the strength of it alone, he justifies his call to satyagrahis in the States to cease the struggle as well as his rejection of Mr. Bose's own appeal to Gandhiji to launch a movement against Britain after delivering the British Government an ultimatum. It is not unlikely that Mr. Bose felt himself in the position of the young Chinese Communist Marshal who held General Chiang Kai-shek prisoner and persuaded him to fight the Japanese. But the differences in the position are greater than the similarities. For one thing both Gandhiji and Mr. Bose operate in much the same territory and for another the British are already in the saddle. Gandhiji has declared in these letters categorically that he will not take the responsibility of plunging the country into civil disobedience. The weapon of violence was laid aside from the outset; now the supreme weapon of non-violence is deliberately rejected. The meaning of this is plain and we can appreciate Mr. Bose's distress as he realises that nothing is left except constitutionalism. The Parliamentary mentality, said Gandhiji two years ago, has come to stay, and Gandhiji has no intention of throwing his weight on the side of those who wish to disturb it.

Mr. Bose is in the awkward position of a revolutionary who finds that one whom he regards as his master, is not prepared to accept the logical extreme of his own theories. As he rightly remarks in his letters he sees no difference between his cherished ultimatum to Britain and the many other ultimata delivered by Gandhiji in the past. He also fails to see how British Indians with the experience they have gained from past struggles could be declared unfit for mass action while inexperienced satyagrahis like Rajkot agitators launch on civil disobedience. We would have expected the obvious rejoinder to this that inexperience is a valued asset in satyagraha but Gandhiji takes another line. He reminds Mr. Bose that he has already called off civil disobedience in all Indian States. Mr. Bose has obviously been bewildered by the sudden depression of Gandhiji and, considering the circumstances, he is to be congratulated on the firmness he has shown in enunciating his point of view. He regards every action of Gandhiji's which is not connected with the Congress as a waste of time, a digression from the main issue of winning independence. Not so long ago the Right-wing and even Gandhiji himself were convinced, that if they sought Independence first all else would be added unto them. Now it is difficult to say whether they wish to extend their activities further afield—in the States for example; or to intensify their work within the party by eradicating corruption. Both these ideals are regarded by Mr. Bose today as they were by the others recently, as so many distractions. Start the anti-imperialist war, he says, and it will be the best antidote to corruption. "Our only sanction," he proceeds, "is non-violent mass action and deprived of it we have to fall back on a purely moderate policy or your vicarious self-sacrifice." But can Congress fall back on a moderate policy?

For, if Gandhiji has left the revolutionaries in despair, he does not lighten the burden of the Right-wing leaders who are now in control of the organisation with any great hope. On the contrary, if, as he says, the Congress cannot deliver the goods by civil disobedience which is their own perfected weapon, can the public expect them to do so by constitutionalism which they accept, when they do, but half-heartedly? If Gandhiji thinks that the Congress cannot "deliver the goods" unless it is first purified of corruption, the sooner he indicates the lines on which it should be reformed the earlier the country can settle down to something. For our part, we fail to see how the Congress has grown worse than it was in the past or in what way, except as a consequence of civil disobedience, it has acquired new evils. The Congress is like all political parties a combination of good and evil. It does not inure to political stability to praise its good points one day inordinately and to run down the whole organisation later as a hotbed of corruption. The present confessional mood is a reaction and, though it has resulted in the discomfiture of a leader of the calibre of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, it might well mark the conclusion of an eventful chapter in Indian politics. If Gandhiji's statements are to be taken literally, they would mean that the Right-wing Congress is prepared to recede far behind what the Liberals have laid down as the limits of constitutional reform. It would mean nothing less than complete surrender.

More Paradox :—In a leading article last week we referred to the paradox of the great increase in the wealth of Great Britain—the nation is richer than it was twenty years ago, said Sir John Simon—and the post-war depression symbolised by the steady stream of unemployment and the phenomenal growth of national expenditure, necessitating the abandonment of the gold standard and default on the War debt to the United States. Lord Baldwin, lecturing at Toronto some days ago, has further deepened the paradox. "There is proceeding in England today," he said, "a material rearmament and a spiritual rearmament. We are looking to the defence of body and soul. The multiplication of ships and guns you can tabulate; what cannot be scheduled is the searching of heart which is going on among our people. Once more they are going over the fundamentals of their faith and asking questions which go to the root of the matter."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

policies. Healthy and informed legislation should be preceded by factual knowledge as a result of careful enquiry, but this normal procedure has been conspicuously absent in Madras though, of course, there are exceptions.

The inference is irresistible from certain facts which are known to the public here that the Ministry is unwilling to consider those engaged in the teaching profession as full-blown citizens entitled to the exercise of their rights. One can understand restrictions being placed on government servants in regard to taking active part in politics and in joining associations. Any such conscious diminution of liberty of teachers in private employ is indefensible and improper, but attempts have been made to impose restrictive conditions which cannot possibly advance the true interest of education. Teachers are not more automata serving an authoritarian regime. Their usefulness in their own sphere would very much depend upon the extent to which they take part in social and political activities around them under suitable safeguards such as those which are in existence and which are recognised to be necessary in Western Democracies. Recently, there has been quite a stir among the teaching profession in regard to certain orders passed by the Government upon these and other allied subjects.

Under Dr. Subbaroyan's administration, however, there was no positive act of discourtesy towards teachers which called for protest on their part except that as mentioned above, the general policy was defective in many particulars. Under the present regime however, things are happening which are bound to create grave misunderstanding between the teachers and the Government with the inevitable sequel that progress in this important field of public activity is likely to be jeopardised. Not many months ago, Mr. C. J. Varkey, the Minister for Education, indulged at the Provincial Educational Conference in the capital of the Presidency in very objectionable language threatening teachers with condign punishment they did this or if they did that and deprecating their resort to newspapers. He seemed to think that so far as education is concerned, he was Lord of all he surveyed and none should dispute his decision. For a wonder, he mentioned a particular teacher who wrote in the leading Indian newspaper and said in language which is unprintable that he would not be influenced by such tactics. The newspaper concerned out of magnanimity to the erring Minister did not publish the offensive remarks, but the whole audience heard him utter this stuff and at a later meeting the Conference placed on record its regret that the Minister should have referred to the particular teacher and to the particular newspaper.

There is some apprehension that the Ministry's attitude towards higher education in the universities is not altogether friendly. Not many months ago, it would appear, the Government seriously considered the desirability of persuading the universities to prescribe a rule prohibiting their staff from criticising the acts or policies of the Government in such a manner as was likely to make the relation with the public difficult. One does not know the subsequent developments of this dangerous move. Perhaps the idea has been abandoned, but it shows the trend of ideas entertained by the Government as regards the place of teachers in the body politic. If this had been all alone, no positive harm would have resulted, but the part taken by the present Education Minister in regard to the affairs of the Annamalai University has given rise to serious trouble. Mr. Varkey, desiring to know at first hand what was happening in Annamalainagar, went to the place and delivered a lecture to the students and the staff at the end of which, in his peroration, he told the audience that if a settlement was not arrived at dirty linen would have to be washed in public and if the matter happened to be discussed on the floor of the Assembly, then as he was Minister for Education, he would have to play a different role. What was this but an improper and utterly disgusting interference with an autonomous body. The trouble by the students had just previous to the visit shown indications of abating, but, Mr. Varkey's admonition, ill-timed and ill-considered, revived the hopes of the erring students and created the impression that the University was being compelled by the Minister to admit all the students who had been punished in some form or another. It is unnecessary and undesirable to relate at great length the history of subsequent events. Suffice it to say that immediately after a communique press was issued calculated to remove the misapprehensions that might have been caused in the public mind by this unwise and mischievous utterance. The University authorities, be it said to the credit of the Government, were left unmolested and free to arrive at their own decision. But the Minister's advent to Annamalainagar had a sequel. That part of his speech at the University extending a threat to the authorities was not published in the newspapers, but the audience heard it and the staff was naturally greatly perturbed by the tone and contents of the utterance. The Professors and teachers met at a formal meeting and adopted a resolution regretting that the Minister should have behaved in the manner he did and indulged in language which cannot but prejudicially effect the prestige of the teachers and the University and render the maintenance of discipline extremely difficult. The other day, the Minister announced that one of the reforms which the Government had in contemplation was the revision of the Acts governing the work of the universities. No details as to the changes were given, but one can only hope that the autonomy and the independence of the universities would not be affected, that the universities would be previously invited to express their views as regard the proposed changes and that nothing would be done to affect the wishes of the founders so long as proper steps are taken to run the institutions on efficient lines. It is good to have a giant's strength but that strength should be utilised for beneficial purposes.

THE MISSION TO LEPERS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Together with many another College young man, I have for long been influenced by what you write about, and infer to be the correct attitude to the Britisher, Christian Missions, Rajahs, etc.

Several years ago, something however happened that began to change my mind with regard to the correctness of your reasoning and information in some instances.

This is what happened. While practising at the court house one evening, a doctor friend began looking me over rather closely and said that I looked as though I had leprosy and should be examined. This I did, and his diagnosis was found to be correct. For a long time no one seemed to realize that anything was wrong, or at least said nothing about it. Then my patches rather suddenly began to grow, and the first thing I knew I was looked at askance by my friends and practically put out of the house by my relatives.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Upon inquiry I was told that the best Leper Asylums were in the hands of Christian Missions. To go to one of these prosyletizing factories, however, did not appeal to me at all after all that you had written about Missions. Not having any other place to go to, I was almost forced to take refuge there however.

Entering this leper settlement out in the district was a feeling that I will never be able to forget. I was given a neat little house with two rooms. There was running water, septic tank, a garden, and everything else that was necessary. The very day I arrived, the doctor came to see me. Quite contrary to my expectation he did not say anything about being a Christian, nor did he ever after during the whole time I was there. The effect of his visit will ever remain. He was a young European that reminded me of an incarnation. His English was faultless. For an hour he took time to talk to me about everything under the sun. His kindliness, his sympathy, his understanding, his humility, his joy and his clear cut answers to all my anxious questions, left no doubt in my mind but that this was a man that knew what he was talking about. And he was. During my stay there I was to see that Governments from different parts of the world were sending their experts to this young man in order to learn from him. He received enough offers for big jobs during the course of the year to make any plain human being envious, and yet in spite of it all, he remained here with us lepers where he was getting a mere pittance, even feeding us at times from his own kitchen.

I had heard that there was also a European nurse in the settlement, but some days passed before I had my first interview with her. And the way that happened was funny. One morning quite early a young lady came in, talked to me for a short time, and then put her hand on my shoulder saying "Don't worry, you will be all right in two years." Then when I complained about a sore she opened the bandage with her own hands, and had a look. I realized that she was no ordinary nurse, but it was not until that evening that I found out that it was the European nurse that had been to see me that morning. When I realized that this young lady had done what none of my relatives would do, tears came unbidden to my eyes.

There was a beautiful church within the settlement, but I had decided to keep my distance. Many a Sunday morning I had stood at the door listening to the singing and other music, but had vowed never to be caught in this proselyting net. Yet one beautiful morning I assured myself that there would be nothing wrong in going in and having a look. I went and in some ways was conquered. Everyone was so reverent, the church so beautiful, and the service positively touching. The speaker spoke about finding your life by loosing it. If any one ever had a right to speak about this aspect of life I was sure that they had. I wandered off in mind and thought of what had happened to that little laughing nurse. When I first knew her she was a plump little thing, but before the hot season was over, she looked like a faded rose. Looking at all these maggot infected leprous sores, had turned her stomach. For weeks she could not eat. At times she sank down while at work for sheer faintness. We asked her what was wrong and she smiled and said "Nothing." Many a time her leper friends united to pray to God for her. She stuck to her post, and finally conquered, but only after a terrible struggle.

And now I am back home again well and hearty. Just by looking at me no one would suspect what happened to me, but the experiences at this Christian Leper Asylum will ever remain a blessed memory. At heart of course I am a Christian. I do not suppose it would be possible to be anything else after the experience I have had.

You will now understand why it is that I can no more so joyfully assent when you go to such pains to throw mud at Christian movements, in fact it pains me, and I cannot help but offering a silent prayer for you whenever I find these bitter remarks so often made in ignorance. Purity and sacrifice and kindness just cannot be eradicated by covering them with impurity, unkindness and unloviness.

I realize that this is quite contrary to the kind of thing you are in the habit of printing in your paper, and for that reason I have waited for a long time before sending it in. I trust that you will, however, publish it, if for no other reason than to give the experiences of one of your fellow men who has come to different conclusions than you have.

Calcutta,
May 8, 1939. } Yours etc.
P. GHOSE.

[We were no more responsible for Mr. Ghose's old undiscriminating prejudice against all Christian movements in general including the Mission to Lepers whose excellent work we have always recognised, than we are now for his equally undiscriminating enthusiasm for all Christian movements. For instance, *The Reformer* of December 18, 1937, in the first few lines of a note on "The Mission to Lepers" wrote: "*The Reformer* has felt obliged to criticise the proselyting activities of foreign Christian Missions as they aim at destroying the spiritual heritage of the people in which alone their religious life can find root and sustenance. The Mission to Lepers, however, is an expression of pure humanitarianism untainted by any ulterior motive. Neither Hinduism nor Islam has anything comparable to show and, so long as this is the case, Christianity must be allowed precedence from a purely humanitarian point of view."—*Ed., I. S. R.*].

TEACHERS' TRIP TO JAPAN.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Japanese Tourist Agency has invited ten educationalists from India to visit Japan for a month to see its places of sights and to study its educational Institutions. The visitors will be the guests of the Agency in Japan and they will be provided with free accommodation, free hospitality, free Railway travel and free arrangement for visiting educational institutions as well as sights of Japan. They will, however, be expected to pay their own steamship fare to Japan. Any teacher engaged in University or Secondary Education who may be interested in being included in this team is invited to write without delay to, "Educational Trip to Japan, C/o P. O. Box 133, Lahore." The team will leave in the middle of August and will return before the end of October, 1939.

Each member of the Party will pay for his own travel in India, steamship fare, and contribution towards general expenses in organising the Party. This expenditure will be approximately as follows:—

First Class Steamer travel	... ...	Rs. 800
Second " "	... ...	" 550

or

if the Party travel by Bombay Japan Service of the N. Y. K.

Cabin Class	... ...	Rs. 675
Tourist Class	... ...	" 425

(Third Class travel will be still cheaper.)

A limited number of persons other than teachers, can also join the Party, provided in addition they pay their expenses in Japan approximating Rs. 475 for a month inclusive of everything as stated above.

Both men and women may join the Party.

Lahore,
May 13th, 1939. } Yours etc.,
B. L. RALLIA RAM
General Secretary, Y. M. C. A.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mansana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

卐

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta-Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

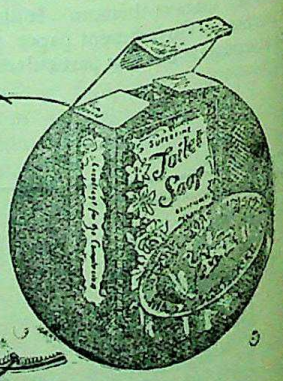
NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
Bombay



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editors:—K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MAY 13, 1939. No. 37

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Satyagraha and the British Government.
Sense of Proportion.
Devadasis and Dancing.
A Pledge for Prohibition Volunteers.
Communalism at Public Meetings.
Foreign Money.
Indian Troops Abroad.
Child Welfare.
Scandinavia.
Japan Stands Back.
Mr. Chamberlain and Russia.
The British Paradox.
World Affairs.
Prohibition in Bombay.
The Cinematograph in India.
Catholic Control of Hollywood.
The Jews in Europe.
The Religious Organisations Control Bill in Japan.
Japanese Protests Against Durban "Insult."
Prohibition and Repeal in U. S. A.
Bombing Planes—Who made them "Legal."
International Court of Justice.
International Courtesy.
Mr. Chamberlain's Dual Policy.
Social Reform Bills in Bombay.
Refugee Settlement in British Guiana.

NOTES.

Satyagraha and the British Government :—In the course of an article "If War Came" in the *Indian Review*, Sir P. Sivaswami Aiyar incidentally remarks: "It is not realised that such success as may be ascribed to the policy (satyagraha) is due to the fact that he (Mr. Gandhi) had to deal with the British Government which, of all European nations, is the most sensitive to the public opinion of the world and to the nobler instincts of humanity." Although Gandhiji advocates it as of universal application, neither he nor any one else has tried it in any other country. The instances given by Mr. De Ligt and Mr. Gregg have no analogy to the Gandhian creed. Even in India, when undertaking a fast in an Indian State, Gandhiji took care to see that the Governor-General was previously informed and kept informed of it from day to day. He did not trust the Thakore Saheb or Mr. Viravala to respond to the appeal of his satyagraha. As for others, no one, so far as we know, has succeeded in achieving anything by satyagraha outside British India. Even in British India, Gandhiji is about the only person whose satyagraha evokes public concern. A Congress Minister is reported to have observed, when it was brought to his notice that a person who had a grievance had undertaken a fast unto death at his door, that he could not think of interfering with the latter's civil right in the matter of eating and that, if he chose to keep it up to the end, it was his own business. Gandhiji himself left the misguided satyagrahis to their own devices at Wardha and left on his tour in Northern India. There was less excitement about his Rajkot fast in the country than about his fast on the Communal Award, due partly to the belief that as in this as on previous occasions the fast will not be prolonged to the bitter end. Sir Sivaswami Aiyar's observation needs to be qualified. It is not in every case that the British Government out of regard for world opinion and their own instinctive humanity respond to satyagraha. The case of Terence McSweeney, Mayor of Cork who died by fasting in a British prison, will readily occur to students of contemporary history. They have also an interest in intervening in Gandhiji's case. They fear that, if Gandhiji goes, the Indian national movement would be difficult to control and that with the present international complications the means of control available to them may prove inadequate.

Sense of Proportion :—Speaking at the Gandhi Seva Sangh at Brindaban (Bihar), Gandhiji is reported to have declared that "those who do not wear or did not encourage it (khadi), did not deserve to live in India." These at present would mean three-fourths of the population. In what non-violent manner they are to be expatriated, if not exterminated, will no doubt be revealed in due course. The Madras Prime Minister, according to the Associated Press, said in the course of a speech on his return from Calcutta that so long as Mahatma Gandhi was alive, no party other than the Congress could function successfully and be of material benefit to the country. The *Hindu* report substitutes "at the helm" for the word "alive." This does not make much difference because so long as Gandhiji is alive he will be at the helm of the Congress, though the helm itself might fail to respond to the helmsman or the helmsman's hand might lose its cunning. The other day Mr. K. M. Munshi thought it necessary to proclaim that Gandhiji was not a spent force. Mr. Rajagopala Charya does the same in more strident language in Madras. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is no less eager to asseverate that Gandhiji's leadership will endure. Do they understand that their overzeal has an effect exactly opposite to that which they seek to produce? If Gandhiji's authority is as unquestioned as it was, where is the need for these trumpetings? Are they afraid that recent happenings may lead Whitehall to believe that their group is no longer able to deliver the goods and to turn for co-operation to some other group?

Devadasis and Dancing :—The Cochin correspondent of the *Indian Express* (Madras) reports that an agitation is carried on by two sections of the Devadasi community in the State for restoring the practice of their dancing during the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

festivals in the Mattencheri Tirumala Devaswom Temple. This custom was discontinued a year ago on the recommendation of an Advisory Temple Committee. The correspondent says that the two sections of Devadasis contend that dancing is the birthright of their community and that it is their duty by virtue of their dedication to render such service in conformity with time-honoured usage. The opponents and supporters of this claim, it is added, intend to place their respective viewpoints before the authorities. Some time back the *Hindu* reported that at a meeting of the leaders of the Devadasi caste in the East Coast, it was urged that, now that Indian dancing as a fine art has obtained world-wide recognition and that amateurs are flocking to the South to learn it at first hand, their girls who have inherited the physical and psychological aptitudes for the Art, should themselves take the lead in the movement. The girls should marry in their community and thus get rid of the incident of promiscuity which had become associated with their profession. There was unanimity on both these points at the meeting. The anti-nautch movement was started fifty years ago because there was then no way of separating the practice of music and dancing from that of leading the life of a courtesan. Things have greatly changed. It is quite possible now to effect the separation. The Cochin Devadasis' demand may be conceded on condition that they abandoned the role of courtesans.

A Pledge for Prohibition Volunteers :—An old temperance verse runs somewhat as follows,

> There is a little public house
> That everyone can close;
> It is the little public house
> That lies beneath your nose.

This has a useful suggestion for all Governments which work for Prohibition. In spite of the legislative zeal shown by Congress Governments for Prohibition, the party seems extremely reluctant to enforce on its members an abstinence pledge. This omission is particularly glaring in the pledge drawn up for volunteers of the Prohibition Guards of Bombay City. The pledge requires the volunteer to believe in absolute Prohibition as essential for the moral, social and economic uplift of the nation; non-violence, obedience to competent authorities; readiness to resign at the request of the Prohibition Board—all relating to opinion rather than conduct. But surely a volunteer who believes in total Prohibition as good for the nation, might regard it as an intolerable restraint on himself. We can understand someone adopting the attitude that pledges do not in any way improve the position. But it is difficult to see why when there is a pledge for volunteers, it should studiously evade any mention of abstinence. What the volunteer believes is unimportant. What he does is a public concern. We trust the Board will repair this omission.

Hooliganism at Public Meetings :— Somewhat like the man who after arguing the innocuousness of "one little drink" ends up drunk at a cocktail party, were the ugly scenes which the anti-Prohibitionists staged at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall on Monday and Tuesday when Col. Ghadiali, who has just returned from the U. S. A. tried to address a Prohibition meeting. It is a long journey from the *Jame Jamshed's* appeal to us in the name of temperance to give up Prohibition, to the war-cries raised by some Parsi youngmen at the meeting, "Long live toddy," and so on. But that is the length the anti-Prohibitionists have travelled. Few who oppose Prohibition as an unwarranted interference with personal liberty can support the tactics of the demonstrators. The cause of the trouble, we believe, was the simple fact that a member of their community should have dared to support Prohibition. We congratulate Col. Ghadiali on the courage he has shown. On both occasions the two Ministers who presided showed almost exemplary patience in handling the situation. It is unfortunate that some distinguished citizens of Bombay have sought to divert the agitation against Prohibition into communal channels. Every effort should be made on the other side to keep the issues clear and unclouded by prejudice.

Foreign Money :—Referring to Mr. Subhas Bose's supporters as a "frustrated party of violence," the *Statesman* of Calcutta hints at things which it lacks the courage evidently to say directly. It writes:

> As things stand today, such a party is principally an object of hope and interest to the agents of those in Berlin and Rome who have their own plans for India's future. The comments of the Berlin press make no secret of Nazi hopes and backing for the Bengal dissentients, and that money is passing to promote propaganda for the cause of the enemies of Britain in time of war is known.

The *Statesman's* rather general knowledge is not very profound seeing that creating trouble among the territories of a possible enemy country is not a new thing nor is it known only to Nazis. What we would like to hear it say definitely is if it knows for certain that Nazi money has been paid to Indian politicians and whether they are Bengal dissentients or not. If it does, it owes a duty to the public to print the facts. The public knows what value to attach to innuendoes of this kind.

Indian Troops Abroad :—In the article by Mr. J. M. Ganguli which we published last week, some questions relating to the propriety of Indian troops being used in protecting the interests of the Empire in China or in Africa, are discussed. Mr. Ganguli, strange to say, has missed one important point: That the use of Indian troops in this manner earns Indians as a people a bad name abroad. Some of the anti-Indian feeling in Burma is due to the part played by Indian troops in putting down the Burmese. The line dividing defence and insidious furtherance of imperial interests is vague at all times. In troubled days it almost completely disappears. That Indian troops have been the spearhead of imperialist encroachment does no good to India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Child Welfare :—The League of Nations has justified as an institution for preserving world peace. It has, however, done creditable service in promoting social welfare. One of its recent publications is a pamphlet giving summaries of the work, legislative and administrative, in several countries on behalf of Child Welfare. India, sad to say, is not one of them. Of recent years there has been much talk of Child Welfare in this country and some work too is being done. Several laws have been passed in the provinces to advance the health and well-being of children. But having regard to the vast population of India, what has been done so far is but a drop in the ocean. If provincial Governments do not dissipate their strength in a dozen directions without any attempt at co-ordination, and if they concentrated them on social welfare much more can be achieved. In no civilised country are children so ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-cared for as in India, notwithstanding that in no country are people so fond of children as in this.

Scandinavia :—The Scandinavian countries, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, where European civilisation has survived uninfected by the predatory, grasping spirit which has blasted it elsewhere, have decided not to take sides in the quarrel between the so-called democratic and totalitarian groups. They will adopt precautions to safeguard their independence, without entangling alliances with any others. Experience shows that if a country can not defend herself unaided, she has to go under the domination of a stronger power, either express or implicit. The Scandinavians have declined the offers of Britain and the United States to guarantee their independence. They say that they have no designs on other countries and they do not expect any country to have designs on them. A guarantee means that there is some one round the corner ready to rob them. To entertain the suspicion is to invite the certainty. Then, again who will guarantee the guarantors? Avowedly, the guarantors are themselves in fear of aggression and by guaranteeing others' independence they are seeking to secure their own. By the way, Great Britain has been profuse in her guarantees in Europe. How is she going to carry them out if there is a War? The Dominions will not send their men and they have not many men to send. Great Britain will need all the men she can recruit even under conscription. She will have hardly enough men to spare even for India which is a vital link in the Empire highway. Japan which patrolled the Indian Ocean in the last war, may not undertake the job again. The denunciation of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty under pressure of the United States, must have taught her a useful lesson. Mr. Chamberlain may advise the countries which he has guaranteed, as he advised Czechoslovakia, to make terms directly with the aggressor. If the guarantees mean anything more, it is difficult to see how they are to be implemented.

Japan Stands Back:—In our leading article last week we pointed out that Japan's position with the Rome-Berlin Axis is a precarious one and that at any moment she might be let down by the two European Powers if they can make a good bargain with another European Power or with the United States. This possibility seems to have struck the shrewd Japanese statesmen and they have evidently been considering for some time past, what their attitude should be towards the European rival groups in the best interests of their own country. A Reuter's message from Tokyo dated the 5th May says that a Japanese Foreign Office Spokesman declined to comment on the rumour regarding a military alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy. He said, however,

> Japan has its own independent foreign policy which, as enunciated by the Premier and Foreign Minister from time to time antagonises neither the democratic camp nor the totalitarian bloc. It aims at the maintenance and promotion of friendly relations with all foreign powers.

This is the sane and sensible attitude for an Asiatic Power to take at the present time. The antagonism between the democratic group and the totalitarian bloc is a wholly European affair. Japan is neither a democratic nor a totalitarian State. Force of circumstances alone has made her put on the armour of militarism. We expect that Japanese statesmen will soon adopt measures to establish a good understanding with China and help the latter in a disinterested spirit to rebuild her social and political life on the firm foundation of her national genius and culture. A day or two later the Japanese Foreign Minister named the Japanese way as "the Imperial way." What this precisely is, we shall know in time.

Mr. Chamberlain and Russia :—Mr. Chamberlain has peculiar ideas of negotiating a pact. In the House of Commons on Friday replying to a suggestion that he should make personal contact with Russian leaders, Mr. Chamberlain peevishly exclaimed, "Perhaps Mr. Gallacher will suggest with whom I should make personal contact. Personalities change rather rapidly." The reference to M. Litvinoff was as inappropriate as it was in bad taste, since he has been handling Soviet foreign policy for over ten years. If, as the British press assures us, the Soviet policy is not going to change with the change of ministers, M. Stalin might well retort to Mr. Chamberlain that it is better to have one policy and several ministers than to have one minister and several policies ranging from appeasement to collective security. A Polish view of the present European situation is that it is a trial of nerves; whoever stands the tension longest is likely to win. It is easy to see that the British Premier has begun to feel the strain. Otherwise he would have hesitated to indulge in cheap gibes at a time when, as he himself tells his Parliament twice a week, delicate negotiations are on hand.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, May 13, 1939.

THE BRITISH PARADOX.

Sir John Simon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking at the Bankers' Association on May 8, declared that Britain was undoubtedly richer than it was 20 years ago. This is, indeed, a paradox. Great Britain spent hundreds of millions on the last war. She spent and is still spending millions on measures necessitated by the War. The last thing which one would expect in the circumstances is to see the national income swelling enormously. The *Economist* in an illuminating analysis of the British Budget, brings together valuable statistics bearing on British national income and expenditure. In one table it gives figures of the national income for a series of years. The series begins with 1860–69 when the average annual net national income was £ 899 millions. During 1870–76 the annual average had arisen to £ 1,177 millions. In 1911–13, the years before the War, it was £ 2,241 millions. Then came the War. No figures are given for the War years and for six years thereafter. For 1924 the net income was £ 4,035 millions; in 1936, £ 4,850 millions; since 1937 it has stood at £ 5,000 millions. The net national income of Great Britain now is £ 5,000 millions, or two and a quarter times as much as in the year before the War. Contrary to popular belief, the War and its aftermath would seem to have helped greatly to augment the national income. True the national expenditure has also increased. In the year before the War it was 7·4 per cent of the national income. In the current year it is estimated to be above 25 per cent of it. But even after providing the higher expenditure, the national income would be about the same as in 1913 after allowing for the expenditure that year. The expenditure on Defence in the current year will be five times that in 1924. For the first time in the annals of British Finance the proportion of the income to be spent on Defence, 11·6, will exceed the proportion on all other services, 9·2 per cent. This does not mean any diminution of the other services which, in every case, is in excess of the amount spent in previous years. There has been no retrenchment. On the other hand, there are increases under almost every head. The cost per pupil in elementary schools was in 1932–33 £ 12–2–; last year it was £ 16–7–, in the current year it will be £ 16–17–.

There was a small increase under secondary education and a small decrease on University education. The expenditure on social services, Health, Labour, Insurance, increased by 10 millions during the last four years. The expenditure on Trade and Industry increased by 31 millions since 1936–37, the largest item under this head being Roads. The expenditure on Braodcasting in the current year is estimated to amount to £ $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions as against less than £ 3 millions four years ago. It is double the expenditure in 1934–35. Broadcasting is now an important factor in international propaganda.

Side by side with this phenomenal increase in the national income and expenditure which in the case of Great Britain is merely a transfer of money from one pocket to another, there has been a steady volume of unemployment. According to the *Economist*, the number of persons on the unemployment register is 1,727,000 last month. How is this enormous increase in the national income to be co-ordinated with the standing army of about two million unemployed? It is obvious that the trade and industry which brought the increased income made larger profits without a corresponding expansion of employment in the country. The only one which can be thought of as a source of such increase is the trade in armaments. A part of the increase of income was also locked up in loans to Government. The national debt at the end of the current year will amount to nearly £ 9,000 millions. The interest on this is an addition to the national income. But the largest part has certainly come from some source such as the trade in armaments. The increase of expenditure on armaments for the defence of the country itself, has now supervened to help the flow of expenditure. But one thing is clear. The cost of acquiring and maintaining against possible aggressors Britain's national income, is becoming progressively higher. Britain has to spend a fourth of its national income now for this purpose while before the war she spent only 7 per cent. There is apparently a Law of Diminishing Returns in economic Imperialism, which is asserting itself. In a few years the business will yield less than it costs. Economic Imperialism will cease to be a paying proposition. One of the many erudite reasons advanced for the fall of the Roman Empire, was shortage of currency. The dictator countries have shown that shortage of currency can be met by adopting a barter system. Great Britain and the United States, the two great capitalistic countries, it is reported, are planning to adopt this system between themselves. When this system expands and is adopted by all countries, national income in terms of currency will lose its present significance.

WORLD AFFAIRS.

The European situation after Herr Hitler's Reichstag speech seems to have quietened down considerably. President Roosevelt wisely refrained from continuing a discussion which served no useful purpose but, on the other hand, caused a good deal of irritation. The task of replying to Herr Hitler was left to Col. Beck, the Polish Prime Minister, probably as head of a State immediately concerned with the greater part of Herr Hitler's speech. This was in itself a favourable factor for European peace for three important reasons. As a country which had profited at the expense of Czechoslovakia along with Herr Hitler, Poland could scarcely indulge

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on a high moral condemnation of Germany's aggressive policy; as a State which is not democratic, the Polish Government could not raise the issue of rival ideologies; and finally, the Polish nation has been as guilty of anti-Semitic conduct as Nazi Germany has been and over a longer period. Col. Beck accordingly restricted his pronouncement to the main issues t at existed between Germany and Poland. His speech conveyed a welcome assurance that the fears entertained by Germany and by a section of the British Press that Poland would be driven to turbulence by Franco-British support, were unfounded. While giving expression to Poland's determination to stand by her rights, Col. Beck made it no less clear that he was ready to enter on negotiations for a settlement of outstanding differences with Germany. An important contribution to European peace was his assertion that Poland was not prepared to adopt any policy against Soviet Russia. A noteworthy development has been the attitude of other "threatened" countries which have adopted Col. Beck's lead of neutrality between Germany and Russia. Turkey, Bulgaria, Roumania and Finland, it was reported on Wednesday, would welcome Russian guarantees if they did not offend the Axis Powers. Once again the small nations of Europe have contributed more than their share to maintaining peace in Europe.

In spite of the optimistic interpretation in certain Anglo-French quarters of M. Litvinoff's resignation, the negotiations between Britain and Russia have not been hastened by the new Soviet Foreign Minister. The Japanese official statement early this week to the effect that, in the event of a war in Europe Japan would keep out of it unless the anti-Comintern pact between Berlin, Rome and Tokio came into operation, was indirectly an assurance to Russia that she had nothing to fear in the East so long as she kept out of European entanglements. French comments during the week also indicate, that the democracies are finding much difficulty in drawing Russia into their system of alliances, where they had in the past exercised much ingenuity in excluding her from it. The weakness of the imperialist democracies in negotiating with Soviet Russia, lies in the fact that they have already committed themselves to guaranteeing East European frontiers. Considerable adroitness will be needed for the French and British Government to wriggle out of these commitments which they are not in a position to put into effect without Soviet aid. Accordingly today the reverse of what British statesmen had hoped to achieve till very recently, is threatened: that instead of Russia being involved in a life struggle with Germany out of which Britain and France would profit, it is they who are primarily in danger of an ideological conflict with Germany. No wonder that the Russians themselves enjoy the irony of the situation.

The British proposals to Russia are now before us. Mr. Chamberlain made a statement on Wednesday to the House of Commons a few hours after a Moscow statement on the British proposals had been released to the press. Both statements agree that the British proposals required a Soviet supplementary guarantee to render military assistance if the Anglo-French promises to certain European countries have to be put into effect. The Russian statement goes on to say that France and Britain refuse to accept a reciprocal obligation in respect of other States in Eastern Europe to which the Soviet has undertaken responsibilities in the event of aggression. The statement definitely names the countries she is asked to guarantee, Poland and Roumania. The Russian objection, from this statement, appears to be that the proposals are one-sided and do not go far enough. Mr. Chamberlain remarked in the House of Commons that the Soviet Ambassador was hesitant about the proposals because his Government feared that Russia might be rushed into intervention in Europe without support from France and Britain,—*i. e.*, if by her accepting the proposals the Axis Powers are diverted to the States she has guaranteed. On the face of it there is a more important objection which Mr. Chamberlain does not seem to have noted. A supplementary guarantee by Russia to countries primarily guaranteed by France and Britain, will be no more useful now than it was to Czechoslovakia at Munich. What would be effective is a complete military alliance, similar to the one put through recently by Germany and Italy.

The subsidence of the crisis has given various parts of the Empire breathing space to consider their position. Canada, it was well known, looked with consternation at her long unprotected coast-line in the event of war. This has made her statesmen supporters of peace in Europe and she has made her voice felt in Empire discussions. Australia's Premier, Mr. Menzies, at the height of the tension expressed his sympathy with Germany's claims in Danzig. His Minister for External Affairs, Sir Henry Gullet, in pledging Australian support to the mother country in the event of war, in a foreign affairs debate in the House of Representatives on Tuesday, went rather out of his way to declare his attitude to Japan. Under cover of advising Japan to side with her old ally, the British Empire, Sir Henry pleaded for nearer and more auspicious relations with the Japanese. South Africa celebrated the averting of the crisis in her own way, by doing her best to antagonise another part of the Empire, India, by pushing through with her Transvaal Asiatic Land and Trading Bill. It is interesting in this connection to read in *Indian Opinion* a curious distinction in favour of a Japanese naval officer who was refused admission to a South African theatre. The officer protested and received an apology. Writing editorially *Indian Opinion* gives an explanation to the effect that the term "Asiatic" did not mean "Japanese". "Whenever a Japanese battleship or ordinary Japanese boat arrives at a Union port," writes *Indian Opinion*,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"all the places where Asiatics are generally restricted from entering, are flung open to the Japanese." We reprint this week a report of this instructive incident from our Natal contemporary. The Nazi acceptance of the Japanese as "honorary Aryans," although it evoked much British humour at the time, is not so unusual after all.

In the U. S. A. too, President Roosevelt after his intervention in European affairs has turned to handle domestic questions once again. The conscription contemplated by the Senate Military Committee in the event of war, will be an encouragement to British Labour members of Parliament who suggested it as an alternative to Mr. Chamberlain's conscription plans. It is a conscription of capital. By this scheme there is to be a census of wealth and on the basis of this census individuals will be compelled to subscribe to 50-year one per cent Government bonds. The amount to be subscribed varies from five per cent of the net wealth for individuals with a capital of $ 1,000 to 75 per cent for individuals "with fortunes in excess of $ 100,000,000." Mr. Roosevelt will not, of course, find it easy to put through this scheme. But the very fact that it has been suggested is a tremendous step forward for the leading capitalist State of the world. Mr. Wickham Steed in a broadcast speech some weeks ago, referred to the close collaboration which has subsisted for many months past between Moscow and Washington. This apparently is the first important contribution made by the Soviet State to U. S. A. economy.

No survey of world affairs would be complete without reference to China. The Japanese forces there seem to be winning a few victories but they are less important than inner developments in Chinese politics. Apparently the assistance recently given to General Chiang Kaishek by Britain and America, has done little to change the Chinese attitude towards Britain. The Government of Sinkiang has decided to expel all foreign subject except Russians. The blow has fallen on Indians and Afghans who were trading in that remote province. In Sinkiang the Soviet influence is paramount and this sudden decision bodes ill for the Anglo-Russian negotiations in Europe. It is not improbable that Australia's overtures to Japan were the cause of renewed Chinese suspicions of British help.

Two non-political appeals for peace have been made in Europe during the week. His Holiness the Pope through his papal nuncios approached the various governments with a message for moderation and reasonableness. Without the publicity which attended the American President's appeal to the dictators, the representations of His Holiness which were made to both democracies and dictators, have been left to work their silent influence in European affairs. On Tuesday the Duke of Windsor made a notable personal appeal from Verdun for sanity in international politics. His detached position and the dignity of his speech gave a special value to his message. He said:

> In our personal contacts, we strive to live in harmony with our fellowmen, otherwise civilisation could never have come into existence. Are we now going to destroy civilisation by failing to do internationally what we learnt to do individually?
>
> I personally deplore the use of terms like 'encirclement' and 'aggression,' which arouse dangerous passions which it should be the aim of all of us to subdue. Statesmen who set themselves to restore international security and confidence must act as good citizens of the world, and not only as good Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Americans and Britons. The greatest success that any Government could achieve for its own national policy will be nothing compared with the triumph of contributing to save humanity from the terrible fate which is threatening it today.

Prohibition in Bombay:—Prohibition is today the accepted policy of all the provincial governments in India. A Committee has reported to the Sind Government recommending a seven-year programme for introducing total Prohibition. In the Punjab the Government has declared its readiness to introduce Prohibition measures when it considers the moment propitious. Bengal has excused itself for the time on the ground that there is less drunkenness in that province than in other parts of India. While conceding that both the Punjab and Bengal have displayed more academic appreciation for Prohibition than active interest in putting it into force, that appreciation in itself is a powerful index of the strength of feeling in this country. The two great political parties in India today, the Congress and the Muslim League, are committed to Prohibition. In the agitation against Prohibition which has sprung up in Bombay since the announcement of the Government's radical proposals for this reform, very few Hindus and practically no Muslims have taken part. The Indian Christian community as well has not been unsympathetic to suggestions for restricting liquor sales. A section of the Europeans and some outstanding Parsis who claim to speak for their community, form the opposition and the position with regard to these two is well illustrated by a letter written by a Parsi gentleman to the *Times of India* which has made itself the organ of anti-Prohibition. "I have read," says the correspondent, "innumerable letters against Prohibition in your esteemed paper. I regret, however, to observe that very few letters have been written by Europeans. I therefore entreat my European brothers to join us in our agitation against Prohibition, otherwise if we lose now it will be their turn next." The European anti-Prohibitionists have no objection to make use of anyone who will attack Prohibition but they would much rather not incur the odium themselves. The correspondent's theory that European silence is explainable by the permits allowed to them, is based on a misconception. Few responsible Europeans are opposed to Prohibition. Even those who do oppose it, do so in the name of temperance and on grounds of individual liberty. The excesses into which the anti-Prohibition movement has been led in these two months, are in themselves, sufficient to keep any sensible man away from it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CINEMATOGRAPH IN INDIA.

The Cinematograph was introduced in India twenty-five years ago and the event was celebrated by a series of Conferences last week. His Excellency the Governor opened an Exhibition illustrating the technical development of the industry during the last quarter of a century. This was followed by the Film Journalists' Conference which was noticed in the last issue. Next came the Artists' Conference, then the Producers' and Distributors' Conferences, and last the Motion Picture Congress presided over by Mr. S. Satyamurthi, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly. Mr. Phalke who produced the first Indian film, Harischandra, was in the Conferences acclaimed as the pioneer in this field.

The situation at present is rather complex. The raw film, that is, the blanks on which the pictures are made, are not made in India and have to be imported from Germany, Great Britain and the United States. If there is war or strike in these countries in the film factories, or tariff variations, the Indian industry will either collapse or will be hampered by reduction of supplies and enhanced prices. This is a contingency to which all Indian industries are liable except agriculture. But there are as yet no great vested interests in Great Britain in the manufacture of films, to come in the way of the development of an indigenous industry. The first concern of those interested in the industry should be to promote the manufacture of films in the country. Mr. Satyamurthi made a passing reference to this point but it seems to be generally assumed that India must continue to depend for a considerable time on imported raw films to furnish the basis of the Cinema in this country. Thus it comes about that, while there is a demand for heavy and even prohibitive import duties on picture films, in the case of the raw films the lowering or repealing of the existing duty is being pressed upon Government.

The exploitation of the terms "foreign" and "national" by the spokesmen and champions of cinematograph produotion, is fatal to the development of the art as an instrument of culture as distinguished from an article of trade. Foreign films—we are referring to the picture films—are in the same class as books and magazines and should enjoy the same freedom from tariff restrictions. If Indian publishers should hold a Congress to demand the levy of prohibitory duties on books published abroad, they would, we fancy, meet with scant support from the reading public. The case of pictures produced abroad is in no way different. Some days ago a too "nationalist" member of the Indian Legislative Assembly recommended that Western music must cease to be broadcasted from Indian stations! Apparently his own musical needs would be amply satisfied if no song except "Bande Mataram" is permitted on the Indian air. Though a heavy duty on imported pictures may increase the profits of the cinema as an industry, it will certainly lead to its deterioration as an art and as a means of culture. Already, there is a widespread complaint which was voiced by the President of the Artists' Conference, that Indian producers are not supplying a sufficient variety of pictures. The public soon tire even the most "glamorous" artists if there is no fresh idea behind the story which they are meant to express in action. The way in which the face and figure of some female stars are used in advertisements in newspapers and posters to attract audiences is positively revolting. The producers and distributors seem to be aware that their pictures will not attract people because of its intellectual interest and that they must depend upon the sensuous appeal to fill the auditorium. There is no reticence whatever in too many Indian pictures, nothing left to the imagination of the individual. We admit that some of the foreign pictures are worse, infinitely worse, and that no Indian picture, so far as we know, has reproduced the cannibalistic five-minutes-by-the-watch kiss, of the most blatant of the foreign films. In one or two pictures there was a very near approach to this obscenity but on the whole our producers and artists have been held back by Indian sentiment from imitating it.

Some one in his enthusiasm called, at one of these conferences, the film industry a key industry which it certainly is not. A key industry is one the decline of which would be directly felt in every part of the economic life. If all the cinemas were closed, outside a few cities, there will not be much of a ripple on the surface of Indian life. The cinema at present in India is not even a luxury industry; it is inspired and maintained solely by the profit motive with little regard for the health and soundness of social life. Even in Great Britain where the pictures produced reflect the social conditions to a much larger extent, tariff and quota devices have not brought prosperity to the industry. Last year an amending Act was passed with the object of helping the English industry against the competition of American imports. The *Economist* reviewing the results of a year's operation of the new Act, concludes :

> The evidence is far from convincing that a turn in the tide of fortune for British films has taken place. Successes are still few, failures too many....More than half the studio space in this country has been idle during the past twelve months. Less than one half of the producing capacity of the remaining stages has been utilised in that time. If it were not for the increase of the quota rate (compelling theatres to use a prescribed minimum of British to foreign films) to 20 per cent, there is reason to believe that the volume of production in the current year will show no increase, and even diminish.

One of the chief difficultites in the way of the development of the Indian industry which several speakers at the Conferences refered to, is the multiplicity of languages. The attempt to force on the people Hindustani has been a failure. Whatever a man may say on the platform he does not appreciate having to listen to a talk in an as yet unformed language in his hour of relaxation. The solution of the problem is to produce silent pictures, leaving every linguistic area to append its own script to the scenes. To many people the silent pictures of the days before the sound film made its appearance, still seem preferable. When Britain first exhibited Russian films, a deep impression was produced by the discriminating use of sound in contrast to the eternal noise and chattering of the usual talkie. The talk except in a few pictures is tedious and even fatuous. In the so-called Indian social pictures it is forced, artificial and often downright stupid. Here the personality of the artist comes in. According to the Editor of *Film India*, most of the women actors can not read or write. Perhaps a good proportion of men actors are not much above the some level of literacy. One of the speakers at the Artists' Conference complained that they had no status in society. The President also dwelt on the lack of appreciation shown by the public and the producers, of the services of the artists. Through the ages, occupations mainly consisting of the exhibition of the body as a means of livelihood, have been regarded as among the lowlier arts. The great sculptor's name is handed down to posterity but not that of his model. Still much may be done to make acting in films a career which cultured people may

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

adopt. There is a censorship of the films. It should be applied to the story before it is filmed, if the author himself cannot be persuaded to avoid scenes in which he would not like to see his own daughter or sister taking part.

The impact of the cinema on social life is direct unlike that of other scientific inventions for increasing one's educational or entertainment resources. The Indian theatre has existed from ancient times but until a few years ago women did not appear on the stage, women's parts being taken by men. This has now become odious to Indian sensibility. The cinema has played a decisive part in precipitating this change in our ideas. Instead of being advanced as a measure of social reform, the getting together of men and women has been forced on society by a machine and that too in contexts hitherto regarded as sacred to family life. The result has been a sudden release of emotional explosions. In one week, the papers contained two cases of a boy and a girl thrown completely out of balance by film pictures. At Tezpur on the 4th May a young man pleaded in answer to a charge of attempted suicide that he had fallen in love with a film star whose picture he had seen and wanted to frighten his parents who had objected to his seeking the star in marriage. The other case is that of a fourteen year Sindhi girl who pined to death because her parents opposed the idea of her marrying a young man whose picture she had seen at a cinema. She contracted consumption and at her death her parents complied with her last desire to get a shawl of the actor laid over her bier.

CATHOLIC CONTROL OF HOLLYWOOD.

Writing on "The Catholic Church in Politics" in *The New Republic*, Mr. L. H. Lehmann, for many years a priest himself, has the following to say about the way in which the Church deals with the movies:

Today the Catholic Church controls Hollywood through Hollywood's master censor, Joseph I. Breen, devout Catholic. Formerly a Washington newspaper man and labour conciliator (he wears a scar on his cheek as a memento, it is said, of a "conference" with striking miners in the early days), Breen was an assistant in the Will Hays organization before assuming the office of Code Administrator. He is a one-man censorship board; virtual dictator of a $ 2,000,000,000 industry. All stories and scenarios offered for production must be submitted to him before they will be considered or even read by individual studios. The minute a writer completes a script it is carried to Breen's office to await his verdict. Every year thousands of stories are submitted and read by his staff.

Writers, directors, producers have all capitulated to Breen. It is said that he has written more sequences unaided than any other writer in the studios. Producers may try to defy him but they know that in the end his word will prevail, for no theatre subscribing to the Code will exhibit a film produced without his approval. The story is told of a dispute with Breen over a picture involving $ 825,000. The eight reels were submitted to him. His answer was an emphatic No. Every effort was made to reason with him. For weeks the fight persisted. Without his approval the matter was at a standstill. Finally, he advised the producers to take it up with his superiors, the Board of Directors of the Board of Motion Picture Producers and Distributors in New York, knowing full well that the Board's reversal was highly improbable. At this point the studio capitulated and asked Breen what changes he wanted.

In another instance, a studio paid $ 5,000 for a story. Two writers worked over it for weeks, being paid $ 17,500. Breen turned it down. Two other writers were put on the job. Breen again withheld approval. For two years, at a cost of $ 128,000, writers of various talents were tried. At last in desperation Breen was approached once more. He outlined his recommendations. These were followed and the script was then accepted.

Nobody can condemn the Catholic Church for setting up a censorship of this kind so long as it can get away with it. Protestantism conceivably might do the same thing if it were sufficiently united and sufficiently intelligent. The only point we wish to make is, that if the moving pictures always and invariably treat the Catholic Church and the Catholic priesthood with respect it is simply because there is machinery which compels tham to do so.—*The Christian Evangelist.*

THE JEWS OF EUROPE.

Attention has been concentrated so much on Germany, and the German persecution of Jews has so far exceeded the persecutions of other countries that one is led into believing that, if somehow the German persecution could be stopped, the whole situation would clear up. Nevertheless in Poland, in Hungary, in Roumania and in Yugoslavia, there is a strong anti-Jewish feeling which has shown itself in sporadic acts of persecution, in pogroms. The German form of anti-Semitism is not different in kind from that of its neighbours. It differs by reason of its sustained ferocity. The result of this persecution has been a tendency in several countries to regard the refugee problem as primarily one relating to Jews. Sir Norman Angell and Mrs. Dorothy Frances Buxton have, for instance jointly written a Penguin Special entitled "You and the Refugees" in which the word 'Jew' is practically equated with the word 'refugee.' The reason is, not necessarily consciously, that the writers believe it is easier to appeal to the Western mind against a pseudo-religious persecution than against political persecution. There is much sympathy which anti-Semitism creates for its victims, which anti-Communism, for instance, does not bring out. Political heresy is today a more heinous sin than religious.

But the methods of well-meaning writers have been singularly unfortunate for the very Jews it was intended to help. A straw ballot by the American magazine *Fortune*, showed recently that anti-Semitism is spreading in the U.S.A. *Ken*, an anti-Nazi weekly of Chicago, in a recent number reported that "anti-Semitic picketing had made its appearance in the nation's capital," that the Klan and similar organisations are increasing their activities and that in Miami, the "White Front," an anti-Jewish Society, is busy in propaganda work. In the same issue of *Ken* there is a letter replying to a previous article by Sir Norman Angell urging that the employment of a Jewish refugee did not mean less employment for Americans but on the contrary more as the Jew will open up new avenues of employment. "Personally," writes A.B.W., "I'd much rather keep my job and support my family, than be fired in favour of some Austrian Jew, however deserving he may be." The trouble is that there are two fundamental differences in Sir Norman's view of the Jewish refugee problem and that of "A. B. W.": In the first place, the Jews they are considering, have nothing in common but the name. Sir Norman's Jew would find his feet anywhere: the instances he gives even in "You and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Refugees" of Jews who opened up new lines of trade and industry in Britain, are of unusual types whose very first success was in getting to Britain in spite of all the difficulties that Sir Norman himself has ably depicted. The Jews considered by "A. B. W." are the Jews who really need help; the Jews who have been deprived of their living by Nazi intolerance and who can with difficulty re-establish themselves in ordinary business in a new country. Then again Sir Norman studies the question of employment from above; the fear of being thrown out of employment does not lurk within him. "A. B. W." on the other hand, requests the editor of *Ken* not to publish his name lest he lose his job in Hollywood.

Since it is obvious that both among the Jews who have to be helped, and among those nationals who are asked to help, the mediocre predominate, the development of anti-Semitism along with sympathy for the Jews is inevitable, and in the end it is not inconceivable that the hatred might submerge the sympathy. Already it seems to have had that effect with some writers in Britain. Mr. Douglas Reed in his "Disgrace Abounding" presents an anti-Nazi case which is also anti-Semitic. Whilst there is much obvious exaggeration in many of his statements, that does not completely dispose of his contention that it is inexplicable that Britain which was prepared to sacrifice Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Spain, which will not respond to appeals to help unemployed Britons at home, is moved to compassion for the Jews. We do not agree with Mr. Reed that all, or even much of, this is due to a sinister propaganda. We believe it is greatly due to misguided propaganda, not so much by Jewish writers as by sympathisers like Sir Norman Angell. Sir Norman, for example, has written up a story in "You and the Refugees" called "the Story of Elsa Strauss." This is a "built-up" narrative of several incidents which have happened to many people. We think that this is a particularly bad method of propaganda. Sir Norman is trying to evoke public support for a good cause but he is appealing to the same sentimentality to which Herr Hitler addresses his anti-Jewish propaganda. The dangers of this are obvious.

The problem of the Jew is that of the refugee, whether Spanish, Czech, German, Austrian or Chinese. The only way that it can be solved is as part of the larger problem. We quite concede the point that it is awful that in times of peace an entire community should be hounded out of peaceful occupations. But is it any easier for those, for instance, whom a ruthless war has driven out of Spain, to settle down to a new life in a new country? The lesson of Palestine is clear that you cannot evoke a community as an island community among a different people without provoking antagonism. And even for individuals it is difficult. So long as the Jewish refugee is a "refugee" dependent on the sympathy of his neighbours and their charity, he will be well-treated. But only so long. The moment he sets up and becomes independent, all the anti-Semitic stories will follow him into the new country. The only way of meeting the danger is, therefore, to help the men, women and children not as Jews but as refugees. After all, what used to distinguish the Jew from other peoples was the fact that he had no country. This is not equally true of the political refugee driven out of his country or fleeing from the Government? This can best be achieved through some such machinery as the refugees conference. Questions which bear closely on settling refugees are, how far they can be expected to adjust their lives to that of the people around them, and how capable the new countries are of assimilating their new citizens. The rather selfish argument advanced by Sir Norman Angell that Britain should settle the Jews in Palestine because they would be loyal and grateful to Britain, is here of no avail. The point seems rather to be whether they can join in a community life with the Arabs. It is no use being loyal and grateful to a people or a government thousands of miles away, if you cannot get on with your immediate neighbours.

In Australia and Canada we have two States that could absorb all the refugees of Europe and benefit by the act. But both Australia and Canada, not less than Herr Hitler's Germany, are suffering from a 'Nordic' complex which carries racialism to peculiar lengths. They are willing to have as immigrants people who at the present stage have no desire to go out of their own countries. But it is too much for them to provide homes for the refugees. If Europe could be really considered as one, the difficulties of the refugee problem would readily solve themselves. But the gulf between Eastern Europe and Western Europe is a well-nigh unbridgeable one. A close consideration of the question will show that in Europe the refugees naturally divide into West European and East European. The first finds no difficulty, whether Jew or Gentile, in settling in England or France or in the U. S. A. He regards the East European, generally speaking, as a lower species. In fact the refugee problem itself is the fruit of European inability to settle the differences between the two. The East European has in Russia an ideally suitable country. It is, at present at any rate, free of anti-Semitic prejudice. If the communities are naturally settled in this manner by a general agreement, we think that the whole problem could be disposed of with some degree of permanence. We have not mentioned Asia or Africa not because we object to certain communities but because of the difficulties of assmiliation. and of present high population. To those who had hoped to find in the Jewish communities a link between East and West, there has been a disillusionment in this that Western Jews share in the prejudices of other Westerners on questions relating to Asia and Africa, as shown to some extent in Palestine. Thsee Jews themselves do not look to Asia except when Europe turns them down. No country can be expected to take in in large numbers—immigration "by retail" is a resource that does not solve the problem of refugees—a people whom it cannot expect to assimilate. And it is not a satisfactory solution if dominant European nations "plant" refugee communities in Asia and Africa in the hope of growing oases of loyalty amid the rising nationalisms of "backward" peoples.

When all this has been settled there still remains the question of the Chinese refugee who seems to have received much less consideration than his case warrants. The West European can easily fit into England, France or the U. S. A. The East European will take longer but even he can adjust himself. Both have large groups of their own communities abroad, more or less flourishing, to help them. The Chinese faces a dismal future. Sir Norman Angell following a political tradition concerns himself solely with European refugees. Does that mean that the Japanese political refugee or the Chinese refugee—the latter number thousands and tens of thousands—are to be left to rot in persecution? We may even take the argument a step further. What about the treatment of Africans and Indians in Africa? Or must we wait till things get as bad as it is with the Jews in Germany before protesting? Driving people out of a country is not the only persecution.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS CONTROL BILL IN JAPAN.

The Tokio Government's bill for the control of religious organisations has passed the House of Peers and is now under consideration in the House of Representatives. The indications are that that body will also approve it. Over a period of forty years, succeeding cabinets have wrestled with this question and four definite attempts have been made to secure the passage of some such legislation.

As the terminology of the present bill indicates, it proposes to deal not with religions as such but with religious organisations. This new approach is evidently made in order to ward off the charge of interfering with religious freedom. The control of religious organisations provided for in the present bill is comprehensive. No religious body can be established without the approval of the Minister of Education. In applying for approval, the creed or an outline of the doctrine of that religious group must be submitted as well as a statement covering its ceremonies, its organisational set up, its range of activities and the qualifications, prerogatives and powers of its pastors and officials.

When once approval has been secured for the establishment of a religious body the matters outlined above cannot be altered, if such alterations affect its status as a religious body, without the approval of the Minister of Education or by his delegation the prefectural governor or the local police. Each local church as well as each denomination must appoint an official representative and this representative will be held responsible by the government for the character and affairs of that body.

A local church may not dissolve without the consent of the responsible head of the denomination with which it is related and the approval of the prefectural governor. However the prefectural governor or police may dissolve a local church, (*a*) if it fails to rebuild within five years after its building has been destroyed, (*b*) if it has no responsible head for a period of three years or more.

In cases where religious doctrines or ceremonies disturb peace and order and run counter to the public good the authorities may limit the functions of the religious body concerned or order the suspension of pastor or dissolve it.

Religious bodies, local churches, pastors and officials who violate the provisions of this law will be subject to fines ranging from £ 200.00 to £ 500.00 or to imprisonment for a term of not more than six months.

Inasmuch as Christianity hitherto has had no legal status, all Christian communions and local churches must take steps to conform with the provisions of this law within two years after its passage.

Christian communions and local churches which have sought and received the approval of the proper authorities will have the right to organise as juristic persons and hold property. They will also be freed from local and national taxes. Moreover, their property cannot be confiscated in case of debt. These privileges do not accrue, however, to communions or local churches which register as religious societies.

As a whole the reaction of Japanese Christian leaders to this proposed legislation is as follows:

Many of the provisions contained in this bill are already in force. The bill has the advantage of clarifying the situation and giving definiteness to the powers of local authorities.

If communions and local churches meet the conditions laid down in this legislation the local authorities must take favourable action. Hitherto the personal equation of the local officials, their likes or dislikes, have played too large a role.

The government has given serious and considerate consideration to the amendments to the original drafts urged by Christian leaders and most of them have been incorporated into the bill as it now stands.

Large sections of the Japanese people have looked upon Christianity as an alien faith. Ever since the days under the Tokugawa regime when persecutions broke upon the Japanese Christians this faith has been labelled foreign in the minds of many. This legislation, however, puts the stamp of approval upon Christianity by the Empire's highest legislative body and relates it to the nation's inner indigenous life. For eighty years Christianity has been an interloper in Japan's religious world. It has had no legal status. It has been tolerated but given no legal recognition. This legislation gives it a legal standing and legally puts it on a basis of equality with the nation's other faiths—Shinto and Buddhism.

JAPANESE PROTESTS AGAINST DURBAN "INSULT."

The commander of the Japanese ship, Manila Maru, called on the Acting Mayor of Durban (Mr. J. Fyfe) to protest against his being refused admission to a Durban bioscope when his ship was last in port—on February 4.

"It is not my personal pride so much as my national pride that has been hurt," said the commander, Captain Hiromatsu Kanegae, in a letter he handed to Mr. Fyfe.

"We Japanese have pride not for ourselves so much as for our nation. We would rather be trampled under muddy boots than that our nation should be insulted."

Mr. Fyfe assured the commander that his complaint would receive attention. It would be handed to the Mayor (Mr. Fleming Johnston) when he returned from Capetown next week.

The managers of the various cinemas, interviewed by a representative of the *Natal Daily News*, said there certainly appeared to be some mistake because the Japanese had always been allowed to enter the theatres in South Africa.

The manager of the Twentieth Century Theatre declared: "We reserve the right of admission, whether European or otherwise, but I cannot believe that this captain of the ship was refused admission. If there was such a mistake I would be the first to apologise to him.

"A few weeks ago a number of Japanese sailors wanted admission; we did not think they were fittingly dressed and did not allow them to enter, just as we refused to let some Europeans enter because their cloths were dirty and torn."

Captain Kanegae stated in his letter that he liked Durban, its climate and the pleasant modern city area; he admitted that it was already an important distributing centre and had a most promising future; it was a world-famous port and the natural spaciousness of the Bay would meet any demands that development might make upon it.

"The people of Durban are kind and polite—so much so that my crew as well as myself always feel quite at home in Durban when we call after a long sea voyage. We are grateful for your hospitality. But I fear that this experience has done much to disturb my hitherto kindly feelings towards Durban."

* *Indian Opinion*, March 31st 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

"On my asking the reason why I was refused admission I understood the manager to explain that it was 'an agreement of their association.' I do not know whether I understood this rightly or not; as the past there has been no question about admitting me or my officers to local cinemas. I sincerely trust that there is no suggestion now that we should be barred from the cinemas, and I appeal to you to use your influence for the continued recognition of Japanese for what they are—people who are treated on the same footing as Europeans in any part of the world without exception.

"It is hardly necessary to remind you that in London and New York, Japanese may occupy any seat in any theatre. In Capetown the Japanese is treated as well as any European. I might add that I know many Europeans of high social standing and with them I can dine, talk, play and dance and be thoroughly easy in mind. I shall never forget, for instance, the constant kindness of Mr. te Water, the South African High Commissioner in London, and Mrs. te Water.

"Ours is a country that has taken a high and honourable place in the world: we have a culture which many admire, an ancient and honourable history, a record of considerable practical achievement.

"To insult one Japanese by making him feel that he is regarded as one of an inferior or despised race is to make him feel that not he so much as his country has been slighted."

Captain Kanegae states he has no doubt that the management of this particular picture house intended no gratuitous slight to him or to his people. "But through you (the Mayor) I appeal to them, and to Durban as a whole, to reciprocate the friendship which we Japanese have always felt towards Durban. It is our wish that each of us should leave this beautiful port with nothing but pleasure, cordiality and gratitude in our hearts."

PROHIBITION AND REPEAL IN U. S. A.

Unity of Chicago wrote the following editorial on December 5, 1938:—

Prohibition, you may remember, was done away with because it increased drunkenness so horribly! The philosophy of repeal was simple—take liquor away from men, and they will insist on having it; give them liquor in abundance, and they will leave it alone." This never made sense to us, but propaganda put it over and a "dry" country was made "wet" again. And we were confidently told that drunkenness would now disappear! Well, how has it worked out? Statistics are few, because investigations are few. But now again some figures come along, and they confirm what the eyes of any honest observer clearly see—that drunkenness is now rife among us, worse than ever, and steadily increasing. Thus, a correspondent in the New York *Herald-Tribune* calls attention to the fact that the 1923 census report, section "Prisoners," page 81, table 12, states that in 1923, after Prohibition had been in force for three years, the commitments for drunkenness had declined 55·3 per cent, or more than one-half. On the other hand, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in a recent report comparing arrests for 1932 ("dry") and 1937, ("wet"), states that in these years, the repeal had been in force four years, drunkenness *per capita* increase in arrests for was 100·5 per cent, or more than entitled. Our "wet" friends are to be congratulated on their great success in repealing the 18th Amendment and thus getting rid of the evils of liquor. Which is "rit sarkastik," as Artemas Ward used to put it! As a matter of fact, of course, the question of drunkenness and general conditions under Prohibition never came into the minds of the "wets" at all. It was at the very time when Prohibition was at its best, with vastly improved conditions everywhere about us, that the repeal movement was started, and its motive was nothing in the world but the selfish insistence of men used to having their own way, especially in matters of personal indulgence, upon getting their "booze" safely and easily, no matter what the cost to the public welfare. They were going to have their cocktails, no matter what the increase in drunkenness! Now they have got what they want—and the price is being paid. When we have gotten sufficiently tired of paying this price, we shall have Prohibition again!

BOMBING PLANES—WHO MADE THEM "LEGAL"

An ironic fact, known hardly at all to the general public in any country, writes *No frontier News Service*, is that the retention of the bombing plane as a legal instrument of war and the suppression of native populations, was due to insistence by Great Britain. The background story of this amazing episode has been told in several places where it can be documented, but most recent, perhaps, is a speech made by Hugh Dalton, Member of Parliament, last February at Accrington. Referring to the Disarmament Conference, of 1932, Mr. Dalton said: "On February 10, in the first debate of the Conference, Italy proposed the abolition of all bombing aeroplanes. Germany, Russia, and other States supported. The United States of America was friendly to the idea, and in June President Hoover definitely came out in favour. From the first, Sir John Simon and Lord Londonderry resisted and obstructed: and on July 7, Lord Baldwin, on behalf of the Government, opposed abolition, and proposed instead that limits should be defined within which air bombing should be legitimate. Nearly three years later, Lord Londonderry told the world that in 1932 when 'the Disarmament Conference assembled, almost its earliest discussions were centred around the possibility of the total abolition of.....the bombing aeroplane.....I had the utmost difficulty at that time in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane.' But he succeeded, and his Liberal colleagues of that time helped him to succeed. The consequences of that success are written in letters of blood in China, Abyssinia, and Spain. And may be the end is not yet."

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE.

The term of office of the fifteen members of the Permanent Court of International Justice expires at the end of this year. The new Court for the period 1940 to 1949 will be simultaneously elected by the League Assembly and Council in September next from lists of candidates submitted by national groups of the Permanent Court of Arbitration or, in some cases, other national bodies of jurists. For this election, certain non-member States and parties to the Statute of the League are permitted also to vote on the Council. The Permanent Court of International Justice consists of a body of independent judges elected, regardless of their nationality, from persons who possess qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial offices, or are jurists of recognised competence in international law. The present members of the Court are: M. Guerrero, *President* (Salvador); Sir Cecil

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Hurst, *Vice-President* (United Kingdom); M. Ch. De Visscher (Belgium); M. Cheng (China); M. Urrutia (Colombia); M. de Bustamente (Cuba); M. Erich (Finland); M. Fromageot (France); M. Anzilotti (Italy); M. Nagaoka (Japan); Jonkheer van Eysinga (Netherlands); Count Rostworowski (Poland); M. Negulesco (Roumania); S. Altamire (Spain); and Mr. Hudson (United States of America).

INTERNATIONAL COURTESY.

While the attention of the public is readily focussed on international conflicts, acts of international courtesy which serve to soften asperities, pass unnoticed. *World Youth* calls attention to an outstanding instance between the United States and Japan, who stand in opposite camps of international politics. At the orders of President Roosevelt, the U. S. warship *Astoria* sailed from Annapolis bearing the ashes of the late Japanese Ambassador Saito, on the long voyage by way of Panama to his native land. Ambassador Saito was only fifty years when he died. He was exceedingly popular with Americans and in the face of many difficulties he managed to maintain friendly relations between the United States and Japan. *World's Youth* recalls that, in the autumn of 1925, the remains of U. S. Ambassador Edgar E. Bancroft were, by order of the Japanese Government, brought across the Pacific by a Japanese warship to America.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S DUAL POLICY.

Labour Research (London) in its April number writes:—

On March 17th, the same day as Chamberlain's Birmingham speech, was announced the conclusion of an Anglo-German trade agreement between the F. B. I. and the Reichsgruppe Industries. The press statement caused an immediate uproar, and the full text confirmed the worst fears. *The Financial News* (21-3-39) wrote that: "What is intended is nothing less than a complete Anglo-German economic alliance—a complete reorientation of the whole of our commercial policy. The object of the agreement, according to the text, was: to provide a volume of foreign currency sufficient for its signatories' economic needs"—in other words, for the German arms programme. The agreement is moreover, virtually directed against the U. S. A., and contradicts the spirit, if not the letter, of the recent Anglo-American Trade Agreement. Despite sharp protests from America, however, the Government has so far refused to request the F. B. I. to cancel the agreement.

SOCIAL REFORM BILL IN BOMBAY.

Nine non-official Bills, relating to various social reform activities, which will be considered by the Bombay Legislative Assembly, have been published in the *Bombay Government Gazette*, dated May 10.

Mr. Bhogilal D. Lala will introduce a Bill seeking to amend the Criminal Procedure Code so as to entitle a wife to have the right not to live with her husband. Mr. S. H. Jhabvala has a Bill in his name, which seeks to amend the City of Bombay Municipal Act, making it incumbent on Municipal Officers to undertake monthly rounds to hear grievances from the poorer and illiterate classes of citizens. The same member will introduce another Bill which seeks to "free hawkers and hand-cart men from harassment." A Bill in the name of Mr. R. R. Bole seeks to enable members of the scheduled classes to use public wells, tanks, conveyances, *dharamshalas* along with other classes of Hindus.

Mr. Mirza Akhtar Hasan will introduce a Bill to consolidate the provisions of Muslim Law in its application to the Province of Bombay relating to suits by married Muslim women for the dissolution of marriage and to remove doubts as to the effects of apostasy of a married Muslim woman on her marriage tie.

Mr. S. V. Parulekar has two Bills in his name, one seeking to make free or compulsory or forced labour an offence punishable with imprisonment or fine. The other Bill seeks to exempt from attachment property not exceeding Rs. 2,000 in value of a judgment debtor who is an industrial worker, artisan or agriculturist.

Mr. Babubhai Patel will introduce a Bill to prevent the excommunication of members by various Hindu castes and communities on social grounds.

A Bill in the name of Mr. H. V. Pataskar seeks to empower the Sub-Divisional Magistrate to hear appeals against orders passed by the police patil.

REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN BRITISH GUIANA.

The Commission appointed to investigate the possibilities of a large-scale refugee settlement in British Guiana expresses the opinion that the territory while not ideal for refugees from Middle European countries and not suitable for immediate large-scale settlement, possesses potential possibilities and recommends a trial settlement, at the earliest possible date, with a personnel of 3,000 to 5,000 carefully selected young men and women under a properly equipped technical organisation.

This summarises the conclusion of the Commission investigation appointed by the United States President which have been issued today as a White Paper.

The Commission is of the opinion that the climate in the area offered does not preclude the possibility of a white settlement. Severe tropical diseases do not occur with dangerous frequency. The bases for certain industrial development appear to exist. The present inhabitants would welcome immigration by Europeans.

The report adds that every consideration of health sanitation, working efficiency and social wellbeing indicates that the unit of settlement should not be the family, but the village.

The Commission considers that the colonists should be chosen from young married, but childless, couples and single young men and women of good health and sturdy physique, and that approximately 3,000 to 5,000 people will be required in the first year to man the various projects. In the area available, there are suitable soils for permanent agriculture and natural resources, which make possible correlated industrial development, the climate and health conditions making settlement by Europeans feasible. The approximate cost of the trial settlements over a period of two years with a population of 5,000 is estimated at 3,000,000 dollars.

Mr. MacDonald announced in the House of Commons, that the British Government had considerable hopes of the possibility of a settlement of refugees in British Guiana.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Prof. L. Rushbrook Williams writes in *The Asiatic Review*

"He adds to a lively, and occasionally malicious, pen a keen sense of humour and a certain confidence in his own judgment, which is the habitual prerogative of youth. The result is an engaging book, which tells us almost as much about Mr. Natarajan as about the places he visited and the persons he encountered."

"May well prove invaluable to other young Indians addicted with Western Wanderlust. For here they will read of the hotels he patronised, the tips he gave the porters he employed, where and what food he found, and the conclusions he sedately drew." *The Times of India,* Bombay.

"A pleasant souvenir of a six-months holiday which Mr. S. Natarajan spent in Europe last year. Mr. Natarajan left the shores of India on February 12, 1937 and when he set foot in Europe he found the whole Continent in a State of frenzy. The Civil war was in full swing in Spain, nervousness had gripped Naziland, Paris was getting the Exposition ready and England was all agog with excitement in view of the (then impending) Coronation of King George VI. Mr. Natarajan had plenty to see and hear during his sojourn. And he did well in taking his typewriter with him." *The Hindu,* Madras.

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

Copies can be had from:—

The Manager-

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad)
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh)
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „)
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „)
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „)
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „)
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „)
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „)
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „)
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(„ „)
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(District Nasik)
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „)
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(„ „)
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	(District Panch Mahals)
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Koshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balance not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Upap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

2-26

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MAY 6, 1939. No. 36

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Soviet-Nazi Rapprochement?
The Small Nations and War.
Are Government Weakening?
Military Government in India.
The Forward Bloc.
A Tell-tale Observation.
The Spectator on the Rajkot Award.
Muslim-Lawler Marriage.
Dr. Zaim Ali on South African Situation.
Miss Sorabji's Stock-Taking.
A Governor's Credulity.
Herr Hitler's Speech.
The Congress after Calcutta.
The Film Journalists Conferences.
Gunga Din.
Indian Troop Movements.
Mazdoznian French Lecturers.
The Rajkot Tangle.
Fascism in Mexico.
The Congress Changes Presidents.
Bombay Governments Prohibition Policy.

NOTES.

Soviet Nazi Rapprochement? :—Mr. Douglas Reed in "Disgrace Abounding" warns his readers to watch out for anti-Semitism in Russia. He writes: "Herr Hitler's obvious move now..... would be to join hands with Russia.....Together the world will be theirs. National Socialism and Bolshevism are not worlds apart, but close together.....There is one great obstacle. Stalin had or has—I am not sure how matters stand at the moment—a Jewish wife. The Jews are powerful in Russia, numerous in the Bolshevist administration. I can perfectly well imagine an alliance between National Socialist Germany and Bolshevist Russia.....I cannot imagine an alliance between National-Socialist Germany and the present regime in Soviet Russia. If you see signs of a change of regime in Russia, of the exclusion of the Jewish element, you may book that passage for the Bahamas, for all is lost." There is a singular appositeness about this passage as one reads the newspapers today. For while the British Government is laboriously considering the Soviet proposals for the peace front, news comes through that the Russian Foreign Minister, M. Litvinoff, has resigned his post. M. Litvinoff is a Jew and has an English wife. More than this he has been a staunch advocate of collective security which is now gaining ground in Britain and France. If the Soviet wanted to give a definite indication that they were not committed to either democracy or dictatorship in the European conflict, they could not have chosen a better method of doing so than by dropping M. Litvinoff. Herr Hitler's own attitude towards Russia which is now singularly subdued—it was noted, he studiously omitted any reference to it in his last speech—is not encouraging to France and Britain.

The Small Nations and War :—The small nations of Europe have two alternatives in meeting the menace of War. They can either sell their defence to that Great Power which offers the best terms—since trying to defend themselves would be expensive and futile—or they can secure assurances from both the democracies and the dictators to respect their neutrality. This is being done unostentatiously by the Scandinavian countries who are considering a non-aggression pact with Germany. More advertised because immediately threatened is the attitude of Roumania whose Foreign Minister, M. Gafencu, has completed a round of the democratic capitals and has started visiting the dictators. M. Gafencu has secured Anglo-French guarantees of assistance in the event of unprovoked aggression. But such a guarantee is useless unless Soviet Russia, the one Great Power that can render immediate assistance, joins in it. Roumania's internal condition is such that reliance on Soviet help might well let loose several discontented elements now held down. Besides Roumania has a none too easy conscience in regard to Bessarabia, once Russian, now under Romanian administration. M. Gafencu has taken the only course open to him of negotiating with the dictators for the best possible terms.

Are Government Weakening? :—We publish today the official report of an interview between a deputation of the Licensed Victuallers' Association and the Minister of Excise on the introduction of Prohibition in Bombay City. While the Minister is said to have been adamant with reference to the request for compensation to the liquor trade, his undertaking to lay before his colleagues the point of view of the Association that Bombay City should be taken last and not first in the scheme of Prohibition, and his remarks generally on it, might create an impression that the Government may give up their plan to introduce Prohibition in Bombay City on 1st August. We had ourselves suggested that Prohibition would better have been extended from the districts to the capital city. But, on the announcement of the Government scheme, we recognised that they have begun at the right end, as Bombay City is the principal centre from which the liquor habit spreads to the villages. Unlike Madras and Calcutta which have a large permanent population, Bombay City has a predominantly floating population and, even otherwise, it exercises, for good and evil, an influence on the life of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

province as a whole which no other provincial capital does. The deputation admitted this in its statement that Bombay was interested in the liquor trade over the whole province. A revision of the scheme at this stage in the direction desired by the Victuallers' Association, will amount practically to the abandonment of Prohibition.

Unitary Government in India:—British India, as every schoolboy knows, began as three large and independent provinces, Madras, Bombay and Bengal. It was found necessary at a very early stage to bring them together under a Governor-General. This was done by the Regulating Act. Since then the provinces were from time to time endowed with an increasing amount of autonomy in the administration but the central government retained its supremacy. This was wrecked by the Hoare scheme which made the provinces separate autonomous units. This is the position now. In other parts of the world the tendency, owing to various causes, is for governments to have powers concentrated more and more at the centre. Federation is steadily giving place to unification. The need of a strong central government was never greater in India than now. All important non-official movements are organised on an All-India scale. Provincial governments are at their wits' end to meet the impact of these movements whenever there is any disturbance in their territories. The present position of the United Provinces is the most acute illustration of this feature of the reforms. The Pant Ministry is beset on all sides with outbreaks of lawlessness, which it is unable to control with its unaided resources. It hesitates to call upon the Central Government for help as it will go against the Congress policy of ignoring the Central Government in matters relating to the provinces. The condition in Burma is even worse. It is evident on all sides that the present Constitution will break down soon and unless revised in time by a form of government which will be able to control the forces of disorder in all parts of the country, we must face the prospect of early chaos.

The Forward Bloc :—Rumours of the formation of a new party within the Congress have been set at rest by Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's announcement of the setting up of a Forward Bloc which would be to the Leftist-Radical elements what the Gandhi Seva Sangh is to the Rightist group. This is a wise step. It avoids the creation of one more party, it seeks to bring together all the extremists and pseudo-extremists, and it might well succeed in giving some character to the rather vague political theorisings of the Left parties in the Congress. At any rate, even if forces beyond his control defeat Mr. Bose's attempt to bring coherence to the Leftists, it is something that unlike others who have been wrecked by the Congress hierarchy, Mr. Bose is not wasting his energies explaining to the country how it all happened. The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who was reported some days back to be considering intervention as a peacemaker between Mr. Bose and Gandhiji has now congratulated Mr. Bose on the strong line he adopted at Calcutta. This is a significant development. On Friday morning a Bombay Chronicle correspondent reported that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel wished to resign from the Working Committee, that four other vacancies were expected, and that these places would be filled by left-wing Congressmen. Such a step would be the final victory for Mr. Bose as it was for just such a Committee that he has stood out. If the report is true, the attitude of the rightists assumes all the aspects of a personal vendetta against the ex-president.

A Tell-tale Observation :—In the bad old days when dacoities flourished, a little boy was warned not to disclose to the dacoits the hiding place of his father in the household barn. Accordingly, when the bandit chief approached the house, the boy ran forward and eagerly told him ; "My father is not in the barn." This old story came to mind on reading Mr. K. M. Munshi's remark at Poona last week-end that Gandhiji is not a spent force. He did not explain how on three occasions recently the country respectfully declined to follow Gandhiji's lead. The first was when he sought to foist upon the Governor of the Central Provinces the blame for the failure of Dr. Khare to be guided by the Working Committee. The second was the election of Mr. Subhas Bose as Congress President for a second time in contravention of the wishes of the members of the same Committee. The third and the most significant was the poor response to Gandhiji's call to make the Rajkot affair an all-India issue. In Rajkot itself, as Gandhiji has admitted, his intervention proved a failure. We deal with the resignation of Mr. Subhas Bose and the manner it came about in an article in this issue. It has been hailed as a great victory. At best it is a pyrrhic one. Time will show.

The Spectator on the Rajkot Award :—The *Spectator* (London) has a significant comment on Sir Maurice Gwyer's award in the Rajkot dispute. It observes that the issue was whether the Thakore should necessarily appoint whom ever Mr. Patel recommended, or could he reject the recommendations in whole or in part? "Mr. Gandhi said the former, the Thakore Saheb the latter. Sir Maurice Gwyer agrees with Mr. Gandhi and the Thakore Saheb will no doubt accept his finding which should incidentally improve the already cordial relations established between Mr. Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow." Is it suggested that these relations would have been impaired if the award had been different? In our comment on the award, we indicated that though legally it must be accepted as final from the commonsense point of view it failed to commend itself as perfectly satisfactory. There are certain attributes of which the ruler of a State can divest himself only by abdicating,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The right which the Thakore Saheb claimed is inherent in his position. All engagements entered into by a ruler have this condition implicit in them. It has been held that the ruler of an Indian State can not be cited as a co-respondent in a British Court even in such a purely personal affair as a divorce case. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has contested the correctness of the Chief Justice's award from the legal point of view in a statement issued this week to the Press.

Holkar-Lawler Marriage:—The American magazine, *Time*, gives particulars of the parentage and antecedents of Miss Marguerite Lawler whom the Maharaja of Indore announced a few days ago that he had married. She is of humble origin. Her father is described as a retired switchman with a pension of 30 dollars a month. She herself is said to have served as a stewardess in the Union Pacific. It appears that she is the divorced wife of a Mr. Branyan. All this is of no public interest and if the Maharaja was a private person, there will be no occasion for comment. To the American a Maharani is nobody. The brother of Miss Lawler is reported to have expressed his disapproval of the marriage on account of Holkar's race. But in India there will be widespread regret that the Maharaja did not find a spouse more worthy to share with him the historic gadi of the saintly Ahalyabai.

Sir Raza Ali on South African Situation:—It is a healthy convention that a person who has held high and responsible office, should after his retirement refrain from public expressions of opinion which might embarrass his successor. We can not imagine what purpose Syed Raza Ali's protest against the rumoured convening of a third Round Table Conference to discuss and decide on measures to ameliorate the condition of Indians in South Africa, may be intended to serve. On the other hand, we can readily see that it may embarrass his successor who is trying against difficulties, which did not exist in Sir Raza Ali's time, to stem the tide of anti-Indian sentiment which has suddenly and unaccountably become acute. The position of Indians in all parts of Africa is once again in the melting-pot. The whole question must be considered anew and if South Africa leads the way with a Round Table Conference, there is every reason to welcome and none whatever to denounce it as Sir Raza Ali does.

Miss Sorabji's Stock-Taking:—The East India Association of London, is a body with a standing in India as well as in England, and the papers read and the discussions held there are generally on a high level. It is a pity, therefore, that it could not have secured a more unprejudiced person than Miss Cornelia Sorabjee to do the "Stock-taking in India" for its members. We do not refer to Miss Sorabji's political views or her criticisms of Congress administrations. Some of her allegations against the latter are so monstrous that no fairminded person should mention them without at the same time particularising the Administration and the Minister responsible for them. Her generalisation of the Hindu shastras as "conservative to the extent of decadence in most cases in all their works and ways," is not improved by the footnote, whether it was supplied by herself or the Editor of the Journal of the Association in which her paper is published. It runs: "That this need not be so with orthodox Hinduism is nobly exemplified *inter alia* by the Maharaja of Mysore, who combines strict orthodoxy with a high level of progress as known to the modern civilized world." Miss Sorabjee found a congenial commentator in Sir Michael O'Dwyer who took the opportunity to vent his spleen on Indian nationalists. Miss Kinnaird bravely attempted a defence of the Indian leaders but her information was woefully faulty as when she described the Provincial Prime Minister (Mr. C. Rajagopala Charya) as being "also the landlord of the district" of Salem where Prohibition was first introduced in Madras.

A Governor's Credulity:—Miss Sorabji and Sir Michael O'Dwyer are irresponsible critics and their observations are of no significance as bearing on the course of events in India, Sir Gilbert P. Hogg, who presided, however, has acted as Governor of Assam and, judging from the generally restrained tone of his remarks, he has not quite shaken himself free from the obligations devolving on a servant of the Crown in India. We are, therefore, astonished that he should have permitted himself to repeat a silly and, on the face of it a most improbable, story which, he said, had recently reached him from India. Here is the story: "A certain Minister loaned to one of his supporters his set of false teeth and to make matters worse he has not since been able to remember which one of them it was he gave them." "I do not say," Sir Gilbert added, "that such are the only means whereby a party is kept together in India, but I quote that merely to illustrate the great difficulties which every Minister in India has to face!" Surely, Sir Gilbert knows that a set of false teeth does not fit every one. The loaning of false teeth as a means of keeping a political party together, is plainly an invention of some one who wanted to cast ridicule on the personal rather than on the political habits of Indians. Sir Gilbert apparently believed in this palpable canard as he protested that he did not say that this was the only means by which a party is kept together in India. Indians are very fastidious even about drinking out of cups or lotas used by others. The idea of chewing with false teeth belonging to another will not commend itself to the most parsimonious politician. There will be far less improbability in a story that Mr. Neville Chamberlain keeps his party together, despite his frequent changes of front, by loaning his famous umbrella to its members! We do not claim that Indian Ministers are more scrupulous than British Ministers as to the means whereby they maintain their following. But the loaning of false teeth is too stupid a joke to be repeated by a man of Sir Gilbert Hogg's standing in the Indian administration.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, May 6, 1939.

HERR HITLER'S SPEECH.

Herr Hitler made his eagerly awaited speech in the Reichstag on Friday (28th April). Never before has the world hung so breathlessly on the words of one man. The radio enabled the substance of the speech to be known to the ends of the earth in about six hours after its delivery in Berlin. The British Broadcasting Station began giving the speech in English when the Fuehrer was still speaking. It had transmitted nearly the whole of it by ten o'clock at night, Indian Standard Time. The full text of the address was in the daily papers on Saturday morning.

There was little sabre rattling or shaking of the mailed fist in the address. Its calmness and restraint have been explained by prejudiced critics as the result of President Roosevelt's message and the introduction of a very mild form of conscription in Great Britain. With more reason they may be attributed to the speaker's faith in himself and his cause. Herr Hitler declared that he did not pretend to have a mission to save the world. His task was to redeem his people from the slough of depression and despondency in which they had been plunged by the Treaty of Versailles and to ensure that they will have never again to go through a similar experience. Otherwise, he wanted to live at peace with all nations near and remote. He did not profess to be more moral than other nations in carrying out his aims but he maintained that his methods were not less moral than those of the democratic Imperial Powers. He repeated what he had said in his book "Mein Kampf" that he had a high regard for the British Empire as an agency for the preservation of peace in a large part of the world. But, since British statesmen and the British Press have recently proclaimed their distrust of his motives, he thought it right to denounce the Naval Pact between Great Britain and Germany which he had signed some years ago, accepting a limit to the strength of the German Navy in proportion to the British. His only outstanding claim against Great Britain is for the return of the Colonies of which Germany was deprived by the Versailles Treaty, in violation of President Wilson's pledge, and some of which were being held by Great Britain under mandates from the League of Nations whose authority he did not recognise, which, indeed, no longer existed. But Herr Hitler repeated his assurance to Mr. Neville Chamberlain at Munich that he did not regard this matter as one to be settled by force of arms. So far as the British Empire is concerned, therefore, if we accept, as we should, Herr Hitler's assurances as sincere, there is no cause to expect aggression from Germany. But, it is urged, the Fuehrer has violated his promises to Mr. Neville Chamberlain at Munich, and he cannot, therefore, be trusted. We are not told what specific promise to the British Prime Minister has been violated. The annexation of Czechoslovakia? The cession of Sudetenland to Germany under pressure from the British and French Governments, destroyed the economic and strategic foundations of Czechoslovakia and made it impossible for it to continue to exist as an independent State. This was foreseen by many observers who knew Czechoslovakia and its peoples—which Mr. Chamberlain ostentatiously disclaimed for himself and his people—and the annexation of what was left of it by Germany was the natural and inevitable corollary to the cession of Sudetenland. The acquisition of Memel aroused little opposition or comment in Britain, the general feeling expressed about it being that it was bound to come. Herr Hitler's claims with reference to Danzig and the Polish Corridor are held by Mr. Menzies, the new Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, among others, to be not unjustified. In passing, Mr. Menzies' ideas of what is necessary for Australia, sharply conflict with the concert of Democracies suggested by the author of "Union Now." Mr. Menzies includes Japan prominently among the countries with which Australia should strengthen her diplomatic relations. The Canadian Prime Minister has given a broad hint that the only contingency that would bring Canada into a war in Europe, is the actual invasion of Great Britain by a foreign power. The general feeling in India, too, is that the British Empire should avoid war by all honourable means. Herr Hitler's speech shows that Germany does not want to declare war against the British Empire.

The President of the United States for some occult reason has been recently egging on the British Government to hostility to Germany on the ground that Dictatorships are a menace to Democracies. The President does not contemplate the invasion of Germany by America. He is prepared to help Great Britain and France morally and materially—by speeches and sale of armaments — to wage a war of destruction against the dictatorships of Germany and Italy. The American people will not support the President if he undertook a war in Europe in defence of democracy. They have bitter memories of the last war to make the world safe for democracy. They fear with good reason that another war in which America participated would inevitably mean the prolonged, perhaps the permanent, establishment of a dictatorship in the United States itself. Further, a considerable body of American opinion holds that every country should be free to have whatever form of Government suits it, and that Germany and Italy have every right to govern themselves on the Nazi and Fascist ways. There remains France which is suffering badly from a fear complex. But Herr Hitler in his address last week has assured France also that he regards the present Franco-German frontier

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

is settled. France has to settle some ...ssions with Italy; and Germany thinks the ...ndian point of view has much to commend it ...the impartial judgment of statesmen of all ...countries. It has been charged against Italy ...that she took Abyssinia by force. Herr Hitler asserted that the whole African continent has been subjugated by bloody force. It is not Germany but it is the ghost of their own past that obliges the democracies to wince at such a retort.

The scheme of guaranteeing the "threatened" States on which Mr. Neville Chamberlain has now fixed his hopes, has some obvious defects. In the first place many of these States are more in fear of Soviet Russia than of Nazi Germany. Between the two principal European democracies themselves, there is not much mutual esteem. Asquith records that Lloyd George did not wish the holy places of Palestine to be under the protection of "the agnostic, atheistic French." The traditional English prejudice against the French has not disappeared. Then, Poland is one of the poorest countries in Europe. It is not a democracy, Anti-Semitic prejudice is as rife in Poland as in Germany. To get rid of its three million Jews, Poland will pay any price. If Britain does not help her to do so, she will turn to Germany as a more sympathetic neighbour. On the other side, the European Axis Powers are united both in ideas and interests. Germany and Italy are complementary to each other not only geographically but also in regard to national character. The position of the third—Tokio—member of the Axis, is much less secure. With their strong colour and race prejudice, her European friends may let her down any day as they have done in the past. She will do well, therefore, to bring her adventures in China to a close at the earliest possible opportunity and come to a settlement with the Chinese, which will inure to the lasting friendship and goodwill between the two great Asiatic peoples. The European situation which last week seemed very threatening, is much improved, thanks to the moderation and wisdom of responsible statesmen of all countries, supported by weighty and well-informed world opinion. We trust that it will not be allowed again to deteriorate.

THE CONGRESS AFTER CALCUTTA.

Too much can easily be made of the "rightist" victory at Calcutta. And from the comments in the British press both in Britain and in India, it is obvious that too much is being made of it. The one feature that has not received sufficient recognition is that Mr. Bose in leaving the Presidentship, has forced his successor to carry out his policies. "We do not have," said Babu Rajendra Prasad in his first speech as President of the Congress, "to lay down any new policy for us at the present time. The policy is there. It has been laid down by the Congress. We have to devise ways and means for giving effect to it." There were many issues raised by Mr. Bose and by Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in the last election to the Presidentship—the position of the Congress President, the desirability of re-electing Mr. Bose, Federation, the struggle between left and right in the Congress, the attitude towards the Indian States. The second of these was decided by the election of Mr. Bose. The struggle between left and right wings has grown very acute and, though today the Congress Socialists and others might consider it expedient and political to subordinate principles to unity, no one among them feels that all is now well with the Congress. The Congress attitude towards Indian States has changed and probably is still changing but, if we are to draw any conclusion from Rajkot it is that, so long as the people of a State are only concerned with good government and not self-government, the Congress will not intervene. As regards the position of the Congress President, the very fact that the right wing had to call upon a person of the standing of Babu Rajendra Prasad to replace Mr. Bose, proves effectively that the Congress President, after Mr. Bose's determined stand, cannot be regarded as a mere rubber-stamp to his Working Committee.

The question of Federation remains. It is on this ground alone that the British press, which cares little for the constitutional forms adopted by the leading political organisation in India, regards the resignation of Mr. Bose as a desirable conclusion to the dispute. But if the defeat of Dr Sitaramayya was due to Mr Bose's raising the cry that the Congress anti-Federation policy was in danger, Mr. Bose's dethronement is no less due to the definite repudiation of a pro-Federation policy by the right-wing leaders. We do not say that it is impossible for the Congress under Babu Rajendra Prasad to reverse its policy and support Federation. In fact even under Mr. Bose's presidentship, its commitments in Indian States and its references to the Paramount Power were making it extremely difficult for the Congress to maintain unmodified its attitude towards Federation. But heavy political manoeuvring will be necessary to convince the Congress rank and file that the right-wing leaders changed their attitude after Mr. Bose's resignation. A factor that would help greatly in this direction would be concessions from the British Government which could be represented to the country as a substantial change for the better and as a telling argument for abandoning opposition. If the British are anxious to strengthen Gandhiji's hands, as they seem to be from several reports, against extremists in the party, they cannot do better than alter their unbending attitude towards the 1935 Constitution. If they do not, the extremists, temporarily eclipsed as they are today, will soon emerge out of the shadows.

From the point of view of the country itself, it must be said that the defeat of Mr. Bose sets back political progress for the time being

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

We say this not because we are enamoured of the policies of Mr. Bose. On many matters the ex-president has a tendency to overestimate the strength of his supporters and to ignore the opposition. The more often, for example, he expounds his theory of taking advantage of Britain's weakness, the more people in this country are revolted by it. There is something in winning freedom through one's strength. It is quite another to sneak it out of dropping fingers. Both Palestine and Czechoslovakia serve as lasting and pathetic warnings of the weaknesses of this policy. But at least with Mr. Bose one knew exactly were one stood. Whether in foreign policy, or in his attitude to Britain, or in his methods in Indian politics, Mr. Bose did not waver from his position. If his opinions were vague in matters of detail, the direction of his thoughts was known to supporter and opponent alike. The high courage which he has shown in fighting the present conflict with no support, or, worse, only half-hearted support, in the Congress, the determination with which he has asserted grave principles, and the dignity with which he has accepted the verdict of his fellow Congress leaders and their followers, have brought a new and healthy factor into Congress politics. Of the several dissentients from authority that the Congress hierarchy has had to cope with since office acceptance, there has not been one of the calibre of Mr. Bose.

The reason for the irreconciliability between the right wing leaders and Mr. Bose lies in the fact that both, for all their differences, are first rank political agitators. The right-wing likes to work in a fog. Mr. Bose not only wants to see his way clearly but he wishes to shout it out to all who will hear him. But neither of them know where they want to go. That in the long run is why the A. I. C. C. delegates voted for both within an interval of three months and were even prepared to vote simultaneously for both at the Calcutta meeting on Sunday.

THE FILM JOURNALISTS CONFERENCE.

(By K. Natarajan.)

It was a complete surprise to me when three friends called on Friday before last and invited me to inaugurate the first All-India Film Journalists Conference to be held two days later. Their answers to my enquiry why they had pitched on me who had no connection whatsoever with films either as Art, Industry or entertainment, were flattering but not convincing. I concluded that they must have been disappointed by others better qualified for the distinction and that they had been driven to go to me as a last resort at the eleventh hour. Without any set principle of coming to the rescue of people in difficulties, I have often agreed to last minute appointments; trusting to the wide range of a journalist's interests, to supply me with some suitable ideas to express on most topics without much previous preparation. In regard to the cinematograph, I had a few general ideas gathered in the course of my casual perusal of the principal Indian newspapers and reviews bearing chiefly on its influence on Indian society. These were far from complimentary to it. For instance, in the course of a series of short biographical sketches of the artists, which was published in a North India daily, it was remarked that a particular "star" was one of the few in that line who were known for the purity of their personal life. A leading worker in the cause of social purity had written to me that the dedication of women to temple deities, was being replaced by the dedication of women to the Radio and the Cinema. Not long ago, a lady who has established a reputation as a singer on the Radio told me that, when she first appeared at the microphone, her friends and relatives had discouraged her saying that broadcasting was not becoming to family women. She has lived down the prejudice and her community has come to see that there is nothing incompatible between singing on the Radio and leading a happy family life. The prejudice against the cinema too will disappear in course of time. Much depends on the character of the people, especially the women, who take to the profession.

Some time back a man applied to be employed as a cook. Asked what he had done before, he said that he had worked as a cinema star! Perhaps he had served as one of a crowd in a scene of religious worship or a political demonstration. Every one who has had anything to do with a cinema theatre calls himself and is known among his friends as a "star" just as a person who has written a letter on "the Beggar Nuisance" or "Prohibition Craze" to a newspaper, thinks of himself and is spoken of by his friends as a journalist. I informed the friends that this was all my equipment and that it was very scanty for the inauguration of a Cinema Journalists conference. I hardly see three shows in a year and had not seen a single issue of any journal devoted to the Cinema. I can make only some general observations regarding journalism as a profession which may be of interest to the Conference as one of journalists. They said that was all they wanted of me. They promised, too, to send me some literature the next day to supply me with some colour for my inaugural observations. They kept their word. They sent me some reports and tracts, three copies of *Film India* and an advance copy of the Presidential address of Mr. Baburao Patel, the Editor of that journal. I first looked into the journal. I wanted to know whether film journals were concerned with the technical side of the industry and trade or whether they were reviews of the pictures shown in the local theatres. There was not much of technical information in the journal. *Film India* dealt mostly with Indian productions most of which emanate from studios in the Bombay Presidency. There were two pages in each of the issues of answers to questions from readers. I gasped as I glanced through them. This was journalism of a kind utterly unfamiliar to me. Here is a specimen :

Query : I am starting on a foreign tour this year. Will — accompany me if I pay all her expenses ?

Answer : Why do you particularly insist on —? She gets plenty of fun and excitement here without having to go to any foreign country. Why, I will accompany you, if you pay for all the expenses. But if you insist on taking a film artist, then why don't you submit your proposal to — ? She has been thinking, loudly enough, of going across and might accept your offer.

Here is another :

Query :—Can I have the privilege of meeting— personally ? Please give me her address.

Answer :—Last month some one wrote to me saying that —'s mother was a great obstacle when he wanted to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

see her. I think the mother is still there and as she is reported to be quite hale and hearty she threatens to be "still there" for a long time to come. I suggest your writing to —— at —— and making discreet enquiries about her mother first. I wish you every luck and you will perhaps need it.

There is yet another:

Querist: I want to form pen friendship with some Cinema actresses. How can I?

Answer: Sign your name on their photos when you find them published. What is the use of writing to the girls, as most of them can't write? Those few who can, have no time. They are busy between the producers and the directors.

I have omitted the names.

When I read these in the film magazine sent to me, my immediate reaction was to beg myself out of the engagement. But it would have caused much inconvenience as it was announced in the papers that I was to inaugurate the Conference and there was no time to the convenors to get another man to take my place. I had told the friends who came to invite me that if I went I should say what I felt, and they had warmly agreed, I decided to be at my post at the Conference hoping that, in consideration of my years, if nothing else, the audience may take what I might say in good part. At the worst, they could dimiss it all as senile rubbish.

I was agreeably disappointed. My audience was not only patient but cordial and seemed to appreciate my views that sound criticism was discriminating appreciation, that personalities, except where a principle was involved, should be avoided, and that the purpose of comment was to convince the author of the thing commented on how he could do better. The President, indeed, before delivering his address expressed his dissent from my views on criticism saying that I did not know the kind of people the film journalist has to deal with. No doubt he is right. Certainly he knows all there is to know about them. I could only treat them as "a cross section" of Indian society, just a mixture of good and bad like the rest of us.

The President himself devoted a good part of his suggestive address to the question of criticism. He complained that film producers resented all criticism and that what they wanted was fulsome praise of their productions irrespective of merit. "A film journalist," said Mr. Baburao Patel, "is not a film salesman." The President said that the daily papers indulged in continuous praise to the point of flattery. The Anglo-Indian Press, he added, was more guilty of this policy than the national and provincial dailies. The Indian papers cannot altogether ignore, as the Anglo-Indian press can, the possible consequences to Indian social life of certain pictures with a retrograde or otherwise objectionable tendency.

Towards the end I managed to get in a word about total abstinence as an indispensable qualification for journalists. Every time I have spoken to journalists recently I have felt it my duty to make this exhortation. Somehow, drink seems to have a special temptation of journalism. I have known young men of brilliant promise break down in mid-career in consequence of the growth upon them of the drinking habit. Prohibition, when it comes, will be of special advantage to hard-working journalists as it will put this particular temptation out of their way. I apologised to the audience for this seeming propaganda on behalf of Prohibition and I was grateful to the Chairman of the Reception Committee for welcoming my remarks when he proposed a vote of thanks.

GUNGA DIN.

A n esteemed friend sends us the following extract from a letter which he has received from an American lady in charge of a library in the U. S. A.:—

"To-night I saw a movie about Gunga Din, the water boy of the British Regiment. I did not want to go but I decided to attend the picture because I wanted to check a few details of the movie to prove to myself that it was a grand and glorious glorification of War and especially the righteousness of the British in India. The movie was exactly as I thought it would be, a good propaganda picture of the so-called righteous cause of England's Rule in India (to suppress the wicked and the mad Indians). The Indians as pictured were greatly at a disadvantage in the part they played as villians. It was a disgusting picture, actually filmed and approved by the English officials in the Army. Pardon this frankness, but to many people, it was a grand example of heroism typified by the brave daring Englishman and the one Indian character of Gunga Din. The rest of the Indians, even their Guru were ruthless and evil. Such a picture does more damage than even a war. It foments hatred among peoples. It comes at a time when the British people are having their difficulties within their colonial Empire, and this movie serves well the purpose of lauding the British Rule for the benefit of the Whites with the real purpose of trying to recreate American interest in the Colonial Empire—just as did the movie "The Charge of the Light Brigade." The British are no longer subtle in their propagandist methods. They openly display their wares on the market and many of us Americans are becoming very gullible."

INDIAN TROOP MOVEMENTS.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

The news of Indian troop movements out of India in view of war possibilities, raises again the question of principle as to whether India should be singled out from other colonies and dependencies of the British Empire for drawing soldiers from, for Imperial purposes. The further question also arises—on moral grounds at any rate if not on constitutional grounds, for India being a mere dependency has no right of say on Imperial decisions—as to whether soldiers who are Indians by birth, who are trained and maintained avowedly for the keeping of peace in India, and whose heavy expenses are borne by the Indian Exchequer, should be sent abroad for serving Imperial interests without even the knowledge of the Indian Legislature and of the Indian public.

The same questions arose when Indian troops were shipped to Abyssinia during the Italian invasion of that country and when they were sent to the Far East on the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities—not to refer to so many other previous occasions. But beyond some sporadic criticisms by some legislators and politicians the questions went a-begging, unanswered, of course, and even unraised seriously by the press and by the public. In the case of Abyssinia it was suggested that Indian troops were to guard local Indian interests in Ethiopia. Such explanations have come and will come no doubt on other occasions, but it can easily be seen that considerations about safeguarding Imperial interests, immediately or ultimately, are behind decisions to send Indian troops abroad.

The point, however, is not so much the sending out of Indian troops as their being sent without even a mere formal reference to the Indian Legislature. And the further fact that India alone, as distinguished from other parts of the Empire should be tapped for soldiers for guarding the common

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

interests of the Empire, raises issues which call for consideration. If Indian soldiers had been sent to Abyssinia to protect Indian nationals and their interests there, it could well be asked if there were not nationals of any other part of the British Empire there who needed to be protected and whose trade and commercial interests had to be safegurded. That point remained unexplained then as also later when troops were sent-to Hong kong; and it will so remain today also when Indian troops are being dispatched under War Office orders to unannounced destinations.

India as a part of the Empire may be interested in safeguarding its interests, but so are also other parts of the Empire. And if India is to benefit from the solidarity and prosperity of the Empire, other parts of the Empire are also so to benefit and in much greater measure also, as was seen after the last war. Other parts of the Empire like Australia, South Africa, East Africa, etc. aremuch more advantageously positioned in the British Commwealth from the point of view of political rights and privileges than India, but it is still not those parts, but India, which are asked for troops and other military help on such occasions. True, England cannot order her Dominions to send troops abroad, as she can, without the least thinking, order the Government of India. But could she not even make requests to them so as to remind them of their sense of Empire duty? In the case of the Chinese war Singapore and Hongkong being nearer to Australia than to India, was it not in the fitness of things to ask Australia to serve the Imperial policy of strengthening the strategic points in the Far East? Why were not the African colonies similarly asked to give vent to their Empire sentiment by offering to look after Imperial interests in Abyssinia? In the case of any advantage accruing to the Commonwealth from such wars, as in the last Great War, will Australia or South Africa, or any other colony for the matter be less or more benefited than India? While the colonies profited territorially, materially, and commercially at the expense of defeated Germany and improved their political status and constitutional position through the post-war Act of Westminister, India's post-war political history is one of forced resort to non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience movement, of wide-scale political repression, of disappointingly inadequate political reforms, of the imposition of a reactionary statutory commission that cleverly sowed seeds of disunion, bitterness and quarrel between classes and classes and communities, and communities etc; not to say of the transference of a good part of war expenditure to her account, and of the studied manner in which she was kept out of the principles like that of self-determination which were enunciated under the Versailles Treaty.

On what principle, therefore, moral, ethical, or political, is India alone ordered on all such occasions, and that too without any consultation with the Indian Legislature, to send her soldiers abroad for military duty in the cause of the Empire, in dangerous war zones? Are there only Indian nationals and Indian national interests present in all such war zones? And, even if that be so, is it a sound and statesmanlike policy of the Empire that the nationals of any part of it are to be protected in times of danger, only by the soldiers of that part of the Empire? No Empire statesman can ever think of saying so, for that would mean the dangerous breaking up of Empire solidarity and the evaporation of all Empire sense from the Commonwealth. The protection of the nationals of any part of it, is an Empire interest, to be looked after by the Empire as a whole. This must be the essential basic idea in which the Empire can stand; and the feeling of and-responsiveness to this idea all over the Empire can alone sustain the Empire solidly.

It is therefore a matter of wise statesmanship to take the greatest precaution never to strain the feeling in any part of the Empire, in the way in which it has been done in India by now and then requisitioning Indian troops for service abroad, in which service the colonies take no part. It is not good policy to thus repeatedly and bluntly remind India of her helpless political dependence. Is one to suppose that British statesmanship is bankrupt today to the extent that it should, time and again, take the risky decision to single out a particular part of the Empire for drawing troops and war resources from in times of emergency, without pondering over the reaction to Empire feeling that is likely to result therefrom in that part? Otherwise, one would expect the British Government religiously to avoid making any discrimination in such respects, even if a particular dependency be too weak to protest. For that purpose, the question of employing soldiers of any part of the Empire abroad, for Imperial purposes, should be considered and decided on the broad principles of equality, sympathetic mutuality and absolute impartiality. Any deviation from these sound principles, whether out of narrow selfishness or out of fear to dishumour powerful Colonies, or in following the natural human inclination to take advantage of a country's weakness and helplessness, is sure to give a serious jolt, sooner or later, to the links and bonds, which have kept the various components of British Empire, accomodating different peoples having national consciousness and national aspirations of their own, integrated and united into the greatest Commonwealth of Nations in the world. The life of Indian soldiers is as precious to their mothers and to their countrymen as that of soldiers in the Colonies is to their mothers and to their countries. And, therefore, it is but natural and human that the sacrifice of Indian lives in the interests of the Empire, when the Colonials remain safe and aloof, should excite strong Indian feeling against such Imperial policy. In fact, it is discriminating policies like this which have been chiefly instrumental in generating and strengthening the present Indian feeling, that is extending, to get out of the Empire. When the Colonies taking inspiration and encouragement from such Imperial outlook accord to India a most insulting and high-handed treatment, as in Africa and elsewhere, one cannot surely wonder at the anti-Empire feeling in India but is rather led to wonder that the feeling has not yet gone much deeper. And yet if there had been far-sighted statesmen in England to see that absolute equality of status and consideration being accorded to India as to other parts of the Empire, India might have been the strongest supporter of the Empire-idea today; for, unlike the self-seeking colonials the Indian mind, traditionally and naturally has been an optimistic believer in internationalism and universal brotherhood.

MAZDAZNIAN FRENCH LECTURERS.

Three French visitors, Mazdaznians believing in the teachings of Zoroastrianism, arrived in India on a lecturing tour by the English mail steamer Cathay, last week. They are M. and Madame Pierre Martin, and M. Cyrano Huguenenin. M. Pierre Martin, interviewed by a representative of the *Times of India*, said that the Mazdaznian movement was non-sectarian and non-proselytising and had followers all over the world. They believed, he added, in peace, clean living by means of breathing exercises, vegetarianism, non-alcoholism and non-smoking.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE RAJKOT TANGLE.

(By K. Chandy, Kottayyam.)

If Durbar Shri Viravalla or the Thakore Saheb or any other Indian State ministers or Princes should imagine that Rajkot has scored a victory for autocracy, that would be a fatal mistake. Unless the Rajkot affair is settled soon in a manner that is generally satisfactory, there is a likelihood of serious trouble. This is not because Gandhiji was right throughout—that he was not is shown below—but because he was holding the right end of the stick as non-revolutionary constitutional advance and on account of the tremendous veneration in which he is held. For those who discern spiritual laws, it must also be clear that a cry of despair emanating from a person like Gandhiji must result in great evil.

Possibly, within a very short time, men's minds might get so occupied with the horror of war that no time or attention could be spared for a comparatively trifling affair like the Rajkot tangle; and besides, things get settled through the interplay of political forces, and for reasons of expediency and never in the cold light of reason.

Nevertheless an unbiased analysis might be interesting to your readers.

Among the many telegrams and letters received by Gandhiji's Private Secretary when the fast was started, was one which probably was not considered of sufficient importance to be communicated to him. It said that the intuitions even of saints, are sometimes misleading, and that it behoves men to apply reason even to the promptings of the inner voice, and added that the questions involved were not such as could or should be resolved by means of a fast.

A saint is a law unto himself; all that others could do is to quote if they dare to do so the words of another person—Oliver Cromwell who was also guided by his inner voice—words addressed to other saints similarly guided. "By the bowels of God, I entreat you, gentlemen, consider that you might be mistaken." The Rajkot experience will, it is hoped, persuade Mahatmaji to make it an absolute rule that no one who looks to him for guidance should undertake a fast before getting his previous sanction. Fasts undertaken by others outside his control could then be dealt with under the guidance of reason and commonsense, and Indian administrators would be saved a lot of needless trouble, as in the instance of the ridiculous Hamilton Satayagraha at Mysore. The Mahatma himself, it is hoped, will realise the fact that although his object might be non-political, a fast becomes a very dangerous weapon, when it involves also a political *consequence*. There can be no doubt that the Harijan fast has greatly contributed to the subsequent Hindu-Muslim tension; and the Rajkot affair has also helped to some extent in adding fuel to that fire.

A political problem, as was observed in the above mentioned letter to Gandhiji, is too complex to be disentangled through a fast. At Rajkot even Gandhiji's objective has not been gained: the Thakore Saheb's heart has not changed and certainly not Viravalla's; and no helpful political result has followed.

The political question includes several complex elements, which require patience, knowledge, and the will to help for being dealt with satisfactorily.

In order to understand these various elements some 'attitudes' have to be re-emphasised. The Princes are not independent sovereigns. Even Hitler, the only absolute sovereign, considered it necessary to profess to take the approval of the Reich before launching on his next offensive. Sovereignty is divisible and functional even within the borders of its own territory, and is restricted in a dozen ways concerning its outside relations—economic, social, political. The sovereignty of Indian Princes is further restricted on account of Para mountcy. The Reading-Nizam episode shows clearly that the last word about the extent of sovereignty must rest with the Paramount Power—and there is no recent instance of the Secretary of State having heard or decided any appeal against the interpretations of the Crown Representative in India. Nevertheless, subject to these restrictions, the Thakore Saheb does possess a certain measure of sovereign independence, and must exercise (his own) discretion or individual judgement—which he cannot constitutionally will away to Sirdar Patel or Gandhiji. Similarly the Chief Justice or any other judicial tribunal could not create law. They could only *interpret* what has already been laid down or written. It is simple ignorance on the part of Gandhiji to imagine that Sir M. Gwyer could give a decision as between the recommendations of the Thakore Committee and the desires of the Parishad. Treaty rights and obligations, and the limits of responsible government which could be granted in an Indian State so as not to endanger Paramountcy are all matters about which the last word is with the Crown Representative, and not with any judicial officer however distinguished. The same flaw applies to the interpretation put on the agreement between the Thakore Saheb and Sirdar Patel. Put in one word, the former cannot give away what he does not possess. It ought to be obvious to any Congressman that the Thakore could not accept any recommendation which the Paramount Power considers to be in conflict with Treaty obligations and Paramountcy. Similarly, should the Patel Committee make any recommendation which hands over the interests of minorities to the majority community, the Thakore Saheb would be morally justified in rejecting such a recommendation. Even should the Chief Justice consider that the Thakore had given away this inherent right of his, the Paramount Power would be justified in interfering so as to restore the right, although that might involve the appointment of a new Thakore Saheb on the Rajkot gadi.

The ultimate basis of all this confusion is the desire of majority communities mostly in ignorance but sometimes with knowledge, to get control under forms of democracy. I have been pointing to this danger for over ten years but it is still there. Very many Indians seem to be unable to think democratically—democracy being only a method for obtaining obedience to rule by consent. Although so frequently abused in various ways, it does not, even theoretically, give a majority community the right to exercise rule over a minority community on account of numbers. The sub-conscious idea in the minds of many Hindus that the Indian government ought to be a Hindu government, and the expressed idea of several Moslems that India should be a confederation of Hindu states and Moslem states are both fundamentally undemocratic. The communal award, the Harijan fast, etc., etc., have all helped in this confusion. Those that are not communal in this sense, are mostly totalitarian in their instincts. Whether the world itself for its sins, has become unfit for democracy, or whether, after the new world revolution, a higher form, for instance organic and functional government (no one exercising control for its own sake) is going to evolve, I do not know. In India, at the moment there are two ways in which the danger of confusing communal

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

majority with a parliamentary majority could be met or minimised. The first and the best method is what Mr. S. Sreenivasiengar and Mr. S. Satyamurti have been urging—viz that of completely secularising politics. Another method is to recognize the communal feeling, make no pretence of democratic consent, but to obtain communal consent through a system approximating to the Panchayat.

There can be no question that the distrust of minority communities in the good faith of the majority community has been exploited at Rajkot. Gandhiji was unable to meet this onslaught on account of defective knowledge.

No one can assert that Sirdar Patel or Gandhiji should have the last word in the Rajkot constitution. The last word concerning Treaty obligations and Paramountcy rests with the Crown Representative; and if it is conceded that the Thakore Saheb gave the utmost possible maximum of responsible or popular government within the State, the last word on *the extent of* devolution, must rest with the people, or with the Thakore, or with any impartial and informed judge. It cannot rest with the Parishad because the Parishad is only a progressive Party and does not represent the entire populace. Hence the ideas of a packed Committee, or of a majority of four or of one, are all irrelevant. The proposal that a community would be allowed representatives provided they vote with the Parishad shows the confusion in Gandhiji's mind. A committee is appointed with the specific intention of giving expression to all shades of opinion. The extent to which and the manner in which these recommendations could be embodied in a constitution is manifestly the function of a Parliament or a constituent Assembly, or where neither exists, of an impartial judge. Gandhiji's idea that his majority of one for the Parishad ought to have the deciding voice is not strictly consistent with his statement that every representative represents every interest, and neither is helpful for solving the Rajkot question. What is required is a generous interpretation of the notification and a very early settlement, satisfying all reasonable anticipations and giving all reasonable safeguards to minority interests and also preserving Treaty obligations.

Darbar Sree Viravalla is apparently competent to carry on the controversy from point to point for many years to come, but should he be allowed to do so?

The Crown Representative interfered in this controversy most effectually once. Should he not do so again, in the interests of India as a whole and of Indian States in particular?

The present Viceroy is himself an expert in Political Science, and could command the services of the best available material in India. May I humbly submit for the reasons mentioned above, and for other reasons that could be cited, that a scheme of responsible government safeguarding all interests might be formulated forthwith and recommended for adoption by the Thakore Saheb as has already been suggested by the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* a fortnight ago?

Finally, it has to be stated that Gandhiji appears to have spiked his guns by indefinitely suspending civil disobedience in Indian States. It was the fear of civil disobedience under his guidance that compelled autocratic ministers in Indian States to attempt to come to terms with the people. They have no such fears about his present constructive proposals. These could go on for years without any kind of danger. It may be recollected that the minister of an Indian State remarked at the conference of ministers at Bombay that his difficulty is that while the Paramount Power would put up with a few shootings, it would not allow hundreds to be shot down. Gandhi's faith in Ahimsa, as a method of converting such ministers does credit to human nature—but down the centuries such an event has not happened. The Crown Representative is again the only person who could substantiate this simple faith through advice that constitutional progress is inevitable, and also that in these dangerous times every Prince should get the wholehearted backing of his people and should not depend on treaty rights solely.

FASCISM IN MEXICO.

In Mexico, last February, the Fascist, anti-Semitic movement, which was so widely advertised up to that time, suffered a set-back which has been decreasing in prestige ever since. A "banquet of 5,000" was called by a coalition of all the reactionary groups in the country. However, a mere 14 per cent of that number attended, although the affair had been twice postponed in order to gather more diners. Many of those attending obviously had been given tickets, since workers, of whom there were few, could not have paid the price of the ticket, almost a day's wages.

The breakdown of this affair, which was called by the "Centre for Revolutionary Unification," has had unfortunate repercussions for the reactionary elements. The leaders of the pro-Fascist group are largely discredited, ranging from generals who have been kicked out of the army, congressmen who have been expelled from the Party of the Mexican Revolution, lawyers with questionable means of support, to known agents of the German Nazis. One General playing ball with the group is Pablo Gonzalez, the man who planned the treachery which resulted in the assassination of the revolutionary hero, Zapata.

President Cardenas seems determined not to make martyrs of the leaders of this outfit by deporting them, though demands have been made that he do so. He wants to apply in this situation, as in others, his technique of handling his enemies without killing them. Even the Cedillo rebellion was destroyed, not by suffocation in the blood of the rebels, as was the Mexican custom, but with a minimum of bloodshed and a maximum of understanding of the reasons for the handful of Cedillo's followers having taken such a step.

"We shall have to push ahead with our revolutionary programme," said Cardenas in answer to reporters who asked how he intended to cope with the new group, "so that our country will supply the needs of the people and therefore not furnish any excuse for their turning to such demagogues."

No Frontier News Service points out that the continuance of the campaign against Mexico in the United States will hinder President Cardenas and will play into the hands of the Fascists. Lies about road conditions and the danger of tourist travel, the boycott against Mexican oil which has forced Mexico to deal with the Fascist nations, the insults to Mexico from prominent United States Congressmen all tend to strengthen the hands of what would otherwise be an insignificant group.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

THE CONGRESS CHANGES PRESIDENTS.

On Sunday at its special session at Calcutta, the All India Congress Committee put an end to the deadlock which had arisen since the election of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose for a second time to the Congress Presidentship last February, by accepting his resignation and by electing Babu Rajendra Prasad in his place. It was an unprecedented step but the circumstances that led to this action were unusual. The fact that the change of Presidents was undesirable was clearly shown by the prolonged negotiations between, first, Gandhiji and then, the leading members of the old Working Committee and Mr. Subhas Bose to prevent it. The belief that it was the only solution to the difficulties in which the Congress organisation found itself after Tripuri, had gained general acceptance in the Party.

The main resolution of the Tripuri Congress expressed its confidence in Gandhian methods and regarded it as "imperative that the Congress Executive should command his complete confidence and requested the President to nominate the Working Committee in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji." The President, Mr. Bose, in announcing his resignation has made public the steps he took to carry out this resolution. Owing to his illness, Mr. Bose was unable to get in touch with Gandhiji and had to seek his advice by correspondence. That method proved unsatisfactory and it was only at Calcutta last week that the two were able to discuss the main points that arose out of the resolution. In the discussions, according to Mr. Bose, Gandhiji advised Mr. Bose to form his own Working Committee, leaving out the members who had resigned from the previous Working Committee. Gandhiji, however, did not disguise the fact that, though that was his wish, such a Committee would in no way command his confidence. For this reason and also because Mr. Bose felt that the critical situation today demanded an inclusive Committee, the President tried to persuade Gandhiji to "shoulder the responsibility vested in him by the Tripuri Congress and to nominate the Working Committee." "And I told him," said Mr. Bose, "that whatever Committee he appointed would be binding on me, since it was my determination to implement Mr. Pant's resolution." Gandhiji felt unable to do so and the next step was that Mr. Bose on the suggestion of Gandhiji tried to negotiate with the members of last year's Working Committee for an informal agreement. The agreement was to be submitted to the A. I. C. C. for approval. Having failed to achieve an agreed solution, Mr. Bose felt that he had no choice but to resign.

It is interesting to note the striking parallel which the Congress crisis presents to the recent trouble in Rajkot. In both cases there was a dispute between the "right-wing" Congress—in Rajkot represented by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel alone; in the Congress by the whole Working Committee—and a section which resented its authority or interference. In both matters reached a stage at which it was felt that the "right" Congress was losing its grip on the situation: in both Gandhiji had to step in to save the situation for Congress democracy. The parallel goes further still. Both in Rajkot and in the Congress, Gandhiji obtained a verdict from the final authority, the Paramount Power in the one case, the body of A. I. C. C. voters in the other, against his adversary. And then again instead of using the advantage he had gained in the hope of winning more. In Rajkot Gandhiji pressed the Thakore Saheb and his adviser, Mr. Viravala, to form their own Committee of Reforms and to submit its findings to the Rajkot Parishad for approvae criticism and amendment, the differences being referred again to the Chief Justice. Mr. Subhas Bose was asked to do the same thing, in effect, when he was told to negotiate a settlement with the old Working Committee and seek the A. I. C. C.'s approval. Rajkot has refused Gandhiji's offer and the authorities have been now left to produce their own reform scheme. Mr. Bose too, it must be remembered, had been advised to form his own Working Committee. The two political streams opposing Gandhiji have now taken divergent courses. One reason is to be found in the fact that the Thakore Saheb is irremovable (at any rate, by the Congress), while the Congress President is an elected man. Another is that the Thakore Saheb in the minorities he used against Gandhiji had a weapon peculiarly effective in harassing Congressmen. Mr. Bose had also brought in the Muslim League as an argument for his being President in a pre-election statement but he was not able to persuade any but a few Bengal Muslims of the validity of this contention. Perhaps the fact that in Rajkot Gandhiji had to deal with fellow Kathiawadis who, as he himself says, are expert in steering a course through tortuous politics, had something to do as well with the result.

At the A I. C. C. meeting, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru tried to achieve in the open session what Gandhiji had failed to bring about by private negotiation. He put forward a compromise resolution asking Mr. Bose to withdraw his resignation and nominating last year's Working Committee. The resolution was so unconnected with the trend of events that only Pandit Jawaharlal could have moved it and to many it was a surprise that even he had done so. It was regarded by the general public as a method of getting the A. I. C. C. support to a settlement in which neither side won a complete victory over the other. It would have had the added merit of saving tho A. I. C. C. delegates from the necessity of reversing their February vote in favour of Mr. Bose. But this was a wrong impression. Pandit Jawaharlal who referred in his speech to the international situation, was anxious to bring about a united Congress. The meeting was adjourned to Sunday to allow the retiring President time to reconsider his resignation. Mr. Bose saw no reason next day to change his mind. "This resolution is in effect," he said, "identical with the suggestion made informally by Mahatma Gandhi and others during my conversations with some members of the previous Working Committee. Ordinarily Mahatmaji's word is law to me but where principles are involved, I sometimes feel unable to accept his advice or suggestion." This declaration which Mr. Bose made in announcing his decision to stick to his resignation, does not somehow accord with his statement the previous day that whatever Committee the Mahatma "appointed", would be binding on him. Pandit Jawaharlal withdrew his resolution and the House proceeded to vote Babu Rajendra Prasad to Presidentship. The next day the old Working Committee was reinstated with the exception of the Bose brothers and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, all of whom declared their preference for staying outside the executive. Two new Bengal Congressmen were appointed to the Committee, both of them known to be opponents of Mr. Bose in Bengal politics. On all three days there were angry scenes outside the Conference pandal and in the visitors' galleries.

Judging by the results the "right-wing" has won a complete victory in the Congress. The victory seems the more thorough in so far as Mr. Bose has been left completely in the cold, with only the Royists to support him. The Congress Socialists who were at first enthusiastic about Mr. Bose, cooled down considerably when it came to supporting him against

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Gandhiji.' They have their reward in the appointmeut of Mr. Narendra Deo to the Purge Committee which has been appointed to cleanse the Congress. Pandit Jawaharlal is with two, rightist members also on that Committee. But it is obvious that the right wing is not pleased with the result. In accepting the Presidentship, Babu Rajendra Prasad said:

> Considering the situation that confronts us the country, the internal position in the Congress itself, and other things which we have to face, it is not a bed of roses to be elected President. I have realised more than anybody else the difficulties, the trials and tribulations which await anyone in these times, and much more than anybody else one who is called upon to hold the post as that of the President of the Congress. It has, therefore, not been a pleasure to me to accept your mandate We appealed to Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose to continue to shoulder the burden of the office of the President. I requested him to form a Working Committee of his own liking, composed of people who share his views in entirety and we were prepared to go with him as far as possible. I assured him further that if he did that, I would not for myself and if I may speak for anybody else, they also—would not stand in his way. There would be absolutely no obstruction. But unfortunately he could not see eye to eye with me. He thought in the circumstances the best course for him was to resign. I am very sorry for that.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad undersates the case. We have no doubt that in acting as he did Mr. Bose felt that even if the old Working Committee were prepared to accept his presidentship, they were not prepared to allow the A. I. C. C. delegates to do so. To the many difficulties of the Congress this is added: That the conduct of the proceedings at the Calcutta meeting both under the presidentship of Babu Rajendra Prasad and under the chairmanship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has left cause for discontent. The press reports seem to indicate that certain members of the Congress, including men like Dr. M. S. Aney, were not allowed to speak. These things might have well been avoided.

BOMBAY GOVERNMENTS PROHIBITION POLICY.

A communique issued by the Bombay Government states :

Mr. Baria, the President, and other members of the Licensed Victuallers Association, discussed with the Hon'ble Minister for Health and Excise for two hours on April 28, the effects of the introduction of Prohibition on the trade. The principal subjects discussed were the question of compensating licensees for the stocks which they held, the premises which they had leased, contracts which they had entered into, etc. on the introduction of Prohibition; and the measures to be taken to give employment to those thrown out of work.

The Minister in the first place made it clear to the deputation that there could be no discussion of Prohibition in principle since in introducing Prohibition into Bombay he was merely carrying out the policy accepted by the legislature. In accordance with this policy Prohibition had to be introduced within three years from the Congress taking office and of this period only one year now remained. The Minister pointed out that the policy of Government had from the beginning been to start with the cities for the reason that the cities accounted for the bulk of excise revenue and it was thought that Prohibition would be most difficult to enforce in them. The deputation, however, pointed out that Bombay was interested not only in the liquor trade of the City but in that of the whole of the Province and areas beyond it and therefore Bombay City should be taken last and not first in the Prohibition Scheme. This would enable the losses of the trade to be minimised. The Minister once again drew attention to the fact that the policy of the Bombay Government was to start with the cities, but promised to lay the point of view of the deputation before his colleagues.

In the matter of compensation the Minister was adamant. He pointed out that licenses had always been given annually and were non-transferable. They created no vested interests. There can therefore never be any question of compensation when a license is closed. In saying this he left aside the question of the few "privileged licenses" in Bombay which he had not fully considered. The deputation admitted that there was no legal claim to compensation but represented the existence of a moral claim; but the Minister declared that in his view legal and moral claims were equally non-existent. It has been made clear not only now but as early as 10 years ago that there was no vested interest in the liquor trade. The reply to this question covered a suggestion of the deputation that if Prohibition failed the licenses should be restored to the existing licenses and to them only. The Minister, while refusing to concede the possibility of Prohibition being a failure, stated that a concession to this demand would mean offering an inducement to assist in the break-down of Prohibition and was entirely unacceptable to Government.

On the question of unemployment, the Minister regretted that the Association had failed to give him the information which he had asked for on the extent of the unemployment that would be created on the 1st of August and informed the Deputation that Government had decided to appoint an officer on special duty to ascertain the principal facts. The deputation asked what facilities would be given to enable the trade to dispose of stocks in existence on the 1st of August. Here again the Minister regretted that the Association had not supplied him with the information for which he had the asked about the stocks held in Bombay. He pointed out that on the introduction of Prohibition the wholesale trade with the retailers outside the area of Prohibition would continue. There would also be the supply of liquor to permit-holders, but details arrangement for this had not yet been settled. The deputation asked that the existing retail licensees should be given such trade as remained in supplying liquor to permit holders and on medical prescriptions so as to help them to dispose of their stocks. The Minister promised to take these suggestions into careful consideration.

PROHIBITION PRIZE ESSAYS.

The Bombay Prohibition Propaganda Board invites competitions in short stories, not exceeding 3,000 words, in English and in all regional languages viz., Marathi, Gujarathi, Kannada and Urdu describing the evils of drink and stressing the need of Prohibition. The stories must be written in simple language impressing on the readers the several dangers consequent on the drink habit: Similarly competitions are also invited in short poems, not exceeding 16 stanzas, in English and in all regional languages, stressing the drink evil.

The competitions are open to all. The best story and the best poem in each language will receive a prize of Rs. 50/-and Rs. 25/-each respectively. Twenty consolation prizes of Rs. 10/-each will also be given. The Prohibition Propaganda Board reserve the right to make any use of the prize winning story and poem. The competitions must reach the Secretary, Prohibition Propaganda Board, Secretariat, Bombay, not later than 15th May 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer*.

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol („ „).

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of Dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

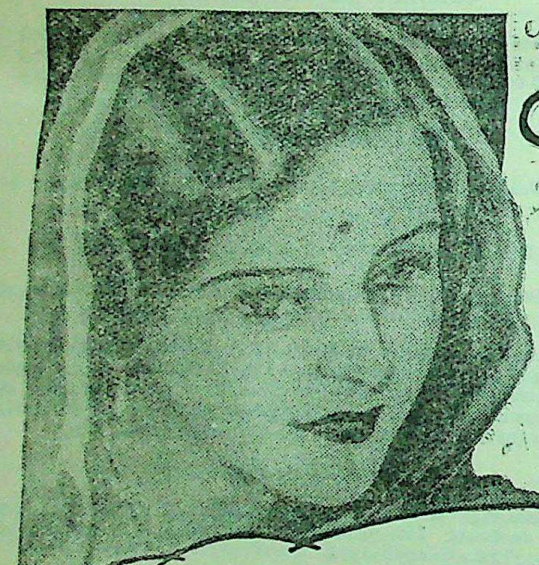
Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Agents.

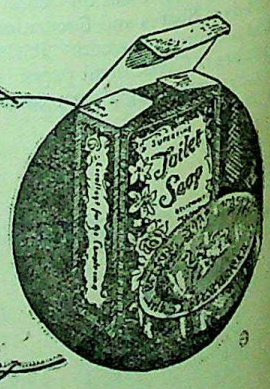
Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate Bombay

2-26



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 29, 1939 No. 35

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Peace Prospects.
Soviet Russia.
The British Premier.
Japanese Reverses in China.
Resumption of Unitary Government.
The Congress and World Affairs.
Rajkot Stalemate.
Mr. Subhas Bose.
The Indian National Congress.
Purdah in Baroda.
Post-Graduate and Research Studies.
Vice-Chancellorship.
"What of India?"
The Urban Property Tax.
A Perplexing Method.
Exemption of Nira.
The Jame-Jamshed on Prohibition.
Gandhiji's Farewell to Rajkot.
Indian Christians in Bombay City.
The Church and Politics.
Dr. Deshmukh's Divorce Bill.
University Act Amendment.
Prohibition in India.
Prohibition and New Taxation.
Prohibition in the U. P.
Prohibition in Bihar.
Dr. Gilder on Parsi Opposition.
Palestine Arabs and Prohibition.
Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Drink.
Problem of Prohibition in a Nutshell.
Good Government.

NOTES.

Peace Prospects :—Herr Hitler will reply on Friday to President's personal message to him and Signor Mussolini. The contents of his speech will not be available in India before the *Reformer* is printed. It does not seem that the German Chancellor will merely shake his mailed fist at the American President. The President demanded that the two dictators should undertake not to invade any one of 31 countries for at least ten years. Herr Hitler immediately invited several of these countries to say whether they feared aggression from Germany. Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Greece, Turkey, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Holland, and nearly all the other countries have replied that they do not entertain any such fear. They have also said that the President had not consulted them before sending his message. Herr Hitler's object is clearly to show that the President's action was wholly uncalled for and mischievous. It is strange that President Roosevelt did not foresee this obvious retort to which he was exposing himself.

Soviet Russia :—The Bolsheviks who were hated and feared twenty years ago, are now the chief hope of the pluto-democracies of Great Britain, France and the United States. Even seven months ago, Soviet Russia was despised as a decrepit Power. It had a Treaty with Czechoslovakia to come to the latter's assistance if her independence was in danger and if France came to her help. The Soviet Government more than once declared before September that it was ready to fulfil its obligation if Germany invaded Czechoslovakia. If France had gone to the help of Prague, Russia was bound by treaty to follow. Great Britain would have had to join France. Mr. Chamberlain did not want to fight Germany. Propaganda to the effect that Soviet Russia was in the last stages of decrepitude, led France to join Great Britain in urging Czecho-Slovakia to surrender the territory which Herr Hitler coveted. Everybody warned the British Premier that the surrender was sure to lead to the extinction of Czecho-Slovakia. When this happened a few months ago, Mr. Chamberlain lifted up his hands in horror at the German Chancellor's breach of faith. The same thing happened after the occupation of Memel. If Mr. Chamberlain were a convinced pacifist and a votary of absolute non-violence like Gandhiji, one may understand and even applaud his actions. His pouring out money on armaments may be explained on Sri Ramakrishna's maxim that while it is sinful for the serpent to bite, it is permissible for it to hiss in order to keep off assailants. But Palestine remains to prove that the British Premier is not a pacifist or believer in non-violence.

The British Premier:—The position of the British Premier, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, would be ridiculous were it not so pathetic. In the last eight months he has completely gone back on his policies and still remains Prime Minister. The principle that a statesman whose policy has become totally discredited, should resign office and make way for others has been abandoned. Mr. Chamberlain changes his policies every other day according to circumstances but he will not quit office under any circumstances. He has no vision. He can not foresee things which are plain to everybody else. On Wednesday he announced in the House of Commons that his Government has decided to introduce conscription and that as a first step persons between the ages of 20 and 21 would be called up for training. He plainly said that he was doing this under pressure from France. British policy is no longer in the hands of the British Government. It is either the United States France or that calls the tune, and all three have their eyes screwed on the baton of the Rome-Berlin orchestra.

Japanese Reverses in China :—While nothing further has been heard of the report that President Roosevelt had addressed a message to Japan, the Japanese forces in China have not had things their own way during the past week. As an index to the instability of Japanese control over the areas won from China, the reported

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chinese attack on and capture of seventy minor towns is important. The international feeling against Japan is shown similarly in the high number of political assassinations of pro-Japanese Chinamen, which are reported from Shanghai where too many masters have created chaos. Neither of these happenings, however, mean more than a period of considerable difficulty for Japanese Governments in China. A concerted attack by the Fascist-Nazi Powers in Europe and by Japan in the East, still remains a major threat to world peace.

Resumption of Unitary Government :—The Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, in moving in the House of Lords the second reading of the Government of India Act Amending Bill, explained that it was found necessary to resume some of the powers of control and supervision exercised by the pre-reform Government of India over the Provincial Governments, but that this will be done only in case of emergency such as the outbreak of War. He argued that this necessity was disclosed by the working of provincial autonomy for about two years. The fact, however, is that Sir Samuel Hoare and the Parliamentary majority which backed him, put into the Act all sorts of safeguards which their ingenuity suggested, to prevent the Congress Party getting a majority in the provincial Legislatures. But they were completely misled regarding the actual state of things in this country. The large majorities secured by the Congress in seven provinces, were a complete surprise to them. But they tried to put the best face they can on their discomfiture and were effuse in welcoming the Congress Governments. They did their best to propitiate Congress Ministries even where the latter were obviously in the wrong. Things were going on nicely. But Subhas Bose's election to the Presidentship upset the apple-cart. It was an act of sheer perversity to have destroyed the unitary government under which British India had developed for a century and a half. But to resume powers that have been definitely relinquished, undermines confidence in the stability of constitutional reforms and has naturally evoked strong protest. We know by experience that emergency powers have a strong tendency to become normal.

The Congress and World Affairs :—Although the main reason for the convening of the All India Congress Committee at Calcutta is the settlement of the internal differences which have prevented the formation of a Working Committee for the year, there is a red herring in the international situation which threatens to overshadow the proper business of the meeting. We do not see anything in the situation, grave as it is, which necessitates serious consideration by the Congress. In the matter of Czechoslovakia, when Indian feeling was really roused as it never was before or after, the Congress adopted a resolution that they would have no part in an "imperialist" war. Unless the leaders are going to tell us how they propose to keep India out of a war in which every other country will be engaged, there seems to be no object, except to divert people's minds or to relax their own, in again considering the probable attitude of Congress in the event of war. The frequent statements on the international situation issued by Pandit Jawaharlal and by Mr. Bose, though both these leaders approach the subject from different angles, show that no change has come over the Congress attitude since Munich. The resolution now to be considered, therefore, has no value, apart from advertisement, to anyone at all.

Rajkot Stalemate :—The Gwyer award seems to have overshot the mark. In conceding the privilege of appointing seven out of a committee of ten members to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel the decision, it was felt, had gone to the Congress. The Thakore Saheb, however, decided to absolve himself of all responsibility for the non-official part of the Committee and advised his minorities to seek redress at the hands of Gandhiji who had taken over charge from Sardar Vallabhbhai. The minorities proved singularly amenable to the Thakore Saheb but resisted every effort of Gandhiji's to secure their support to the Parishad. Unable to move them, Gandhiji suggested, first, enlargement of the Committee so as to secure a majority to the Parishad and to include the minorities as well. The Thakore Saheb refused to depart from the letter of the Gwyer award. The next proposal was that of surrendering the gains of the Gwyer award and allowing the Thakore Saheb to nominate the entire Committee, if he in turn agreed to the Parishad scrutinising the final report and submitting its opinion on it; the differences to be submitted to the Chief Justice for arbitration. Mr. Virawala, it appears, regarded this as an unjustified check on the Thakore Saheb and appealed to Gandhiji for greater trust. From Gandhiji's statement it seems that he has accepted this position and led the Rajkot agitation back to where it was before Sardar Patel first entered the scene against Gandhiji's advice. The only change is that Sir Patrick Cadell has left the dewanship and Mr. Virawala who had been sent away under a heavy cloud has been seated once again with Gandhiji's blessings and to all appearances even more securely on the saddle.

Mr. Subhas Bose :—Gandhiji has got out of the Rajkot tangle to face a not less serious one in Calcutta. President Bose has apparently regained his health. He has resumed his activities. The Tripuri Congress resolution required him to appoint his Working Committee on the advice and to the satisfaction of Gandhiji. As he could not meet Gandhiji owing to his health and the latter's preoccupation with Rajkot, the Working Committee could not be appointed and Congress activities are at a stand-still. The President has meanwhile been amusing the public

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...ish enquiries as to why this member of the ...th Command lunched with the Viceroy and ...r member attended a party in honour of some ...her agent of British Imperialism. It was ...eported that he had even asked Gandhiji to ...explain his conduct in visiting the Viceroy ...d His Excellency's residence in New Delhi. ...Gandhiji may plead that he is not even ...a four anna member of the Congress and ...is not bound by the conventions of the ...Congress! Mr. Bose seems to be confident ...that Gandhiji and he will agree upon the future ...course to be pursued. This is possible only if ...Mr. Bose descends a good deal from his ...anti-Imperialist pedestal. Gandhiji's policy just ...now is to work with the Paramount Power, that ...is, British Imperialism in its most undiluted ...form. Otherwise, Mr. Bose will do well to resign ...the Presidentship.

The Indian National Congress :—The meeting ...of the All India Congress Committee at Calcutta ...to settle the outstanding differences between ...Mr. Subhas Bose and the members of the old ...Working Committee is a momentous one. As ...Rajkot Gandhiji has taken over the leader-...ship from Sardar Patel and it is believed that ...the Congress will emerge out of the Calcutta dis-...cussions with either a new president or a "left" ...Working Committee. Sardar Patel whose activi-...ties in the past have brought on him the full ...measure of discontent against the policy of the ...Congress, will not attend the meeting at Calcutta ...for special reasons. This is both an advantage ...and a misfortune. The absence of the Sardar ...will permit of a discussion of policies apart ...from the chief personality involved in many of ...them in the past. After all, as Pandit Jawaharlal ...Nehru has pointed out, the acts and omissions ...of the Sardar had the approval of the Working ...Committee as well as of the Congress President ...whoever he was at the time. Pandit Nehru ...accepted full responsibility for the Nariman ...incident and rightly remarked that Mr. Bose was ...no less responsible for the Khare interlude. The ...Sardar, it is well known, has not the gift of ...convincing opponents of the justice of his case—...an essential quality in a politician who has ...eschewed violence. No man can ask for a better ...advocate for his cause than Gandhiji, especially so ...when that cause is also Gandhiji's. Nevertheless ...it is not a gain either tor the Congress or to ...Indian politics if it appears too often to be the ...case that Gandhiji's time and energies are spent ...in pulling chestnuts out of the fire.

Purdah in Baroda :—The accounts of the ...coronation of Maharaja Pratapsingh of Baroda ...on Wednesday, contain an item which ...will be noted throughout India as well as abroad ...with surprised interest. Her Highness the ...Maharani who took her place beside her husband ...at the function, is said to have worn a veil. For ...a whole generation, the Maharani (dowager) of ...Baroda has been a prominent leader of the ...Indian women's emancipation movement. The ...purdah is the symbol of women's subjection and ...it was thought that the Baroda royal family has discarded it once for all. We earnestly trust that this is not symptomatic of a reversal of the progressive social policy of His Highness Sayajirao Gaekwad, which more than anything else has brought Baroda to the front rank among Indian States.

Post-Graduate and Research Studies :—Several years ago in an important report on the reorganisation of the London University, the late Lord Haldane stressed the inter-relation between undergraduate and post-graduate work. In Bombay we have been building up post-graduate courses without much thought about securing adequate foundations in the undergraduate stage. 'Academicus' in two articles in the *Mahratta*, which are reprinted as a pamphlet, has exposed this weakness. This writer can endorse from personal knowledge what 'Academicus' says of the thesis door to the M. A. degree. The thesis which he was last invited to value, was a mechanical collection of information more or less related to the subject but and betraying not a trace of original thought on the part of the thesisist. He was told that this was a fair sample. 'Academicus' suggests that the thesis for the M. Sc. is open to similar criticism. The suggestions of "Academicus" for the organisation of the Deccan College into a Research Institute for Languages, are mostly sound. When, however, there is such a strong demand to reduce language to its bare, "basic" elements, it is an act of courage on the part of the Bombay Government to found an Institute for their study in the higher reaches. We, therefore, welcome the scheme and we have no doubt that the Prime Minister who is in charge of Education, will not let his great enterprise be handicapped at the outset by tolerating second best material in any part of its organisation. The success of the Institute will depend upon its recognition by cognate Institutes in other countries as a worthy confrere.

Vice-Chancellorship:—The proposal to amend the law so as to make the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University elective, will, if given effect to, relieve the Education Minister and the Chancellor of a delicate part of their duty. The most popular Vice-Chancellor, however, may not be the most capable Executive head of the University. We commend the suggestion made by the University Reform Committee some years ago that a full time Rector should be added to the permanent staff to relieve the Vice-Chancellor of his routine duties and to exercise closer supervision over the University Colleges...We were surprised to read in the papers the other day that the new Vice-Chancellor, Mr. R. P. Masani, had assured beforehand the candidates for the recent Matriculation that he will see that they do not suffer owing to the difficult Algebra paper set for them!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, April 29, 1939.

"WHAT OF INDIA?"

The conflict between Democracies and Dictatorships now raging, has only an altruistic interest for non-White races. So far as the latter are concerned, both sides entertain practically the same view, namely, that they are bound to accept domination. The champions of the Dictatorships no less than the champions of Democracies, proclaim the preservation of the peace of Europe and of European civilisation to be their central purpose. The Democracies hold that with their disappearance European civilisation will disappear. The Dictatorships maintain no less firmly that the existence of European civilisation is bound up with their success. The professions of the Democracies to this effect are well known. Those of the Dictatorships have been obscured by democratic propaganda. Yet it is the fact that, if anything, the Dictators are far more emphatic, certainly far less equivocal, than the Democrats in their assertion of the supremacy of European civilisation and their mission to save it. "We consider it our duty," declares Dr. Arthur Gutt, "to direct the attention of the European nations, and of the White race in general, towards the dangers threatening our common civilisation from Russia in the East and from Africa by way of large armies composed of races of non-European areas, specially trained by France, in the south." ("Germany Speaks" p. 64) "Our standpoint," writes Dr. Walter Gross, "is not so very far removed from that of other people with a sound mental outlook. The American Immigration laws, for example, are based on definite racial discrimination." ("Germany Speaks," p. 75.) Race and colour prejudice is not the vice of the Latin races. But Signor Mussolini has adopted it as a necessary adjunct of Empire. The Duce very likely took the idea from Lord Curzon. In a footnote in his book on "The Problem of the Far East," that great British Imperialist attributed the decay and collapse of the Roman Empire to the failure of the Romans to keep their blood untainted by that of the subject races. "The Roman Empire perished," wrote Curzon, "not because its ruling class was, but because it ceased to remain, a caste." Signor Mussolini is evidently resolved not to let his Empire perish again for that reason. The main difference between Democracies and Dictatorships is as regards the European Jews. The Anglo-Saxon democracies favour them. The Dictatorships, not only the German but also the Polish, the Hungarian and other Continental nations, reject them.

The attitude of Western democracies to non-Europeans has been throughout hypocritical. The first article of the American Constitution proclaiming the equality of all men, is nowhere more fragrantly violated than in the United States. When the Japanese delegation at the Peace Conference at Versailles got racial equality placed on the agenda, President Wilson sabotaged it by grossly abusing his power as President. The British delegation voted against the Japanese amendment. The conduct of the Indian delegates on the occasion is veiled in mystery. How the democracies of the self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth treat their coloured citizens is notorious. But, it may be said, all this is of the past. The future will bring absolute equality along with perpetual peace if only the Democratic countries are helped to down the Dictators. That hope, too, has been snatched from us by the author of "Union Now," the book to which Lord Lothian in an article in the London *Observer*, on which we commented in *The Reformer* of March 18, referred in terms of high praise as a practical contribution to the solution of the problem of World Peace. Mr. Lionel Curtis in a letter to the author, Mr. Clarence K. Streit prophesied that its appearance would be, like the *Federalist*, a mile-stone in history. The gist of Mr. Streit's treatise is that the fifteen democracies which he names should be united for four common purposes, namely, defence, citizenship, currency, a customs free economy and communications. As we observed last month, union for these purposes means practically union for all purpose. The fifteen democracies are the American Union, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Holland, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the Union of South Africa. The term Democracy as applied to these States must be understood in a very comprehensive sense, just in the same way as the term Christian. Herbert Agar tells us in the *New Statesman* of the 8th April that a section of American opinion questions the strength of the democratic ideal in France and England. The South African Union is more a White oligarchy than a democracy. This is also more or less true of the United States itself and the British and French Empires.

Mr. Streit devotes less than two pages to this country under the heading "What of India?" He calls it a "possession" of a democracy, whose admission will prevent the proposed Union. He puts this on the ground of the political inexperience of the Indian millions. On the analogy of slavery in the American States before their union, he advocates the incorporation of India as a subject race in his scheme. He writes :

> Suppose those founders of the American Union who wanted slavery abolished, had sacrificed the idea of union when they found they could not realize it without accepting slavery. Would they have made more freedom for anyone? They chose instead union despite slavery, and within 70 years tens of thousands of white men were giving their lives to save the Union by freeing the slaves.

This idealistic view of the Civil War has been badly mauled by the testimony of historical facts. Lincoln himself repeatedly declared that he was not fighting the South to abolish slavery

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

but to save the Union. Slavery was abolished in Great Britain thirty-four years earlier and if the North had followed the example and compensated the owners, the reform would have come without leaving behind the bitter legacy of the anti-Negro prejudice in the Union. Indians are chafing against British domination as national slavery, and are not likely to view the domination of fifteen democracies as an improvement. They will reason, If we are to remain slaves, what does it matter if our masters call themselves Democrats or Dictators? This point of view does not seem to have struck Mr. Streit even as a possibility. But it is not merely a possibility. The first task of his democratic Union will be to coerce India into remaining its "slave." The real cause of the disruption of the Western world, is that it regards the East as its legitimate prey, Against this complacent action the East is in high revolt. The necessity for reconciliation with the East was urged by many thinkers ten years ago. During the last six or seven years there has been a setback to this train of thought and a tendency to regard Europe and its peace and prosperity as the only things that mattered. But Europe will have no Peace until her dealings with Asia and Africa are on a just, humane and honest basis. Until then, Mr. Streit may cry "Union Now," but Asia will forbid the banns.

The Urban Property Tax:—The final proposals of the Government of Bombay for relieving the poorer taxpayer of the burden of the immoveable urban property tax have been released to the press. In respect of properties of which the rateable value is below Rs. 500 in Bombay City and below Rs. 200 in Salsette and Ahmedabad, the tax will be remitted entirely. The Government communique declares that "it is estimated that the number of properties which will thus be relieved from the tax is considerable, in some areas being nearly 50 per cent of the total." We cannot think of any locality in Bombay City where the number of properties fetching in a rent of Rs. 41 and less a month is even 5 per cent of the total; or of any urban area in Salsette in which the percentage of properties bringing in roughly Rs. 18 or less a month would be over ten. It must be remembered that the building boom which Bombay has experienced in recent years, has left few recent plots and has sent up the value of even these. There has been a tendency in the city which was noticed in the 1931 Census towards larger buildings. The Census Report remarks, "The practice is growing of providing large chawls containing accomodation for many families in one building instead of the smaller buildings which used to be the chief means of providing cheap housing accomodation. Thus while the total number of buildings has fallen by 1,501, the number of chawls has risen by 1,343." In the eight years that have elapsed since this was written, larger chawls have sprung up in Bombay. In announcing in the Bombay Assembly, the first concession of a lesser tax of 5 per cent on property bringing in an annual rent of Rs. 2,000 and less, Mr. Latthe mentioned precisely the amount of revenue he had sacrificed by that reduction. We should have liked to know what further fall he expects in revenue after his new concessions. A measure similar to the grading in Bombay City has been adopted in Salsette and in Ahmedabad where instead of the original 10 per cent, a five per cent tax will be levied on properties of the annual letting value of Rs. 1,000 and less. We had urged several reasons for the Bombay Suburban area receiving the same concessions as Bombay City. The first set-back to the natural development of the suburbs was the land development nearer Bombay, notably the reclaimed area at Church Gate. The higher taxation now levied by the Government of Bombay adds another handicap. Suburban municipalities have several schemes, principally relating to drainage, which are held up for want of funds. The encroachment of the Government on the hitherto untaxed margin of ratepayers does not help them in their difficult tasks.

A Perplexing Method :—More than the actual figures, the method by which the Bombay Government has gone about announcing its scheme of urban taxation, is open to criticism. The proposals were first announced in February. A fortnight later, there was a further statement lightening the burden of taxation to some extent, with a promise of further concessions. After another two months we are given the final proposals. So far as we can see, there appears to be no reason for the uncertainty caused by this procedure. It is true that the opposition to the original taxation proposal has been in a measure mollified by these minor alterations. But at the same time there would have been less opposition to the Prohibition scheme itself which was made a part of the taxation policy, had Mr. Latthe started out at the very outset with a complete scheme instead of with the outline of one. Both in the urban tax and in the concession to religious needs for liquor, the Bombay Government has roused an unnecessary measure of opposition to a vital reform by not making up its mind in advance.

Exemption of Nira:—Some years ago Gandhiji decreed the destruction of brab trees as the easiest way of eradicating the drink habit among the masses. Now he has exempted nira or fresh today as containing no alcohol. But nira ferments in no time and it will be a very difficult job for the Police who are to be charged with the duty of enforcing Prohibition, to check whether the liquid drunk as nira has or has not undergone fermentation, especially as the work of inspecting nira will have to be finished between day-break and sunrise, that is within about half an hour.

The Jame-Jamshed on Prohibition:—The *Jame-Jamshed*, the leading Parsi Gujarati daily

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in Bombay, takes us to task for criticising the Parsi women's protest meeting against Prohibition. The *Jame* seems to have learnt with surprise that the *Reformer* is a Prohibition paper and it has devoted three columns of its editorial page to convince us of the error of our ways. The main argument it advocates—the economic one, may be dismissed as even gradual Prohibition will be obnoxious to our contemporary—is that Prohibition in America was the deliberate mischief of some bootlegging millionaires who hoped to make more money by it, and that Prohibition will introduce "goonda raj" into the country. If we might correct the *Jame*, we would point out that the degree of "goondaism" will depend not on the introduction of Prohibition but on the attitude adopted by the public towards bootleggers. Here we are glad to have the *Jame's* assurance that the Parsis are too self-respecting a community to resort to the methods of American gangsters. Behind all the fire and thunder of the *Jame* editorial this is a real recognition of the law-abiding nature of the Indian.

GANDHIJI'S FAREWELL TO RAJKOT.

Gandhiji left Rajkot for Calcutta to attend the All India Congress Committee meeting on Sunday. He signalised his departure by issuing a highly emotional statement. "Rajkot seems to have robbed me of my youth," he said, "I never knew that I was old. Now I am weighed down by the knowledge of decrepitude. I never knew what it was to lose hope. But it seems to have been cremated in Rajkot. My Ahimsa has been put to a test such as it was never subjected to before." Gandhiji has of late been subject to attacks of abysmal depression. A year ago he wrote in the *Harijan* that he could not see light. Such fits of depression are familiar to all who live in the strenuous pursuit of an ideal. All works on Yoga which is at once the science and art of such pursuit, warn the aspirant not to be deterred by such moods. The Poet too has these moods. Tennyson in his 'In Memoriam' has described his own experience.

> Be near me when my light is low,
> When the blood creeps, and the nerves prick
> And tingle; and the heart is sick,
> And all the wheels of being slow.
>
> Be near me when the sensuous frame
> Is racked with pangs that conquer trust,
> And Time a maniac scattering dust,
> And Life, a Fury, slinging flame.
>
> Be near me when my faith is dry,
> And men, the flies of latter spring,
> That lay their eggs and sting and sing,
> And weave their petty cells and die.
>
> Be near me when I fade way,
> To point the term of human strife,
> And on the low dark verge of life
> The twilight of eternal day.

Gandhiji gets over his moods of depression by broadcasting his woes for all to know and sympathise. Others, too proud or self-possessed to share their sufferings with others, struggle inwardly, and if they are strong, overcome the depression and resume their course with mind strengthened thereby. The weaker ones live to regret ever having attempted to guide the chariot of the sun with hands unequal to the task. Gandhiji's is thus the easiest way of dissipating these clouds when they hang over one's mental horizon.

Turning to the subject matter of the outburst, which is painful to readers though it should have afforded relief to the writer, it is difficult to see what there is in it for so much breast-beating. To onlookers it was evident from the first that Gandhiji was drawn into it against his own judgment and as he has himself avowed, against his own inclination. Well would it have been had he trusted to his own instinct and held himself off from the movement which had no reality behind it. The people of Rajkot had some, several, genuine grievances. They could and would have been redressed if Sir Patrick Cadell had continued as Minister. We have received from more than one quarter corroboration of what a friend in Rajkot said in his letter (*Reformer*, March 25) that the people have come to regret the dismissal of Sir Patrick Cadell. The conversion of the local movement for the redress of grievances into a movement for the establishment of Parliamentary Responsible Government, was a mistake. This was evidently thought necessary to give the movement an all-India character. Gandhiji came to believe that there was a genuine movement in Rajkot for Responsible Government and that the whole of India was bent upon making it the central issue leaving aside Federation and everything else. Under this impression he sat down at Rajkot giving up all other concerns, including the Tripuri Congress which was threatened with a serious impasse. The Rajkot affair was in substance and fact a personal difference between the Thakore Sahib and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Even Gandhiji's entry did not make it an all-India question. It is his invocation of the Paramount Power to exercise its authority on the Rajkot ruler that made the question an all India one. No Indian leader of equal or even less eminence had regarded the authority of the Paramount Power except as one to be carefully prevented from its tendency to press constantly on the independence of the States. British Indian public opinion has been the principal factor in protecting States from encroachment by the Paramount Power. Even after the institution of the States People's Conference, responsible leaders like the late Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee and Mr. Chintamani have been careful to say or do nothing to impair the integrity of the States. Gandhiji's action startled India. The incongruity of the leader of the Congress, which still had the goal of Independence inscribed on its banner and many of whose leading spokesmen continue to proclaim that British Imperialism is the great evil adopting a course calculated to strengthen and extend the authority of Imperialism in a large part of India where so far it has been kept as a reserve in the distant background, added to the public perplexity.

Much of the excitement of the past three weeks might have been avoided and the real grievances of the Rajkot people duly redressed, if the whole question had been viewed in its proper perspective. But there is no need to take a too tragic view of what has passed. Gandhiji has now realised that the dispute between the Thakore Sahib and his subjects can be best settled without his or Sardar Vallabhbhai's intervention. In his statement Gandhiji says;

> The agonising experience of the fifteen days have resulted in my making the discovery that my 'Ahimsa' should be voted down as failure if the Thakore Saheb and Darbar Shri Virawala were to feel that they had to give anything under pressure from above. My 'Ahimsa' demanded that I should remove that feeling. I assured Durbar Shri Virawala that I took no delight in invoking the assistance of the Paramount Power. Apart from 'Ahimsa' my connection with Rajkot

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

should impose that restraint on me. I assured him that my spontaneous offer to Mr. Gibson was an effort in that direction. He immediately retorted: "But if you are not satisfied with his Committee's report you claim the right to scrutinise the report in the light of the Notification, and if the Parishad dissents, you want to have the report and the dissent to be examined by the Hon. the Chief Justice of India. Do you call this removing the feeling of pressure? Why not trust His Highness and his adviser through and through? You may not get all you want, but whatever you get will be charged with his goodwill and will carry a promise of full delivery. Do you know what the Parishad people have said about the Thakore Saheb and me? Is that the way of people desiring reforms from their Prince?" There was bitterness in his speech and contempt for the Parishad people. But with the dawn of my imperfect handling of "Ahimsa" instead of parrying the blow, I recognised the force of his argument as showing want of faith in the essential goodness of human nature and in the littleness of my own belief in "Ahimsa." I parted with the feeling that we had come to know each other better and that in trying to woo Durbar Shri Virawala I was on the right track.

And so I presented this new line of approach to the co-workers. They had more than once told me that Durbar Shri Virawala was the source of all the evil that had descended upon Rajkot, and that his removal would mean for them full Swaraj. I had no difficulty in showing them that what they were thinking of was good Government and not Self-Government. At this meeting which only took place yesterday, I told them that if they accepted my explanation of 'Ahimsa' they would have to set their heart not on getting rid of Durbar Shri Virawala but in converting him. This they could do only if they would set about finding his good points and working at them. They must develop infinite faith in the capacity of 'Ahimsa' to neutralise every person of 'Himsa.' I have asked the workers to confer with Durbar Shri Virawala, to forget me and Sardar Patel, and if they get enough to satisfy their least wants they may accept the offer without references to either of us. I have told Durbar Virawala: "I am defeated. May you win. Placate the people by giving as much as possible and wire to me so as to receive the hope which I seem to have lost for the moment."

INDIAN CHRISTIANS IN BOMBAY CITY.

The Rev. James Kellock's Report of the Investigation undertaken under the auspices of the Central Board of Christian Higher Education in India, into the social and economic environment of the Indian Christian population in Bombay city, is a useful contribution to the study of the effect of religious conversion on the material conditions of life. A comprehensive list of over eighty questions was sent out and the answers received in whole or in part numbered 623. The individuals to whom they related were distributed among 25 different Church groups or congregations. Roman Catholics were not included in the investigation though two or three questionnaires were returned by members of that denomination. About 75 per cent of the persons investigated came from Maharashtra, especially Ahmednagar and the Nizam's Dominions. Nasik district is another main source. Mr. Kellock describes the procedure of Indian Christian immigrants to Bombay for employment. Often they desire to stay there only a few months. During these months if there is no special care taken of them, they feel lost. It appears that they are always anxious to get in touch with some relative as early as they can. One investigator says that he has come across many cases of persons coming from outside to Bombay who have shown eagerness to be in touch with the clergyman or the representative of the Church, and he gives it as his opinion that it is only when the making of the contact is very difficult that these people lapse from the Church.

Three quarters of the Indian Christians investigated own no land in their villages. Only a quarter of those who own land get over rupees 50 a year from it; nearly 40 per cent get nothing from their land. Nearly one half of the Christian population investigated, have relatives in the villages, either dependants or others. In respect of literacy the Christian community ranks high. Nearly 90 per cent of the persons concerned in this enquiry can read and write. The advantage of literacy is not reflected in their economic condition. Taking the Indian Christians in Bombay as a whole, Mr. Kellock observes, the most prevalent level of wage is between Rs. 15 and Rs. 25, and next to it the range of Rs. 25 to 35. Taking all the classes together, he further observes, 59 per cent are in debt. The most prevalent causes of indebtedness are said to be marriage, unemployment, sickness and insufficient wages. 84 per cent of the households investigated were living in single rooms. Even of families with an income of from Rs. 40 to Rs. 100 only a fourth occupied two-room tenements. Mr. Kellock's description of the Bombay chawl is reproduced here as being of general interest:

> It is a large building with three or four storeys and one or perhaps two entrances, and containing one or two hundred single rooms, which generally open either side on narrow passages that run the length of the building. The washing and the privy accommodation is generally situated at one or both ends of the passages, though it may be in the middle of the passages or in some other position. The comfort and convenience of the inhabitants of the chawl will depend a good deal upon the number of the available water taps and privies.

The commonest situation, Mr. Kellock adds, is 2 to 12 families to a water tap—this is the case with 64 per cent of the households; 86 per cent are accommodated with a privy in the same proportion. The way in which people use what is called leisure, affords an index to their culture. Mr. Kellock remarks that there is remarkably little use of leisure by the persons investigated in any particularly active way except "sitting talking."

Mr. Kellock gives some interesting facts about marriages among the Bombay Christians. He came across 5 cases of very young wives, one of seven years, one of 10 years and three of 12 years. They were all Telugus from the Nizam's Dominions where there is no Sarda Act in force. A Christian with two wives is rather a novelty but Mr. Kellock found one, a Gujarati from Kaira, 42 years old and teaching in a Municipal School. The elder spouse was 42 and the younger one 36 years of age, Mr. Kellock explains: "The man is a convert and the Mission has allowed him to be a member of the Church, even though he has two wives. In such cases they married the wives when they were Hindus." We are not told whether the women too had joined the Mission or had remained Hindus while agreeing to live with their convert husband. From an interesting chapter devoted to the generations of Bombay Christians it appears that three generations are needed to stabilise converts in the Christian faith. The first generation is apt to be wistful. The second sceptical. Those who survive to the third have burnt the bridges and settle down to the new environment.

In view of recent discussions, the question arises, does conversion to Christianity effect any important change in the material conditions of converts? It

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is in the first place clear, says Mr. Kellock, that the Christian community is exceedingly poor. This in spite of the fact that it is to a large extent cared for and guided by strong organisations of foreign missions and its church life to a a large degree is maintained and supervised by these missions. The reflections with which Mr. Kellocke oncludes, about the relation between the economic condition and religion of the converts provoke the question, Why is there no such connection between a Hindu and his religion or a Mahomedan and his? Mr. Kellock quotes Mr. Ravade's opinion that there is a close relation between the economic condition of families and their Christian connections. Mr. Ravade makes out that men who are preoccupied with the struggle for existence have no time for religion! He divides Christians in three groups: those who are in fairly well paid jobs, they tend to take an interest in Church affairs; those in poorly paid, permanent jobs, but not free from debt——they take very little active part in Church life; and those casually employed in temporary jobs, they take no part in Church life, probably attending service only on special occasions. And 44 per cent of Bombay Christians do not contribute anything to Church funds.

THE CHURCH AND POLITICS.

Whilst the repeated crises have turned leaders of secular thought in Europe to study political questions from a different angle, they have at the same time given a new vitality to those who equate European civilization with Christianity. We notice this week Mr. Streit's "Union Now" which seeks a political solution to the problems of Europe. Mr. Ziliacus, the political commentator who has earned distinction under the name 'Vigilantes,' offers in a Penguin Special entitled "Between Two Wars", an economic approach to the main issue of averting war. Both writers look to establishing peace by overawing the totalitarian states. In so far as they do so, their policies are two variations of rearmament. The Students' Christian Movement have put forth a series of Crisis Booklets, three of which—No. 4, 'The Crisis and World Peace' by Leyton Richards: No. 5, 'What Does "A" do Next?' by F. A. Cockin: No. 7, 'The Church Militant' by Leslie S. Hunter:— have come to us. The argument in these booklets is that the Churches have lost their savour and that much has to be done before they can hope to regain their leadership intellectually and morally. The need, for all these writers, is to "christianise" European cizilization.

> The crisis of the autumn, says Mr. Hunter, was not an hour of victory and cause of rejoicing either for the Christian Church or for the democracies. It was made clear that the Church has not been able to exercise a a decisive influence for good in post-war Europe.

The crisis, they all argue, served a good purpose in as much as it showed the horror of war which was widespread among the peoples of the world. But, as Mr. Cockin puts it, it was actuated by fear as much as by penitence. He continues:

> Too much has, I think, been made in public speeches of the universal hatred of war and desire for peace, which was said to have saved us at the last moment. This is a potential rather than actual asset.....As they stand, they may be that most dangerous of all counterfeits of a truely moral motive, sentimentalism, the desire to avoid unpleasantness, to escape disaster.

The problem therefore is how to transmute this emotional feeling into a vital force for peace. The methods commended by these writers are of disarmament, in the widest sense of the term. Whilst rejecting the value of the retaliatory arguments used against British and American objectors to German persecution of racial minorities, the group urges that greater value would attach to protests if Britain and American could show, if not clean hands, an earnest desire to cleanse their hands. Similarly a more enlightened attitude towards colonies is proposed as the first step towards checking the scramble for colonies. Mr. Richards who, of all these writers seems most sympathetic to Mr. Chamberlain's policy of appeasement, even suggests that more concrete results can be achieved in securing better treatment of Jews in Germany itself, by a promise to give "speedy consideration to German colonial economic claims." In fairness to Mr. Richards it must be added that, he with the other writers in this series, believes not "in the creation of a new German imperialism, but in the liquidation of British and other imperialisms." If the crisis has brought about a rethinking of colonial questions, it has also awakened a greater social consciousness. "An active concern for refugees," writes Mr. Cockin, "good as that is, will only be a get-out from responsibilities which lie nearer home, unless it rouses us to a new realisation of the needs of our own fellow-countrymen." These thought-provoking shilling booklets merit serious consideration. Whatever the response of "Christians" might be to the ideas put forward lucidly in them they are invaluable as signs of the new thought which is taking shape among religious-minded men the world over. Copies can be had in India from the Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta.

DR. DESHMUKH'S DIVORCE BILL.

(By Kopargam Ramamurti, Aska).

Sir N. N. Sircar, the retiring Law Member of the Government of India, was generally known as a frank and genial fighter who could cheerfully give and take downright hard blows in debate, but was believed to be incapable of striking a false note in his logic. His latest and perhaps last performance in the Central Assembly in connection with Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Right to Divorce Bill came to us, however, as a painful disillusionment. It has certainly not enhanced his reputation for candour, sportsmanship or sound reasoning as a Government spokesman or as a public man.

He tried no doubt to keep up his name for geniality by raising a laughter at Dr. Deshmukh with the ungracious remark that Hindu women should be careful hereafter to find a better champion than Dr. Deshmukh. But this could serve only to provoke in the mind of the man (or woman) in the street, who is unaware of the gallant Knight's natural chivalry and innate benevolence, the sorry reflection that, after all Sir Nripendra's able championship of any cause, whether as a practising lawyer at the Bar or as an official servant of the Crown, bore no relation to the goodness or badness of the cause itself.

It would not have mattered in the least and offended none if the Honourable Law Member had carried out what he thought was his duty to Government with simple straightforwardness and opposed the Bill on some more plausible ground, however much his hostile attitude may be repugnant to current public opinion. But a more fallacious, insincere, unintelligible and in effect unfair argument could not have been conceived than the one he thought fit to urge as his main ground for condemning and rejecting Dr. Deshmukh's Bill off-hand.

From the thankful reference Dr. Deshmukh had made at a previous session of the Assembly to the help he had received from Sir N. N. Sircar in connection with this Bill and the immediate reason

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

made by Mr. Bajoria, the orthodox opponent, that it was "undue help," the public had been led to believe that the Honourable Law Member was prepared to allow a friendly consideration to the merits of the Bill. Even in the last debate Sir Nripendra thought fit to boast of the help he had given to Dr. Deshmukh in framing the Bill, and yet he had no scruple to denounce it as badly framed without condescending to give any reasons for not framing it better himself or allowing it to be improved in Select Committee.

According to Sir Nripendra, it would seem, the most fatal defect of the Bill was that while granting the right of Divorce to Hindu wives it did not provide for giving the same privilege to their husbands! One does not know whether to weep or to laugh when a Hindu lawyer of Sir Nripendra's eminence and experience solemnly makes a declaration which wrongly implies that a Hindu husband does not already under the present Hindu law enjoy the right to shake himself free at any moment from an existing wife, at his own will and pleasure, so as to lawfully marry another and have children by the latter who will be legally recognised as legitimate issue. If such abandonment as he is free to make, is not technically called Divorce and does not operate fully as a dissolution of marriage because the Hindu law permits only the abandoning husband and not the ill-used and deserted wife to remarry, and if Dr. Deshmukh prefers not to knock his head against the stonewall of masculine selfishness by attempting to drag in the privileged and irresponsible Hindu male under the irksome control of the law courts, but seeks only to help the distressed wife to remarry subject to strict legal procedure, is that a reason to cry out that the Bill is not equally kind and fair to the male sex? With due deference to the learned Law Member, one cannot help thinking that the Bar Association of this little mofussil town displayed a truer appreciation than he of the realities of life and of the law and facts of the situation when it advised as follows in the opinion which it submitted on Dr. Deshmukh's Divorce Bill at the request of Government:

> Dr. Deshmukh's Bill was conceived independently of the other Bills and deserves to be passed, with necessary amplifications, even on its own merits. Unlike the other Bills it avoids interfering with the powerful vested interests and privileges of the Hindu male. The highly irresponsible power of desertion and unrestricted power of polygamy which Hindu law permits is a sword of Damocles on the head of every good wife however kindly treated for the time being, is left untouched as sacrosanct. The Bill seeks only to give a very bare minimum of relief to the Hindu after the worst has happened to ruin her happiness and turn her married life into a ghastly farce. This Bill should therefore commend itself even to those who may feel inclined to oppose the other Bills. (vide the *Reformer* of 28th January 1939).

But we are perhaps doing an injustice to Sir N. N. Sircar by taking his spurious argument too seriously without probing deep to get at his kind motive. It may be that all the irrelevant fuss and fury of opposition to Dr. Deshmukh's Bill is a deliberate pose to pave the way for the acceptance of a more adequate measure which would prevent irresponsible desertion and polygamy as well as relieve the distress of an unfortunate Hindu wife. If this camouflage will only make the Bull Elephant of the Hindu woods believe that there is greater freedom and privilege in the Khedda from which Dr. Deshmukh is unfairly keeping him back, he will of course make our task and the Government's task easy by voluntarily rushing into it and getting himself roped in under the strict disciplines of a monogamous law of Divorce as desired by all. We are only sorry that Sir Nripendra will not be in the Assembly to welcome it on behalf of the Government and see his able scheme brought to fruition when Mrs. Subbarayan's Bill will come up next for consideration. We fervently hope and trust that his successor will take the cue from Sir Nripendra's present arguments and give hearty support to that lady's Bill, because no better champion of the women's cause can be thought of than a woman of Mrs. Subbarayan's outstanding position and ability, and her Bill certainly does equal justice to both sexes in the all-important matter of Marriage and Divorce.

As for Dr. Desmukh, he can well afford to rest on his past laurels as a champion of Hindu women's rights. Thousands of Hindu women in all corners of the country bless him daily for his championship in putting the Women's Right to Property Act of 1937 on the Statute Book. Thousands and millions more will continue to bless him for it in future from generation to generation!

UNIVERSITY ACT AMENDMENT.

(By S. G. Warty.)

The statement made by the Hon. Mr. Kher that a revision of the Bombay University Act is to be undertaken shortly, is a very welcome announcement. A revision of the Act has long been due in view of the evils that have gathered in the University life and the vitiated atmosphere that prevails there.

Mr. Kher has prominently mentioned one principal amendment which he desires to bring about, namely the election of the Vice-Chancellor by the Senate. While it is certainly desirable to have an elected Vice-Chancellor, it should be borne in mind that the position in the University would be worse than what it is at present if simultaneously with this amendment other more substantial amendments connected with the elective system, the administrative procedure, the appointment of examiners, etc., are not also brought about.

The point that I have to make is this. In the present vitiated atmosphere of the University, created by cliques, groups and all sorts of undesirable combinations with the only object of dividing the spoils, the election of the Vice-Chancellor would provide another opportunity for the play of these evil forces, and an elected Vice-Chancellor will have necessarily to adopt partizan views, and in his administrative capacity will have to satisfy the cravings of the groups that supported him.

What is more to be feared is this. Really worthy men, will be disinclined to stand for election, because there is little hope for them to succeed unless they are also willing to submit themselves to all the demoralising tricks, intrigues, manoeuvres, devices, etc., without which success would be difficult in a contest, especially against those who hold no scruples in such matters. It must be admitted in this connection that Vice-Chancellors appointed by Government have been worthy men who, not being dependent upon any groups in the Senate, have all along kept an impartial and independent attitude and filled the position with distinction. Mr. Chandavarkar who has just retired and Mr. Masani the new Vice-Chancellor, are men whose ability and impartiality none can question, but I very much doubt if they would succeed in an election or would even care to stand for it.

Therefore, it is that I feel convinced that without more comprehensive amendments the mere conferring of a right on the Senate to elect their Vice-Chancellor

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would make the situation worse in the University. I need not detail here what these amendments should be. The whole of the present system of electing the Senate will have to be replaced by another. There should be general election every three years and a radical redistribution of seats, and certain methods followed by candidates in the election should be prohibited. Prof. P. A. Wadia who has had long practical experience of University working, also holds the same view.

It would also be desirable—I feel it is necessary—to appoint one whole-time paid Rector to look after administrative matters, while the Vice-Chancellor's business would be connected with senate meetings. The right of interpellations should be conferred on Senate members, as this would serve to bring before the public, many matters regarding the internal administration of the University.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kher would do well to appoint a small committee of about three independent men of high educational experience to report on this matter after due enquiry and keep himself ready with a satisfactory Bill to be introduced in the Legislature immediately after the Government of India Act, 1935 is amended in Parliament on the lines proposed by the Secretary of State.

PROHIBITION IN INDIA.*

News has recently reached this country that the *city of Bombay and its suburbs will soon become a Prohibition Area.* From August next no intoxicants are allowed to be sold except to Europeans and Americans, and the excepted people are allowed to use them only in their homes. This decision comes from a long discussed reform programme, and the Indian people are to be congratulated that *definite action in the achievement of this* reform has *at last been taken. It is to be hoped that this action will be followed up rapidly by similar decisions for other parts of the country until the people* of the entire country will be freed from this great curse.

The great leader of the Indian people, Mahatma Gandhi, voices the feelings of the reformers in these words: "It means new and substantial accession of moral and material strength.....Our freedom will be the freedom of slaves if we continue to have anything to do with the drink habit and the drug habit. Is any cost too much to establish complete Prohibition in all the Provinces?"

That is constructive statesmanship. Short-sighted people will grumble and say that the cost *is* too much, and will point to the immediate loss of one million pounds revenue in this action. Let no one be disturbed by such a statement. A million pounds sounds like a great deal of money to a poor man, but let the poor man count up the many *millions of* pounds that will be saved in the process. In the United States of America between four and five *billions* of dollars (about eight billions Straits Currency) was spent for intoxicants alone in 1936. This is an enormous amount of money which few can comprehend at all. Deducting from this figure the few millions paid to the government in revenue, and there still would remain a good seven billions saving for the people. But that is only the beginning of the saving; in one state only there were five institutions. The *running expenses* of these institutions for the year 1936 was about $4,000,000 (Straits Currency)—a considerable saving for the people of one state, and the chief cause of delinquency in those institutions was alcohol. When one adds to these figures the hospitals, sanitoria, prisons, reformatories, and a host of other social institutions made necessary, very largely to care for the victims of alcohol, one can begin to realize the enormous saving to a country in dollars and cents only if intoxicants could be banned entirely for beverage purposes. If, in addition to all this, the misery, poverty, suffering, destruction of life and property directly attributable to the use of intoxicants is taken into account, one finds it difficult to understand how anyone can consider it a cause for congratulation to live in a country where alcohol is permitted to flow freely. Here is a situation in which it is ridiculous to think of the amount that is lost through Prohibition as compared with the enormous savings to the people. Congratulations are due to India who has the courage to start on a difficult crusade of reform.

Malaysia Message, Singapore.

How Medical Science Views Alcohol.

Below are given the resolutions of the American Medical Association with regard to the use of alcohol as a beverage or for medical purposes.

"Whereas, we believe that the use of alcohol is detrimental to the human economy; and

Whereas, its use in therapeutics as a tonic or a stimulant and for food has no scientific value; Therefore,

Be it resolved, that the American Medical Association is opposed to the use of alcohol as a beverage and

Be it further resolved, that the use of alcohol as a therapeutic agent should discouraged."

PROHIBITION AND NEW TAXATION.*

Opponents of the Prohibition scheme have not given up the battle, but have altered their lines of attack. It is no longer the moral issue in compulsion, the impracticability of the measure, the legitimate rights of the tired worker that form the pabulum of the sceptic, but the truer objections he has had in the secret places which emerge now. No one doubts at this date the amelioration that has occurred among the drinking classes and the Madras Premier's modest criterion of fifty per cent success has already been attained. In vain critics seek the fulfilment of their forebodings in the periodical reports of the District Officers. The call for renewed vigilance is taken as an indication that a state of desperation has been reached in the attempt, and that public opinion has slackened in zeal. It is forgotten that the public opinion referred to was not born on the eve of the Prohibition Act, but is the long established tradition of India which is not a changing mood. Public opinion has been reinforced by the support of women who are the immediate beneficiaries of the scheme. To this body of opinion may be added also the chastened reflections of the men who have been weaned away from the evil habit. Not demonstrative, but firmly founded in their convictions, the converts act as aggressive propagandists of the protective measure that Prohibition is.

On the practical question, whether the enormous excise revenue can be replaced, fresh light has been thrown. New taxation measures show that other sources are available though not to the full extent of the needs. Here it is that opposition has been consolidated. Congress Provinces have adopted the principle, that whereas a small minority of the population—*viz.*, the drinking classes—contributed as much as a third or fourth of the provincial revenue and thus relieved the others of their obligations, the latter hereafter should be made to pay in more equitable proportion. This does not go as far as the other principle that the Congress would like to operate—*viz.* transference of the superabundance of wealth

*The *Guardian*, Madras.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from the rich so as to benefit the poor. At the present stage Prohibition has led to no more than this distribution of taxation and is merely an approach to an elementary canon of taxation. To an electorate brought up under a system in which they were delicately treated, the change is "revolutionary," but when the issues are realised, they will know that, if Prohibition did not force the change, the reform was inevitable at a near date in some other form. The Congress Ministers have a hard battle to fight on this score and neither in Madras nor in Bombay have they bowed before the storm. Excise revenue is only an illustration of the iniquities of taxation. Discussion hereafter is bound to centre on the broader issue and the alleged failure of Prohibition will then cease to be a weapon in the hands of the tax-dodging privileged classes.

PROHIBITION IN THE U. P.

The second anniversary of the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in the United Provinces was marked by the extension of Prohibition to four more districts in the province, Bijnor, Budaun, Farrukhabad and Jaunpur. The total area of these districts is 6,996 square miles, with a total population of 30,59,112. Etah and Mainpuri districts, covering 3,392 square miles with a population of 16,10,111, were declared "dry" in April, 1938. In a message on the occasion, the Premier, Pandit G. B. Pant, says that the success of Prohibition in the districts of Etah and Mainpuri should convince the sceptic and encourage the weak and wavering that Prohibition is a practical proposition. The whole province would soon be rid of this evil which had spread misery in palaces and huts alike. The United Provinces Government have also introduced a system of State management of liquor sales in big cities and industrial areas, which will effectively lower the consumption of intoxicants. The retail sale prices of certain intoxicants have been raised. The U. P. Government's excise revenue has been reduced by these measures from Rs. 152 lakhs in 1936-37 to Rs. 115 lakhs, while the expenditure on preventive measures has increased by Rs. 150,000. The import, transport or possession of any quantity of opium, intoxicating hemp, drugs, country spirit and foreign or Indian-made liquor is prohibited in these areas. Exemptions have been granted to priests or Ministers of the Christian religion for import, transport or possession by them of grape wines for sacramental purposes. Troops, either permanently stationed in the districts or in transit through them and *bona fide* travellers, while aboard railway trains passing through these districts or while waiting at railway stations to catch a train, are allowed possession or transport of two gallons or twelve quart bottles of Indian or foreign liquor, one seer of up to 35 degrees of country liquor or equivalent quantities of spirits of other strength and two tolas of charas or ganja. Railway dining cars attached to runing trains can possess liquor for sale to *bona fide* travellers under their dining car licences. Consignments of intoxicants booked on rail from and to outside the four districts are exempted, provided they are not tampered with or used in these districts. Exemption is also made in the case of hospitals or dispensaries or addicts or personal permits as approved by the Collector.

Marriage Reform Legislation:—On the suggestion of the Premier and Begum Shah Nawaz, Lala Duni Chand withdrew her Punjab Hindu Marriage Reform Bill, in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. She accepted the offer to serve on a select committee to which Bhai Fateh Jang Singh's Punjab Hindu and Sikh Polygamy Bill would be referred.

PROHIBITION IN BIHAR.

A Gazette Notification prohibits, from April 1, the tapping of toddy and the transport of country liquor, ganja and bhang in Hajipur subdivision of Muzaffarpore district, Jharia coalfield in Manbhum district, in police stations of Hazaribagh, Ichak, Barkagaon, Mundu and Ramgarh in Hazaribagh district and in police stations of Ranchi, Burmu, Mandar, Ormanjhi and Angara, in Ranchi district. Pachwai, an indigenous drink used by aboriginal tribes in Chota-Nagpur, has also been prohibited in the dry areas of Manbhum, Hazarigarh and Ranchi districts, aboriginal tribes possessing pachwai, manufactured by them for domestic use, being exempted. Exemption is also granted in the case of *bona fide* travellers proceeding from one non-prohibited area to another, without halting in the prohibited area for more than 48 hours and the railway administrations. These prohibitory orders are issued under the Bihar and Orissa Excise Act of 1915.

Steps are being taken to ensure the success of prohibition which has been introduced in the coal-field area, Dhanbad. A meeting of the local Congress workers was held under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Babu Jaglal Choudhury to devise ways and means of making the experiment a success. It was tentatively decided that a committee of officials and non-officials should be formed to which would be entrusted a fully-equipped propaganda van to carry on prohibition propaganda. Mr. Jnananjan Niyogi, Officer-in-charge of Corporation Commercial Museum, Calcutta, had been invited by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to lecture on Prohibition.

DR. GILDER ON PARSI OPPOSITION.

"Do not judge my community from what some of them have been doing for the last few days in their excitement. I implore you to postpone judgment till October this year," said the hon. Dr. Gilder, Minister for Excise, addressing a well-attended meeting at Matunga, organised by the Prohibition Propaganda Board, appointed by the Government of Bombay. Referring to the agitation carried on by the Parsi community, against the Prohibition policy of the Congress Ministry, he said, "I know my community very well. I am after all a limb of that community. Do I not know my people? Please do not judge them from what they have been doing now. The Parsi community is essentially a sound community. It is known for its sound common sense. Otherwise, could it have maintained its integrity for the last thirteen hundred years in this country? All that is happening now is mere effervesence. Give them time. Let them cool down, and then you can judge them."

PALESTINE ARABS AND PROHIBITION.

The Palestinian Arabs who are struggling for freedom, have a keen realisation of the importance of enforcing total abstinence from intoxicating drinks on their fellows as essential to the success of their cause. Miss Mary Campbell, the veteran worker of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and a warm friend of the Arabs, in a letter written on New Year's Eve from Jerusalem, said: "As you may have heard the Seychelles exiles have been released. They should reach Port Said today. I'm personally acquainted with Dr. Khalide, the Mayor of Jerusalem, who is one of the five deportees. He helped us in our fight against drink. A poster in Arabic signed and sealed by the leaders of the revolutionaries, is on the city walls today. It contains eleven points. The first two refer to drink.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No. 1. Any person seen drinking a third time will be shot. No. 2. Any house where drink is kept or served will be destroyed. Drastic action against drink, but it is the Arab way. They have pleaded many years to have relief and no response. So now they, having become weary, resort to violence. I know some of the leaders, both Christians and Arabs."

SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA AND DRINK.

In the course of the recent agitation against Prohibition references have been made to Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and a controversy has grown around the probable attitude that he would have taken towards Prohibition. Considering this the remarks made by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta against the setting up of one liquor shop at Matheran in his speech during the discussion of the Bombay Budget for 1898-99, have a much wider application than the particular case discussed by him. If it was reprehensible to attempt to raise revenue "out of the drunkenness of the people" surely it must be equally so to make money out of it. We extract the passage below:—

"A case in point has come under my personal observation at Matheran, which has existed for 45 years without the need of a liquor shop having been discovered. Suddenly, the rains before last, when nobody was on the hill, it was decided that a liquor shop should be started. I know that the department is always supposed to give notice. We are told that notices were given in this case, but they must have been affixed to the trunk of trees, but without people to read them as the population all go down to the plains in the rains. When the time came for the people to go up to the hill they found this abomination flourishing vigorously and they also found that there was an increase of crime and disorder, and a representation was made to the Superintendent. The reason I have asked for the correspondence is that I believe it contains a report from the Superintendent that in consequence of the opening of the liquor shop there has been an increase of crime and disorder upon the hill. If that is part of the report, I can bear it out from my own observation. The opposition to this liquor shop came from no fictitious parties, but from the more respectable visitors on the hill and those who occupy their houses permanently, and no greater mistake could have been allowed than to permit this establishment to be started. I know we must bow to the decrees of Providence, that is to say we must bow to the resolutions of Government, which are something like the laws of the Persians and the Medes; but I must say that the establishment of a liquor shop in a place like Matheran does not speak well for the *bona fides* of the spirit in which Akbari administration is carried on in this Presidency. In itself a very small case, but it illustrates the arbitrary and selfish way in which revenue is attempted to be made out of the drunkenness of the people."

PROBLEM OF PROHIBITION IN A NUTSHELL.

(By V. S. Muuvedkar.)

Habits are not born with men, nor acquired with any deep thought. They are generally acquired sportively, casually, carelessly, customarily. Only when they are indulged in for a time—often against one's inclination, as in the company of friends—they begin to take root, look nice, and become more indispensable than food. As a glaring example of this, take the case of meat-eating. Vegetarians, far from envying meat-eaters, or feeling the necessity of eating meat or the inclination of trying its taste, actually get giddy and nauseous at its very sight and smell, and pity and despise those that eat such [illegible] with so much zest. And the reason for [illegible] is simply that they have not been accustomed to eating it. No man is born either a meat-eater or vegetarian, like tiger or deer. And the same rule applies to the case of addicts of the different drugs also. 4 p. c.

If, accordingly, a bad habit is to be rooted out the best way of doing it is to nip it in the bud. Those not yet addicted to it should be warned against its bad effects, the allurements should be made difficult or impossible of obtaining—like fire-arms or explosives—and their use highly criminal. Those already addicted and unable to give it up should be given a permit, allowing them to continue their indulgence, in a gradually descending degree if possible, or without any restriction, if otherwise leaving them to their fate. A habit, which has come down almost from the beginning of the world, and is prevailing over the entire world, may well be allowed to continue for a generation more or so, without any very serious danger to society.

Lastly, whether or how far, and of what particular stuff, the habit of drink or of other drugs is harmful appears yet to need careful investigation. The objectionable features, however, of excessive use of intoxicants, such as improper behaviour in public places or cruel treatment of family members should be made more severely punishable by law, if they are not already adequately punishable. And this much provision should suffice for the transition period, until the question is fully and calmly discussed at length, and suitable measures decided upon in due course.

GOOD GOVERNMENT.

The Editor,
Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Rajkot muddle has for the present ended in what Gandhiji has himself described as a defeat, the second great triumph of his Guru which Mr. Munshi proclaimed with such gusto and acclaimed with all the enthusiasm of an idol-worshipper has turned out to be an acknowledged defeat. The pathetic statement of Gandhiji issued on his departure from Rajkot makes interesting reading. There is one aspect of this affair which ought to receive the attention it deserves. Gandhiji says in this statement that the Parishad people were of the opinion that the all important question was the removal of Darbar Veeravala, and that he (Gandhiji) had to point out to them that the removal of Veeravala would only *spell good government but that it would not be self-government.* This means that the Rajkot Parishad is willing to be content with "Good Government," and that an outside agency—the Congress—is pressing it to press for self-government. The demand for self-government is therefore not genuine, but only engineered by the Congress for its own ends—for assuring a majority of votes to put the Congress in power when Federation comes. There is implied in this the existence of a movement for swallowing Federation, if and when it comes, of which Mr. Bose complained so bitterly and of which complaint so much fuss was made by the Rightists.

This leads me to ask one question to your readers: If the politics of Rajkot and Kathiawar are tortuous are those of the Congress less so?

If appears to me it is high time people should speak out their minds freely and frankly if the great National organisation is to be saved from a fatal downfall.

Yours etc.,
Veerbal H. Mehta.

Khar,
April 27, 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon („ „).
Satara (District Nasik).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad („ „).
Kalol (District Panch Mahals).

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara R.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balance not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
CALCUTTA, (Chowringhee Square.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897.)

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mansana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

卐

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin, Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Agents.

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 22, 1939 No. 34

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Mrs. Munshi's Monogamy Bill.
Parsi Women and Prohibition.
The Rajkot Muddle.
The Paramount Power.
Absentee Legislators.
Prohibition in the U. S. A.
Indians in British Guiana.
Mussolini's Reply.
The President's Message.
The War in China.
The Indore Marriage.
Federation and the States.
China's Industries in Szechuan.
Indians in British Germany.
Germany to go "Dry"?
Germany Under Schacht.

NOTES.

Mrs. Munshi's Monogamy Bill :—The demand for prohibiting by law polygamous marriages, is becoming insistent among the women of India. There are two Bills pending before the Indian Legislature, Mrs. Subbarayan's in the Legislative Assembly and Mr. Govindlal Shivlal's in the Council of State. There is a similar Bill pending in the Punjab. Last week, Mrs. K. M. Munshi got her Bill circulated for opinion to the public after the first reading in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. The Home Minister of the Government of Bombay accepted the principle of the measure on behalf of Government. This is the first occasion in the history of Legislative Assemblies when wife and husband have cooperated in carrying through social legislation. Another noteworthy feature was that an objection raised by a member to a Muslim member speaking on the Bill as it related to marriages among Hindus, did not find support either from the Speaker or from the general body of members. Social legislation, although it may be found expedient for the time being to confine it to one community, has always an educational value for all communities; and, therefore, no restriction should be placed on members participating in legislation on the ground of caste or creed. This is especially important in the case of legislation affecting Hindus, because the social progress of the Hindu community, which forms the largest single community in the country, has a strong indirect influence on all communities. The progress of Hindus on right lines is thus the concern of all communities, so much so that Hindu social legislation may be said to be intended for the whole country and all communities. Both Mrs. Munshi and the Home Minister made out a very strong case for the measure and several other members also spoke in its support. There was some criticism on the ground that the right of divorce is to be given only to women. As we pointed out last week in our comments on a similar objection of Sir Nripendra Sircar to Dr. Deshmukh's Bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly, there is already relief available to the Hindu husband tormented by a flighty wife, while there is none for a wife tied to a husband who takes another wife and leaves her helpless.

Parsi Women and Prohibition:—The proceedings of the meeting of Parsi women in Bombay last Sunday to protest against the introduction of Prohibition, will be read with astonishment all over the world. For Prohibition is an integral part of the women's movement. The incidence of the liquor habit bears most banefully on women and children. We have not come across all these years a single instance of a women's organisation having stood up against Prohibition. In the United States every women's organisation supported Prohibition. The Dowager Lady Cowasjee Jehangir who presided spoke of the services rendered to the country by Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. Not the least part of their services was that they were persistent critics of the Government's Abkari policy and, as we said the other day, they would have been, were they alive today, the staunchest supporters of the Prohibition policy. In any case, the value of their services, which is acknowledged by all, can not be set off against the demoralisation and ruin wrought by the liquor trade in the countryside and among the masses generally. Surely, Lady Jehangir will not urge that nothing should be done to stop this as the first step in redeeming the poorest of our people from the hardships and misery of their daily life. If Prohibition must come, she said, let it come gradually. Evil habits are never broken gradually. They must be broken at once or not at all. And they cannot be broken unless the environment which favours them is quickly and completely changed. So long as the liquor trade is allowed to flourish it is futile to expect that the hard-worked illiterate worker will have sufficient strength of mind to resist temptations. The President and other speakers criticised Mahatma Gandhi and appealed to him to stop the introduction of Prohibition. It is as well for them to be reminded that, while Gandhiji has certainly done much to bring Prohibition in the range of practical politics, it is no longer in his power to prevent it should he

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wish to do so. The momentum of a long tradition will carry it on until the curse of drink is utterly destroyed.

The Rajkot Muddle:—When Sir Maurice Gwyer's "advice" regarding the legal interpretation of the Thakore Sahib's notification and letter to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel on the constitution of a Reforms Committee, was published, Gandhiji expressed his opinion that he and his friends were completely vindicated and that they had all that they wanted. Gandhiji returned from Delhi to Rajkot to submit a list of seven names to the Committee. Before he could do this, he was confronted by the Bhayats or clansmen of the Thakore with a letter of his in which Gandhiji had promised to have the group represented on the Committee. The Muslims of Rajkot also made a similar claim. Dr. Ambedkar on behalf of the scheduled castes urged that they should have proper representation on the Committee. To meet these demands Gandhiji proposed that the membership of the Committee should be increased from 10 to 14 or 15 and that the three official members should be deprived of their votes in order to ensure the Parishad seven being a majority! Sir Maurice, however, had distinctly laid down that the number of the Committee should be ten and this the Thakore Sahib considered to be binding on him. After protracted negotiations, no agreement was found possible and Gandhiji sent a list of seven men to the Thakore Sahib for nomination to the Committee. Here he encountered another obstacle. It was a condition that the seven should be subjects or servants of the State. Rajkot is itself a small State but owing to its being the headquarters of the Political Agent of the Governor General, persons from all the Kathiawar States are congregated there. The advisers of the Thakore Sahib on scrutinising Gandhiji's list, apparently had no difficulty in finding that all but one of the seven were neither subjects nor servants of the Rajkot State. The Thakore Sahib has, it is understood, requested Gandhiji to produce the credentials of the six to establish their claim to be his subjects. Gandhiji maintions that his promise to Bhayats had implicit in it certain conditions which, not having been realised, the promise falls to the ground. Unless the non-realisation can be shown to be due to the action or omission of the Bhayats, this argument has no force. The Bhayats have requested the Viceroy to refer Gandhiji's to Sir Maurice Gwyer for interpretation. Gandhiji is agreeable to a reference but he thinks that a Judge of the Bombay High Court would do for the purpose. The Bhayats however, may insist that the same mind which interpreted the Thakore Sahib's notification should be applied to Gandhiji's letter. For other reasons too, we think it desirable not to add to the already heavy calls made on the Bombay High Court for extra-judicial tasks.

The Paramount Power:—The Paramount Power is not playing a straight game in the Rajkot affair. Recent pronouncements have established three propositions. The Paramount Power does not stand in the way of Indian Princes introducing constitutional reforms. It does not at the same time surrender any part of its right as Paramount Power. It is for a ruler himself to decide what reforms should be introduced. The rights of paramountcy being undefined, it is no easy matter to determine whether any particular scheme of constitutional reform will or will not impinge on them. The British Government has to go to Parliament in order to get the Government of India Act amended so as to empower the Central Government in an emergency to assume control over the Provincial Governments. So far as the States are concerned, no Parliamentary enactment is necessary or possible. The Paramount Power can do it in virtue of its paramountcy. The rulers well understand the position and themselves offer to place themselves and all their resources at the disposal of the Suzerain when such occasions are even remotely in prospect. They cannot do this if there is a Constitution, as the term is generally understood, except by suspending it; and they should have the power to do this if they are to fulfil their obligations to the Paramount Power. In order to avoid this situation which will certainly provoke a political crisis, rulers of States will do well to frame their schemes of reform in consultation with the Paramount Power or at least not promulgate it before securing its approval. The Paramount Power may simplify the situation by taking the initiative and transmiting to the States a model scheme answering all requirements, which may be adopted in each State with suitable local modifications. What seems to be queer is that the Paramount Power should require the ruler of Rajkot to have the scheme for his State formulated by a Committee the majority of members to which are to be nominated by a political leader in British India. The Paramount Power might and, in our opinion, should itself advise the Thakore Sahib, to adopt what it considers would be a suitable scheme of constitution for his State instead of involving him in a controversy which can not but have the effect of undermining his authority with his subjects. If the Paramount Power thought that the Thakore was not competent for his position, it has the right to depose him and to appoint a regency with the Sardar himself as the President, if he cares to accept the responsibility. What is unintelligible is that the Paramount Power should make a stalking horse of Gandhiji and tie him down to Rajkot while all India questions of grave importance are being held up, amongst others the question of Federation.

Absentee Legislators:—There was an interesting debate on Wednesday 12th April in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

solution moved by Mr. M. M. Patel from Ahmednagar, calling attention to the steady fall in the attendance of members and suggesting as a remedy that, instead of the present monthly allowance of Rs. 75, the old practice of a fee for each day of attendance should be reverted to. The discussion turned almost entirely on the monetary attractions of membership. The Prime Minister maintained that the monthly allowance was not inadequate having regard to the general economic conditions. He thought a more convenient arrangement of the hours at which the Assembly sat, might attract more members. We agree with Mr. Kher that the question of allowances is not the primary issue. We do not think that the change of the hours of the sittings of the Assembly would appreciably improve the attendance. The real cause of the large proportion of absentee members is that the debates in the Assembly have no reality. The policies of Government are decided upon by the party organisation. However valuable the suggestions of non-party members may be, they have little chance of making any impression on the predetermined course of Government. It is sheer waste of time for members to study questions, attend the Assembly and make speeches. The average mofussil member finds more to interest him in the streets than in the Council Chamber. So far as his influencing the course of legislation by his presence goes, he may as well remain at home and give a standing proxy to some local inhabitant who has a seat in the Assembly. Unless the proceedings of the Legislature become effective in moulding legislation policy, membership will cease to attract any but party hacks who will have to be hired by the hour, like mutes at a funeral.

Prohibition in the U.S.A. :—Once a country has had experience of Prohibition, there is little danger of the people completely abandoning the policy. The Rev. John Haynes Holmes commenting on the decision of the network of National Broadcasting in the U. S. A. not to allow liquor advertisements from their stations, remarks that it is the beginning of the re-introduction of Prohibition in America. He writes in *Unity* :

> The fight against the indecencies and dangers of liquor marches on. Thus, the great National Broadcasting Company has just issued the following announcement: "The National Broadcasting Company will henceforth not accept on its networks any advertising for beer or light wines, and this new regulation is an extension of the company's ban against liquor advertising." The next step is the Columbia network. Then the newspapers! Step by step back to Prohibition—for, of course this action of the N. B. C. is Prohibition applied to the vast courses of the air!

This is not surprising. The repeal of Prohibition was possible mainly because of a feeling that lawlessness would be checked if liquor was allowed freely in the United States. That hope has proved to be unfounded. The American problem, however, is greatly complicated by the growth of vested interests round the liquor trade. When Indians talk of crores invested in liquor, they mean no more than that so much stocks of liquor are lying with them. The licensing system adopted here by which every year the shops are auctioned, has prevented the growth of vested interests in the liquor in India, and that is a great advantage which no prudent Government will throw away.

Indians in British Guiana—*Indian Opinion*, official organ of the British Guiana East Indian Association, publishes a broadcast address by Mr. J. D. Tyson whom the Government of India have deputed to assist Indians in the West Indies to present their case before the Royal Commission which has been appointed to investigate and report on the administration in that part of the world. Mr. Tyson's views on repatriation are inspired by a spirit of genuine sympathy with the Indians past middle age who feel a longing to return to the mother country. But his knowledge and experience of the lot of repatriated Indians in this country, constrained him to advise them against being lured by the free passage to which they are entitled, to think of repatriation. A deputation of Indian women waited on the Secretary for Education at New Delhi to plead for measures to help repatriated Indians. We do not know what he told them but it will be a mistake if the impression gets abroad in Guiana or elsewhere that there are many openings here for repatriates and that it is the remissness of Government that prevents their being made available to them. Mr. Tyson's advice to the Guiana Indians was both wise and timely. *Indian Opinion* alo prints the Memorandum of the British Guiana East India Association submitted to the Royal Commission. It is a careful and business-like document. In the forefront of their wants, Guiana Indians place the urgent need of the appointment of an Agent of the Government of India to "harmonize conflicting view-points and to present our difficulties and problems authoritatively and without prejudice to any particular interest." The memorandum refers to the existence of Agents in South Africa, Ceylon and British Malaya "where it has been of undoubted service to the Indian community" and expresses the opinion "that similar benefits will accrue to our community if such representation be granted."

Mussolini's Reply:—Signor Mussolini has replied to President Roosevelt's indictment of his aggressions and exhortation to repent and be saved with the economic co-operation of the United States. He repudiated the charge of aggression. He maintained that what he had taken and may take yet were but Italy's just rights of which she was violently robbed by her rivals in the Empire business. Signor Mussolini's reply was made in the course of his speech to the members of the organising Committee of the Rome Universal Exhibition of 1942. The Duce's tone to the President was that of a schoolmaster pointing out the spelling mistakes of an elementary schoolboy in his first exercise.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, April 22, 1939.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

President Roosevelt's personal "message" to Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler offering them America's economic cooperation if they would give him a pledge that their armed forces would not attack a number of independent countries which he specifies, came upon us as a complete surprise. The President has himself and through his Secretaries slanged the Dictators to his heart's content. Even so recently as on the 14th April he had, in his address to the Board of the Pan-American Union at Washington, ridiculed and condemned them, though this time his language was somewhat less unrestrained. He compared the methods of the Dictators by implication to those of Huns and Vandals 1500 years ago. The very next day it was announced from Washington that the President had requested the two European Dictators to give him the pledge, offering as an inducement his help in their economic reconstruction. The countries for which the guarantee is sought are: Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, Leichtenstein, Luxumburg, Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Yugoslavia, Russia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Iraq, the Arabias, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Iran, Holland, Belgium, Great Britain, Eire, France and Portugal. The President does not mention in his list Ethiopia, nor Czechoslovakia, Memel and Albania, which have already been absorbed. Nor does he mention Danzig which is at present a bone of contention between Germany and Poland. The President has also omitted South Africa, Australia and New Zealand which are self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth like Canada which is covered by a special declaration made by the Prsident some months before, and Eire. Does the inclusion of Eire and the omission of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, mean that the President regards the Free State as having an independent status which the others have not? It can not be that he thinks aggression on the last three Dominions would not affect his scheme for ensuring world peace. The omission of India is, of course, because India has no independence to lose. But would an attack on India be regarded as an aggression on Great Britain? What about Kenya, Uganda and Tanganiyika? Are these also to be regarded as forming part of Great Britain? Would an attack on Singapore come under the definition of attack on the independence of Great Britain? Why has not the President addressed a similar request to the third member of the Axis, Japan? There are other questions. Does the President expect that by giving economic assistance to the Dictator countries he would manage to get rid of the Dictators? If not, what is his object in helping to strengthen the Dictator regimes which he has several times denounced as a menace to Democracies? Or has the President come to realise that, menace or no menace, the Dictatorships have come to stay and that as the head of a big business community he had better come to terms with them? That the President's request is a lowering of the flag which he had flaunted before goes without saying. That he should do so when Great Britain and France have discarded the Chamberlain policy of appeasment and have themselves offered guarantees to several of the European countries included in the President's list, only adds to the perplexity caused by his unexpected invitation to the Dictators to an international banquet. Along with the annexations of Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovokia, Memel, the President is apparently also prepared to swallow the anti-Jew policy of Germany which he has also denounced in unmeasured terms.

Mr. E. Lindley in an article headed "What is American Foreign Policy?" in the *New Statesman* (March 25) observes:—

> Those Americans who believe that the role of the United States is to defend right against wrong everywhere in the world, to oppose aggression everywhere, to defend international morality, favour one kind of foreign policy. Those who believe that the proper role of the United States is to defend only itself and its neighbours to the North and South, believe in another kind of foreign policy. The President has never clearly stated in which of these two policies, or in which variant of them, he believes. Or rather, he has talked at times as if he favoured one and at times as if he favoured the other. The pronouncements issuing from the State departments seem to me to have been equally confused and contradictory.

Recently, however, Mr Lindley says, the President has moved farther towards the ideas of the internationalists and even of the interventionists. In the speech at the Pan-American Board, the President spoke emphatically on this point. He said:—

> The American family of nations may also rightfully claim now to speak to the rest of the world. We have interests wider than that of the mere defence of our sea-ringed Continent. The economic functioning of the world becomes increasingly a unit. No interruption of it anywhere can fail in future to disrupt economic life everywhere. The next generation will be concerned with the methods by which the New World can live together with the Old. We have a right to say that there shall not be an organisation of world affairs which permits us no choice but to turn our countries into barracks, unless we are vassals of some conquering Empire.

If this means anything it means that the Dictator organisation of world affairs is a menace to the freedom of the New World and should be put an end to by the latter for its own protection. How is this consistent with the request to the Dictators to enter into a pact which would let them grow and prosper with the economic cooperation of the United States? According to this doctrine the duty of the American Republics is, under the President's leadership and in alliance, if possible, with the European democracies to undertake a crusade against the Dictatorships and destroy them root and branch. Does Mr. Roosevelt think that the pact he now proposes will be a means to that end?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He does not want them to relinquish what they have already taken. He does not evidently mind Germany taking Danzig. Italy, Ethiopia and Albania are not in the President's list. Their independence has been lost before the President thought of his message. Or did he wait to launch his message until the countries which, in his view, did not deserve independence, had lost it? Italian claims against France remain. But the President's request that the Dictators should not attack the independence of France is capable of being interpreted to mean that Tunis and Djibuti are outside the geographical limits of France and that the interests in the Suez Canal belong legally to Egypt and if France and Great Britain can share them, Italy too may rightfully get her finger into the pie. Of the countries which are now subject to the countries whose protection Mr. Roosevelt is concerned to get the Dictators to guarantee, the message says nothing. The President's sole object is to maintain the status quo as at the moment of his delivering message. But what of China in the Presidential list? Germany and Italy are not the most likely aggressors in her case but Russia and Japan. The latter indeed is already in possession of a large part of the country. It is not to be expected that Germany and Italy will require the third member of the Axis, the most important too in view of the fact that it is the President of United States who has issued the message, to give up China. Incidentally, the message amounts to an implicit recognition of Manchukuo.

One was admonished in one's school days to beware of the fallacy of many questions. The typical example was "Have you left off beating your mother?" If the answer was 'Yes' it was an admission that you were beating your mother. If it was No, it meant that you would continue to do so. The logical Latin mind has quickly seized upon this fallacy and declared that the President's message is a crude and clumsy effort. The Dictators have postponed their reply till the end of this month. But it is clear that they do not mean to accept the imputation that they have been using, or intend to use, force except in self-defence. The fact that the President does not want them to give up Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, shows that the President is not prepared to challenge their plea as regards what has happened. Why, then, should he assume that they would wantonly attack the other countries except in the interests as they claim of "world peace." It is a good rule not only for private persons but also for statesmen to so conduct yourself with your opponent as if one day he were to be your friend. Finally, the revelations before the Senate Committee of the actual facts, apart from the professed ideals, which led the United States to enter the last War on the side of the Allies, can not be shaken off from the mind in speculating as to the causes which lay behind the dramatic appearance of the President on the European stage.

THE WAR IN CHINA.

At the outset of the Sino-Japanese War, Western diplomats were certain of a quick victory for Japan and planned accordingly. It was essential from their point of view that, whatever happened, their influence should suffer no abatement. Partly with this object and also doubtless inspired by a distaste for violent strife particularly in an area where so much British investment was tied up, British diplomats gave the traditional advice to China to make its peace with Japan instead of looking to the League of Nations or any other third party. In China the suggestion happened to be good. Curious that this standard advice should be refused in Abyssinia and in China, and be taken up in Czechoslovakia where political education is well advanced. In international affairs sometimes the obvious course is also the best defensive. A change came over Europe's political attitude to the conflict as it was realised that Japan would have to struggle hard for her Chinese laurels and that a Japanese victory would certainly not mean a continuance of trading rights for Europeans in China. The solution, it was felt, lay in a long war in which both parties would be exhausted. China was in no position to repel the invaders. Japan was not strong enough, nor were circumstances favourable, for her to consolidate her gains in China; in the course of events, Europe would be again re-established in influence, even if not in prestige in China. The last stage was that in which realising that their only hope lay in a grateful China, both the U. S. A. and Britain advanced useful loans to General Chiang Kai-shek's Government. This does not in itself mean, however, that the U. S. A. has ceased selling arms and munitions to Japan. "It was indeed sad for an American to realise," says Mr. Mowrer in his book on China (published January 1939), "that this daily slaughter of innocent non-combatants with the single purpose of terrorism, was largely being accomplished with materials supplied by American companies for a price." So far as trade with Japan is concerned, American cotton in the last quarter of 1938, as contrasted with a similar period in 1937, registered an advance of 302 per cent. India, it is well to mention, which was no whit behind other countries in politically condemning Japan's aggression, was second only to the U. S. A. in pushing forward her sales of cotton. As an index of the great difficulties that prevent an economic enforcement of political feeling however strong, this fact cannot be ignored. No account of the attitude of foreign Powers to China would be complete without a word as to the attitude of the Chinese to the different Powers. Russia by reason of her ever ready assistance with food and arms, as well as by the fact that the toughest resistance in China as in Spain was from the Communists, has established a claim to Chinese affections. The French maintained their prestige by their stand for rights in Hankow, in Shanghai and Tientsin.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Only in recent months have the Chinese people looked on Americans and Britons as possible friends.

The present war in China started over the five Northern Provinces—Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Chahar and Suiyuan—which the Japanese hoped to detach from the rest of of China and unite into an "independent" regime. General Chiang Kai-shek took up the task of uniting China under one Government. The rapidity with which Japanese overran the doomed provinces and drove the Nanking Government out of the coastal provinces was astonishing. Their further advance was checked to a large extent by the geography of the country. The writ of the Nanking Government ran until the war only in the coastal areas; in the interior provincial administrations generally under some warlord were left to themselves. General Chiang Kai-shek, after several attempts to unite the independent rulers under his leadership, found that the bogey of Communism was not so effective after all. In persuading the Generalissimo to accept Japan as the common enemy, the Communists won the first battle. Japan's offensive in China has reached the conclusion of one stage. The objective of their attack has been more than achieved. It is obvious that if the Japanese army could rest at that, it would be glad to do so. But a new factor seems to have arisen. In retreating into the interior General Chiang is now able to enforce his rule over the western provinces. The old China started from the coastal Chiang-governed districts, shading in the centre and to the West into the Communist influenced and Communist provinces. The China of Chiang has for the moment fallen into Japanese hands. The only difference between the Japanese occupation of Chiang's China and her conquest of Manchukuo and Jehol, is that the latter was given up without a struggle on the advice of General Chiang himself. "Chiang Kaishek who wanted to avoid war at all costs," writes Edgar Snow, "urged non-resistance, withdrawal, reliance upon the League of Nations.....the sacrifice enabled the Generalissimo to hold his own tottering regime in Naking." The "New" China which General Chiang is now leading against Japan is the only barrier between Soviet Russia and war in the East. It is to put off a direct conflict until the German-Italian forces are ready to assist in the West, that Japan is drawing in her arms.

We publish this week an article by Dr. Foley describing at length the transformation of a little inhabited city into the cultural and administrative centre of China. The courage of the Chinese in rebuilding after such heavy losses surpasses even the staunch resistance of the Spanish Republicans. The Generalissimo for the time being represents the national resentment of politically minded China against the aggressions of Japan. But it seems extremely doubtful if with all the support in the world that they can possibly expect, Chiang's forces can thrust back the invaders from the provinces they now hold. The reports from China for the past three months have been mainly of towns conquered territory, won back by the Chinese and lost again. At present the main fighting is in the south-east round Canton and both sides have scored, as well as suffered reverses. Japan in her project to enforce conscription in Manchukuo reported recently, is launching on a new experiment which might prove her undoing or, if successful, turn out to be a grave menace to world peace.

THE INDORE MARRIAGE

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

When asked sometime back to write something in the autograph book of a revered and very cultured and thoughtful old lady closely related to a Prince I had written on the sin of Rajas' wasting their subjects' money.

> Waste is always bad and sinful, but when a working man misuses or wastes the money earned by his own labour, it is not so bad and sinful as when a raja wastes and misuses money. For, a raja does not earn money by his own labour, but from the labour of the poor, ill-fed men working hard on his field in all weathers under sun and rain. It is these cultivators who produce wealth out of the earth for the raja. When the wealth is produced the raja takes it, not even leaving enough for those people to maintain themselves with. A raja should have the picture of those half-clad, hungry people, unable even to give food to their crying children, before his eyes whenever he spends *their* money.

The secret marriage in Europe of the Maharaja Holkar of Indore makes me think today of writing, if I could, in the autograph books of all young Princes that on ascending the *gaddi* a Prince loses much of his own reckless freedom while he takes in hand the sacred protection of the freedom and interests of his subjects. And, perhaps more than in other respects his individual freedom of action in marriage has to be restricted. For, while marriage to none should be of purely individual concern but should be looked upon as having considerable social significance, in the case of a Prince it is of tremendous importance to his subjects, to his dynasty and also to his own self as a ruler. The holy institution of marriage is not to be viewed by him as a thing of passing fancy that can be indulged in at self-pleasure, but as an act that is full of responsibilities for him in his dual capacity as individual and as the custodian of the welfare and ideals of his people.

It is a great pity indeed that Princes in India as all countries have to be reminded of the above, for here in this land the great Ramachandra set the example of exiling his beloved wife Sita and of personally suffering greatly from her separation simply in order to save the standard of public morality. Sita was virtue herself no doubt, but as soon as Rama realised that his taking her back as wife after her imprisonment at Ravan's place was likely to be taken advantage of by others even in case of women not having the moral strength of Sita, and that it could thus lead to a lowering of public morals, he at once discarded all considerations about his happiness to keep public moral sense on a pure and high level.

Now in the land of Ramchandra a Prince goes abroad, secretly marries a girl in contravention of his own and of his State's religious and traditional customs. He forgets that his subjects are not only vitally interested in his upholding the religion and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

traditions of the State and in the life he leads, which must be above all possible reproach, but also in the line of succession that he procreates. When a Prince ascends the throne he automatically and by virtue of his position as protector of all interests of his subjects assumes full responsibilities to look to their interests. The incidental and automatic assumption of such responsibilities of a king with his accession is not unique in this country, but is also the rule and convention in the western countries, where a king cannot marry according to his fancy and where his marriage must have the approval of his ministers. King Edward VIII was forced to abdicate rather than be allowed to marry a woman that he was enamoured of. And by thus forcing him to abdicate the British Ministers and the British public showed their high sense of public morality and their insistence on a king having adequate strength of mind to overcome impulses for frolicsome romance. A king who lacks strength, ought better to leave the sacred responsibilities of kingship into others' hands and have thereafter the liberty to run after the woman or women who interest him more than the faithful discharge of his high duties and responsibilities.

That is a well-recognised principle based on very good reasons and but for its very unfortunate overriding by some Princes it should not have been necessary to stress it today. The young Indore Maharaja has not only unceremoniously violated it, but while evidently taking inspiration from the Duke of Windsor's apologia for his conduct for writing his own, he has not deemed it necessary to take into account the firm attitude of the British Cabinet and the British public towards the Duke. That because he feels he can with impunity ignore the feelings and sentiments of his weak subjects.

What answer to such conduct of a Prince are the States subjects and their leaders going to give?

It is indeed an issue not only affecting a single Central India State, but all States in general, for it involves the principle of consulting ministers and the public in important matters like a ruler's marriage a principle recognised and respected in all civilized and responsible governments. Indian States subjects are agitating for making their rulers responsible to them, but that they cannot do simply by inviting some Congress leaders or by prevaling on Gandhiji to lend his support to them. They have also to show their own sense of responsibility by bringing to a head any flagrant violation of vital principle of rulership by their rulers. The Indore marriage ought to provide an issue on which all States subjects should examine to have it definitely settled in conformity not only with age-honoured Indian traditions, but also with the accepted conventions in other countries as exemplified in the Windsor case. The raising of such an issue on the unlicensed liberty of Princes in their private life would also be, to some extent at least, effective in curbing their gallivanting tendencies in foreign countries, which seem to be increasing and becoming the habit of several Indian Princes, and which eat away a good deal of the State revenues, as also the vitals of the Princes themselves.

Meanwhile by interpellations in the Central Assembly some M. L. A. may bring to light important facts as to whether the Government were consulted by the Indore Maharaja before the marriage; where, when and under what law he contracted it; and with what stipulations regarding succession and maintenance; and as to the family history and connections of the lady, who is now the Maharani of the State.

THE MAHARAJA OF INDORE.

The *Illustrated Weekly Times* of India of the 16th April publishes the portrait of Miss Margaret Lawler, his marriage with whom was announced by the Maharaja of Indore recently. The lady is described further as an American girl, whom the Prince met when he was ill in Los Angeles in 1936; she was formerly married to Mr. John Paul Branyen. Hindu law does not recognise divorce but a Hindu Prince has not had to abdicate in order to marry a foreign woman who has been evidently divorced by or had divorced her first husband Our Princes are apparently going ahead very rapidly.

FEDERATION AND THE STATES.

(By K. CHANDAY, COONOOR.)

The review of Mr. M. K. Varadarajan's book on "The Indian States and Federation" published in your issue of 8th April, 1939 gives rise to certain reflections, which, I trust, might be interesting to your readers.

Several people have been cited as the parents of the Federal idea; and I have read in more than one biography that the idea had been considered and perhaps advocated, by some eminent British Indian administrators very many years ago. I am not aware, however, that any person has contradicted the claim made by me that I was the first to suggest in print more than ten years ago that the promises made in Parliament, and in India, could be adequately fulfilled only through a federation of British Indian Provinces and the Indian States, and that for establishing such a federation, a conference between the British Cabinet and representatives of the Princes and of British Indian leaders was essential. My arguments were published in the *Hindu* of Madras and some other South Indian papers. A collection of them with the rough outlines of such a federation was sent to some leading British Statesmen and Indian politicians and to a few Indian Princes, and also to the Secretary of the Simon Commission. Among those to whom I sent personal letters are the Marquis of Linlithgow before he became Viceroy, Lord (then Sir Malcolm) Hailey, Mahatma Gandhi, the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastry, and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. My scheme had the full approval of two eminent experts, viz., Principal Shiraz and Dr. P. J. Thomas. One of them wrote to me recently that he still considers that my scheme was feasible, and was in fact the only method available—that is for fulfilling the promises made of establishing Dominion Status.

It should be remembered that these articles were published and the rough outlines drawn up and circulated long before the announcement of the Round Table Conference; and in one of the articles, it was surmised that Lord Irwin's visit to England must be for advising the Cabinet to call together such a conference.

How and why the Maharajah of Bikanir made his historic pronouncement, I do not know. The arguments showing the need for it had been sent by me for publication in Sir Albion Banerji's journal long previously, but it was published, I believe, subsequently. This article contains succintly my main arguments.

Very briefly stated, it was that the terms, 'India' and 'British India' had been both used in the various pronouncements of British authorities, and that whatever was in their mind (it is now clear that British India only was contemplated) it is simply impossible for Britain to fulfil its promise to India unless and until the States are also included in a joint Federation :—this is for the simple reason that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Defence and Foreign Affairs are included in Dominion Status. States will not agree, and there are no grounds ethical or political why they should agree, to the Nehru scheme of political subordination to a self-governing British Indian government. The only other solution is a Federation between the Provinces and the States.

The Government of India Act as it has finally emerged contains a dozen coincidences with the scheme adumbrated by me, but it does *not* give control in India to Defence and Foreign Affairs, and so the main argument for federation is not there. Politically a responsible and unitary British Indian government without Defence and Foreign Affairs would be only, as had been pointed out, a magnified form of local self goverment, and could not lead at any time to Dominion Status. Those who advocate it apparently do so either from want of a proper appreciation of the political facts which enter the situation or in the hope that after gaining an inch, they could take an ell.

I am not concerned with 'practical politics' of this nature; and I do not wish to weary your readers with the proposals for giving control in India to Paramountcy, Defence and Foreign Affairs—arguments which, I heard at the time, had the general approval of the Government of India also.

It is necessary, however, to say a word more about a question which is very pertinent today, viz. the question of the grant of responsible government in the States as a preliminary to their entering the Federation.

If the framers of the Government of India scheme had borne in mind 'the bearings' as they existed at the time, the subsequent exaltation of their status which has made federation with the States more difficult would not have occured.

Your review of Mr. Varadarajan's book has invited attention to one important difference to which reference had been made by me also in more than one contribution. Under the old scheme the Governor-General *in Council*, which included Indian members, acted as Agent of the Crown, in the case of the States. Sir C. P. Ramaswamy thus at one time was a part of the 'Paramountcy' over the State of Travancore. Now it is only the Governor-General who is the Agent. This was a vital change to which attention should have been invited by friends of India. In my humble scheme this difficulty had been foreseen, and the Agent of the Crown would have been the Viceroy advised by Privy Councillors appointed by the king; these Councillors would necessarily have included representatives of the Princes for Paramountcy, and their representatives as also of the Provinces for Defence and Foreign Affairs. Such a scheme, the experts had told me, was quite feasible. That ground is now lost; and until the Act is changed, the Governor-General would be the sole Agent.

There is, nevertheless, scarcely any difficulty concerning the entry of the States, provided the Crown representatives and the Dewans both advocate it and advise the Princes. The difficulties which some administrators have been raising are easily answered, if attention is directed to *actual facts*.

Paramountcy and treaty obligations are awe-inspiring phrases; but on analysis, the difficulties involved in those terms tend to disappear. What do the terms amount to? Good government, payment of tribute, if any, no entry into Foreign affairs except through the Agent of the Crown, and stipulated help if any for Defence against foreign foes on the part of the Ruler of the State, and interference by the Agent in cases of grave misrule, and military help by the agent when necessary against foreign foes and serious civil disorder: these are the main features of all treaties.

As a matter of fact, the Crown has tolerated government which is not good, *i.e.*, so far as the people's interests are concerned, to an extent that is impossible or scarcely possible under any form of popular government. The people of none of the States and not even the National Congress are likely to object to the reservation of powers in the Ruler and in the Crown whenever popular rule breaks down or is in danger of breaking down in any of these matters.

The difficulties are thus of the nature of a mare's nest; and it is hoped that serious thinkers, well-intentioned Princes and friends of India's progress will refrain hereafter from creating difficulties which do not exist or are so easily remediable.

CHINA'S INDUSTRIES IN SZECHUAN.

(By Walter B. Foley)

By November 1, 1938, more than 63,400 tons of machinery and office appliances representing 387 industrial plants in coastal and Central China had been removed into the Southwest areas where, under the direction and co-operation of the Central Government, a monster reconstruction programme was being carried out, according to a report by the Minister of Economics, Dr. Wong Wen-hao, a graduate of Louvre University, Belgium.

Of that total, over 31,600 tons or nearly one-half were connected with the transfer of the cotton mills. Mining ranked second with 8,600 tons. Other industries, according to their tonnage, were: Machine and metal shops, 8,000 tons; glass and pottery works, 3,400 tons; electric and radio plants, 3,200 tons; food factories, 3,100 tons; printing plants, 2,800 tons; chemical work, 2,200 tons. Aside from those mainly private enterprises, the Government has also shifted in the interior many arsenals, from iron and steel foundries, chemical factories, airplane assembling plants and other wartime industries whose total value ran into billions of dollars. The transfer of the furnaces of one iron works alone saved plant worth $ 1,00,00,000.

Szechuan with its innumerable natural resources leads all other interior provinces in accommodating these "refugee" industries. Over 50 per cent of the industrial plants have been already installed in this largest and richest province of China. Shensi Province in the Northwest, for years known as an industrial centre of great potentialities for China, holds the second place with close to 10,000 tons of factories removed. Hunan comes a close third with about 8,000 tons of machines imported; while Kwangsi, the gateway to the Southwest, represents 2,500 tons in the grand total. The distant province of Yunnan close to French Indo-China, where a number of large-scale government and private projects are being started and the rugged but little-developed Kweichow province take up the balance of the total tonnage in this vast industrial westward movement.

As early as July, 1937, when Japan first invaded North China, the Government had already taken a keen interest in evacuating important factories from the coastal provinces. The Shanghai Factory Removal Supervision Committee was then organized by the order of the Executive Yuan. In April, 1938, it was renamed The Mining and Industrial Readjustment Commission of the Ministry of Economics, and has henceforth been playing a very important role in rescuing Chinese factories from Japanese destruction. In the period between the fall of Shanghai in November, 1937, and January, 1938, the Commission helped to ship more than 4,000 tons of machines re-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

representing over forty factories in the coastal cities to go through Hankow. The total number of industrial plants removed from Shanghai thus far is registered at 150, while that from Hankow is given at 140. It was through the efforts of the Commission that most of the industrial plants had been shifted to the safer places in the farther inland prior to the withdrawal of the Chinese forces from the Wuhan cities.

Besides assisting the factory owners in transportation and negotiations for new sites, the Commission further subsidizes them with $32 for the removal of each ton of industrial property from the danger zones to the interior. The Commission has already lent $1,500,000 to the industrialists for consolidating their capital while another $3,500,000 have been advanced for their orders of raw materials and machines for the next year's operations. All those industries that have already moved to their destinations, are being pressed by the Commission, with its new headquarters in Chungking, the wartime capital of China, to resume operations within specified time limits.

Meanwhile, the Government is not neglecting the industries already existing in those interior provinces. Credits to the extent of over $6,000,000 have also been given to the Hunan Zinc Manufacturing Company, the Chungking Cement and Electric Works, the Kiating Paper Factory, the sugar refineries and alcohol manufacturing plants in Kwangsi Province, and others. In addition to aiding the private or semi-government enterprises, the Commission is further playing an important rôle in encouraging mine owners to exploit more rich deposits in the Southwest. In many cases, the Government is taking the initiative in excavating these potential mines, one of the most outstanding examples being the exploiting of gold mines in China's westernmost province of Sikong by the Ministry of Economics, the Natural Resources Commission and the Sikong Provincial Reconstruction Commission.

CHUNGKING—CHINA'S WARTIME CAPITAL.

Since the removal of the Chinese National Government from Nanking to Chungking in November, 1937, this key town to south-western China has jumped into the limelight of world's attention as China's wartime capital. For this "mountain city," built on the precipitous cliffs by which the Kialin River joins its mighty parent, the Yangtze, at Chungking's doorstep, has become the nation's commercial, industrial, cultural, and financial centre. And there is evidence everywhere that the city will retain its present importance and prosperity even when the Government moves back to Nanking after the war is over.

Chungking, though formerly little known to the outside world, is in fact an old town of conisderable importance and historic interests. It boasts a history of more than 4,200 years. It is well known in Chinese history as the birth place of the Imperial Consort of Emperor Yu who reigned over the Empire of Cathay in the 22nd century B. C. A temple now crowns the peak of Tu Shan, on the south bank of the Yangtze River, in honour of this famous Emperor and his queen. When Emperor Yen, the second Emperor of the Chow Dynasty, 1121-316 B. C., became the supreme ruler of China, he made a member of his family the Viscount of Pahtzekuo, ruler over the territory now called Chungking and its nearby towns. It was proclaimed a kingdom at about 340 B. C., and became a minor power in the upper Yangtze. One hundred years later, when the Shih Huang Ti of the Tsin Dynasty conquered and unified China in 220 B. C., Pahtzekuo became a county of his Empire. Since then Chungking had lost its independent character except for two abortive insurgent attempts to establish this "mountain city" as a separate country, once in 1367-1368 at the end of the Yuan dynasty by the insurgent General Min Yu-chen, and again in 1645-1651 at the end of the Ming Dynasty by the bandit leader Chang Hsien-chung.

The city was opened as a treaty port in accordance with Sino-British Treaty of Chefoo in 1876, and the Treaty of Peking in 1890. The Sino-Japanese Treaty of Shimenoseki, the peace treaty ending the first Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895, gave Japan the right to establish a concession in this city, and the settlement was duly established in 1901 at the South Bank. When the present hostilities began, however, the Japanese Concession in Chungking was taken over by the Chinese authorities.

Chungking was created a municipality in 1928 by the Szechuan Provincial Government in view of its importance as the key town to southwestern China. Since then the city has grown by leaps and bounds as a modern metropolis. In November, 1937, the National Government moved from Nanking to this mountain city, and Chungking began to find her rightful place among the country's leading cities.

The Municipality of Chungking, with a territory of 93.50 square kilometers, has a population of about 550,000 at present, compared with a pre-war figure of a little more 200,000. It comprises the Chungking city, the North Bank across Kialin River which flows into the Yangtze River at Chungking, and the South Bank, across the Yangtze. It is known as a misty country as fog and mist are common throughout the year. Summer weather in this town is warm and pleasant. And the green hills and rivers close by make Chungking a place of of considerable scenic beauty.

The city could be reached from Shanghai, before the close of the Yangtze by the Japanese, by steaming upriver for more than 2,000 kilometers by boat, with stops at Nanking, Kiukiang, Hankow and other Yangtze towns. Further up river, Kiating, leading town in western Szechuan by the bank of Yangtse, 500 kilometers to Chungking's west, can be reached by steamer in summer, and Chinese junk in winter. With the Yangtze and Kialin Rivers at its disposal, and more than 70 steamships of different sizes, about two thirds of them flying the Chinese flag, calling regularly at its wharves and about 5,000 junks, Chungking's place in river communication is self-explanatory. The Min Son Industrial Company, the $10,000,000 upper Yangtze shipping concern with headquarters, in the "mountain city," has been playing a very important part in the navigation of southwestern China's waterways, especially in the present crisis.

For overland traffic, Chungking is the centre of eastern Szechuan's highway system. Besides a number of local highways connecting the city with its nearby towns, it is connected with Chengtu, provincial capital of Szechuan on the scenic Chengtu plain, by the 350 kilometer Chengtu-Chungking Metre-road. It is also linked with Kweiyang, capital of Kweichow Province, by the 450 kilometer Szechuan-Kweichow metre road, an engineering master-piece which took several 5,000 ft mountain peaks in its stride. An extension of the highway runs through to French Indo-China, a territory that will also be linked by rail with Chungking when the line to Kunming in Yunan Province is completed. Besides, the Chengtu-Chungking Railway is now under construction with the view of connecting the two important Szechuan cities by rail.

Furthermore, Chungking is now one of the main centres of China's air communications, from which

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

business men can fly to America within five days and to London within a week, with a choice of two lines—Imperial Airways or Air-France, for the latter route. The China National Aviation Corporation, established jointly by the Chinese Government and Pan-American Airways has had its headquarters here since the war broke out. The Eurasia Aviation Company, a joint concern established by the Chinese Government and the German Lufthanza Company, also maintains a station in this city. Air services to Hongkong, Chengtu, Kunming, Ichang, important commercial centres in western Hupeh, and Kiating, trading town of upper Yangtze, all have their terminations in Chungking. And Hanoi, in French Indo-China, Sian, capital of Shensi Province, and Lanchew, capital of Kansu Province, can also be reached by air from this city. Traffic on the city's aerodrome, with facilities for the landing of both land and amphibian planes, has been increasingly heavy since the city became China's wartime capital.

Culturally, Chungking, since the beginning, has been eastern Szechuan's centre of education and learning. With the arrival of the National Government, many universities, libraries, and other institutions of learning have been added to this city, together with the great migration of the brains, beauty and wealth of China from the war areas. Shapingpah, Chungking's beautiful suburb, 15 kilometers from the city, has become an educational town. The National Central University, formerly in Nanking, the Chungking University, Nankai Middle School formerly in Tientsin, the National Technical School, the Szechuan Girls Vocational School, the Szechuan Provincial College of Education, the National Pharmaceutical College formerly in Nanking, are all established in and around that former village. The Futan University of Shanghai finds itself in a small riverside town 50 kilometers to the north of Chungking. In all, Chungking has now ten universities and colleges, nine vocational schools, thirty-five middle schools, and about one hundred elementary schools. Of these, except the elementary schools, about half came from the various educational centres now under Japanese domination like Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin, and Hankow.

The "mountain city's" place as a commercial and industrial centre was well known long before the present elevation of its political status. As the gate to the south western provinces of Szechuant, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikong, import and export trades of these provinces, in most cases, had to pass through Chungking for shipping to the outside world. And now, with Shanghai and Hongkong under Japanese military occupation, Chungking has become China's export centre. The province's leading products like tung oil, hide, silk, gold, bristles, and other mineral and agricultural products are in most cases exported from Chungking by the overland route to the outside world. The city now has 21 modern banks, including the Central Bank, the Bank of China, the Bank of Communications and the Farmers' Bank of China, and 36 Chinese native banks to help finance the various new industrial and commercial enterprises.

Industrially, Chungking is now progressing in long strides. Its suburbs, especially those on the North Bank, the South Bank, and Tzechihkow, 15 kilometers to the northwest of Chungking city, are rapidly becoming pleasant havens for Chinese factories. They are provided with easy river transportation and a cheap coal supply, and new factories have sprung up like mushrooms in these places. They include iron and steel works, cement, brush, soap, spinning and weaving, and many, other factories. Water works, power plants, and the telephone exchange have also been modernized to meet the demand of the rising population after Chungking had become the nation's wartime capital. Chungking can even boast of air conditioned theatres.

These developments and improvements are not of temporary nature. Fundamentally they are not wartime measures, being the natural progress in step with China's reconstruction since the end of 1938. The schools, factories, bank, commercial concerns and other cultural, financial, industrial and business enterprises will stay in this, intrinsically richest of all China's provinces, even when the Government moves back to Nanking. In Chungking and its mighty hinterland the industrialists and business men of north, south and east China have discovered an almost untapped gold mine of gilt-edged resources.

INDIANS IN BRITISH GERMANY.

MR. TYSON'S RADIO ADDRESS.

I turn to three topics that are of interest mainly to East Indians listeners. In my remarks over the wireless the Sunday after I arrived in the Colony I said that the East Indian had in British Guiana "equal political rights with other elements of the population." That remark seems to have been misunderstood in some quarters. I was dealing with the constitutional position and I pointed out that, while the Government and people of India inevitably took a lively interest in the welfare of of Indians overseas, it was to the Colonial administration rather than to India that the East Indian citizens of this Colony must ultimately look for relief, aa they enjoyed equal political rights with other elements of the population. By that I did not mean that all was well with the East Indians here or that in every walk of life they actually enjoyed complete equality, social and economic, with every other element of the population. Had that been the case, the Government of India would not have sent me or my predecessors Messrs. McNeill and Chimanlal, Messrs. Tivary and Keatinge, and Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh to examine and report upon the conditions of East Indians in this Colony. What I had in mind, of course, was the statutory position of East Indians, in this Colony and elsewhere in the West Indies, as compared with their position in some other parts of the British Commonwealth where Indians do not enjoy statutory equality,—where indeed almost the first steps taken when the Colonies were given "responsible government" were to deprive Indians of the Parliamentary and even of the Municipal franchise. There is no such statutory discrimination here. The intention of His Majesty's Government, as I understand it, has always been that there should be no discrimination against East Indians, statutory or otherwise. That is not to say that all matters at present stand in the Colony, you enjoy equal opportunities and facilities in every walk of life. Clearly you do not. But there is no statutory bar to your doing so; it is rather a matter of lack of opportunity; and it is with a view to helping you to attain a position in which you will have equal opportunity to co-operate with other elements in the Colony for the welfare and progress of the Colony that I and my predecessors have been sent from India. I mention this as a "point of personal explanation" though I do not think that many people were in any real doubt as to what I meant.

I turn now to a matter of greater importance, namely, repatriation.

* Broadcast address by Mr. J. E. Tyson in British Guiana.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

There are, I am told, upwards of twenty thousand persons in this Colony who are entitled to a passage to India partly or wholly at the charge of the Colonial Government. It is the right of these persons to be repatriated, and the Colony has both a legal and a moral liability to repatriate them if they press their claim. From time to time during my stay here I have been approached, by persons who wish to claim this right, with the request that I should take up their case with the Department concerned with repatriation. There is evidently after all these years, an element, still among the older generation, that desires to return to India. I have every sympathy with that desire. Times are hard in the Colony at present and with advancing years those who are finding work difficult to obtain or beyond their powers to perform naturally find their minds turning to the Motherland which they left, perhaps, in the heyday of youth. As I have said already, I fully sympathize with the desire they feel in the evening of life to "go home." But as, after a few years in India one forgets the cold and the fog and the snow and the mud of England or Scotland, so after twenty or thirty years in British Guiana these people have forgotten the heat and the dust and the poverty and, to those who are outside it, the narrowness of Indian village life,—restrictions of caste, restrictions of custom, restrictions of outlook. They have the right to go back to India and the Colony which has profited by their services during the best years of their life, has an obligation to send them back. But times have changed and conditions have changed, and it is open to very serious question whether repatriation nowadays would really confer any benefit on many of those who have a right to claim it. The right to repatriation was introduced as a clause in the labourer's contract to strengthen his position as against those who brought him here, the general idea being, I imagine, that the right would normally be exercised, if at all, within a measurable time after expiry of the ten years which the labourer was compelled to spend in the Colony. It is now well over twenty years since the last batch of labourers was brought to this Colony and a man or woman who has been twenty years or more outside the circle of the family and the village in India, does not readily settle down to village life on return there. A few who have saved a little money have and who have sufficient shrewdness to retain that money and utilize it profitably in different surroundings mey "make good" on their return to India. Others again may have kept in touch with their relations in the home land and may be assured of a welcome on their return. Bnt most of those who can claim assistance towards their passage to India are hopelessly out of touch, by this time, with the realities of Indian village life and are doomed, if they return to India, to add to the number of destitutes and "down-and-outs" who hang round the sea ports and beg to be sent back to Africa, or Trinidad or British Guiana or some other Colony. It is generally those who are "down on their luck" here who want to go back and it is just those people who are least able to make good at the other end. The demand for repatriation naturally increases when times are bad in the Colony and conversely any improvement in the lot of the East Indian population here tends to reduce the number seeking repatriation to India, Therein lies the best remedy for a difficult situation, and any amelioration in the general position in the Colony that may result from the visit of the Royal Commission or from any other cause will help to reduce the number of those who seek escape by the method of repatriation. A reasonable measure of prosperity for them here is from every point of view—the immigrant's, the Colony's and India's—preferable to the repatriation of people who, on arrival in India, are destined to become a misery to themselves and a reproach to British Guiana and India alike. The best service that men of influence in this Colony can render to these people—and I would appeal particularly in this matter to East Indians of influence—is to dissuade the very poor from claiming their right of repatriation, especially if we can offer them, for example by land settlement schemes—whether offered in lieu of a return passage or otherwise—some prospect of better conditions as an incentive to remain here.

There is one other subject upon which I should like to touch before I finish. I have been struck since I came here by the extent to which the mother tongues of Northern India, Hindi and Urdu, have been lost by the rising generation and, on the other side, by the strength of the feeling that favours their maintenance or their revival. Many causes have contributed this feeling—not least I am told the local radio and cinematographs which show films produced in India and depicting characters who speak in Hindustani and stir the audience with memories of the great epics of Indian history and mythology. The request is constantly made for increased facilities for children to learn the languages of Northern India in the schools of British Guiana. I have every sympathy with the desire to keep alive the cultural and religious links with the Motherland, and the improvement of the teaching of Indian languages in schools where East Indians are numerous, is a matter that has been engaging the anxious attention of the community's leaders here. We hope to secure that improvement but, if we are really serious (as I am sure we are) about the object in view, I must say that I doubt very much whether any amount of school teaching that can be given will *of itself* attain the object at which we aim. To East Indians who are parents or grandparents I would say,—if you want to keep alive among your young folk the languages and traditions of India, you must speak Hindi or Urdu in your homes. The children will speak English in the schools and among their friends and English is the language which they will mostly employ in their daily life in this Colony when they come of age. With the best teaching in the world they will only learn Hindi and Urdu as dead languages unless they are constantly made to hear them and speak them out of school hours. If you wish your children to acquire or retain sufficiency of your Mother tongue to be of any real use to them, you must make it the medium of conversation in the home.

GERMANY TO GO "DRY"?

The Berlin Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—

Herr Hitler has decided that the time is ripe to take the first measures towards the fulfilment of one of his greatest dreams : to make Germany "dry".

All manufacturers of cognac-liquors and other highly alcoholic spirits have been ordered to cease production. They may sell out their present stock, and shops and inns also may dispose of [illegible] supplies, but must not renew them. Even the manufacture of liquor-filled chocolates is forbidden.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Party officials will watch keenly and report the people's reaction.

If this is not too violent, then beer, the German citizen's favourite drink, will also be banned. In its place will be substituted a sort of "near beer", like that used during the war, light and practically non-alcoholic.

Hitler himself, a fervent teetotaller, has already forced most of his party chiefs to renounce alcohol at least in public.

For years he was afraid to attempt to introduce prohibition, fearing that, while the German citizen would tolerate shortages of butter, meat, coffee, eggs, fruit etc., he might revolt if his beer were limited.

Now Hitler feels himself strong enough to risk even this revolutionary measure—tentatively at first, but with the intention of making Germany completely 'dry' eventually, if possible.

GERMANY UNDER SCHACHT.*

The very noticeable increase in international tension and in the nervousness of world markets during the past week is a convincing tribute—through perhaps a grudging one—to the respect in which Dr. Schacht's competence and ability were universally held. General Franco's approach to Barcelona and its strategic consequences now at last realised in quarters hitherto obstinately blind—have played a part in the creation of anxiety. But a victory for the Spanish rebels has so for long seemed an ultimate, even if not an immediate, probability that its effects ought by now to have been discounted. Dr. Schacht's dismissal from the presidency of the Reichsbank, on the other hand, was unexpected. In any circumstances it would have been unwelcome news. But in the exact context of the present it is a disturbing proof that the last links that bind Nazi Germany to commonsense and moderation are being snapped. Just as 1938 opened with the departure of the "moderate" Generals and the replacement of Baron von Neurath by Herr von Ribbentrop, with what consequences we all know, so 1939 begins with Dr. Schacht's dismissal and still further steps to subordinate the Army to the Party. The parallel is not comforting.

That Dr. Schacht should have retained, in such degree, the respect, if not the admiration, of foreign bankers and statesmen is in itself a remarkable achievement. Admittedly, he stored up for himself a substantial reserve of confidence in the years when he was putting Germany's finances to rights after the havoc of the inflation. But his differences with the republican Government over the Young Plan had far more politics in them than is usually permitted to bankers. Moreover, since 1933, Dr. Schacht has been a mainstay of the Nazi regime. It is he who has driven such hard bargains with the standstill creditors. It is he who has pushed Germany's default on her foreign debts (many of them borrowed on the security of his own earlier policies) up to the very verge of commercial retaliation. It is he who has been the chief technician of the Nazi trading methods, whose ingenuity is admired in foreign countries as much as their immorality is reprobated. It is he who has been the financier-in-chief of that German re-armament which now threatens the lives of us all and weighs like an impenetrable cloud on all business enterprise. A man with achievements such as these is not a man who, in general, could expect to be liked in foreign countries. Bue whatever Dr. Schacht has done, it has always been clear that the real Nazis had they been in his place, would have done worse. And so his going is a signal for despondency.

Dr. Schacht has himself described his policy as "elasticity in method and persistence in fundamentals." It is an apt characterisation. For a man who scored his first great success by insistence on the full rigour of the rules of orthodoxy, he has shown a very remarkable power of mental adaptation. There is dispute over the precise share he had in evolving the plan for stabilising the mark in 1923. But there can be little doubt that it was his forceful personality that created the necessary conditions of confidence in the new currency and his rigid insistence on the virtues of economy and orthodoxy that prevented a relapse once the immediate danger was past. In the years from 1923 to 1929 there was no leading banker in the world who more fervently preached balanced budgets, adherence to the gold standard, the removal of restrictions on the free movement of capital and the rest of the elements of the orthodox faith.

This past of rigid orthodoxy did not prevent him when he returned to the Reichsbank In 1933 from pursuing *à outrance* precisely the opposite policies. The Reichsmark is still on the gold standard only in the most emptily formal sense, while there is an ever extending range of special marks by using which the German exporter is given the advantages of depreciation at the expense of the "blocked" creditor or the persecuted Jew. The Budget is as fully unbalanced as a budget can be. And the free, liberal capitalistic economy has disappeared beneath the structure of Nazi controls. State spending and State control have gone much further than Dr. Schacht originally intended or now approves, and he has never tired of proclaiming his hope that Germany may some day return to her place in an integrated world economy. But the fact remains that Dr. Schacht has played the leading role in the actual development of Nazi economic policy. What is more, judged by the results to date, it has been a remarkably sucessful policy.

If the story stopped at this point, with Schacht the High Priest of orthodoxy converted into Schacht the Witch Doctor of expansionism, he could be put down as no more than a very able technician who changed his views as he turned his coat; he would find his place in history alongside the Vicar of Bray. But his dismissal last week shows that there is more than mere time-serving in Dr. Schacht. Behind his elasticity of method there is a persistence in fundamentals. The fundamental fact for him, indeed for all of us, is that finance is no more than clothing for the stark limbs of economic reality. In 1923 he proclaimed that what is not economically possible cannot be accomplished by any monetary magic. In 1933 it was the other facet of the truth which needed emphasis: that if a thing is economically possible, financial means for carrying it out can be found. In that sign Herr Hitler has conquered. But for a year or more Dr. Schacht has been pointing out with growing insistence, that conditions have returned to 1923 and that to pursue any further the financial policies that served their purpose five years ago is to set the financial machine a task it cannot possibly solve.

We do not know the exact occasion of Dr. Schacht's dismissal or why affairs came to a head on January 19th. But the main substance of his disagreement with the Party authorities is clear. He has offered to Herr Hitler the advice that finance cannot obscure or override economic facts. And the advice has been distasteful, as it always has been, and always will be, to heads of spending governments.

---

* *The Economist*, January 28, 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book, will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(Established-December, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

Head Office:—Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, Kt., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

London Agents:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

New York Agents:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

Paris Agents:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

Berlin Agents:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon („ „).
Satara (District Thana).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kaloi „

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Agents.

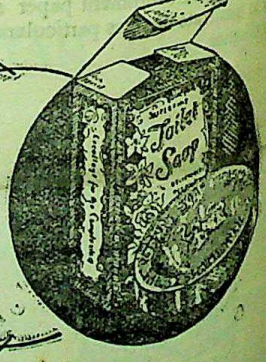
Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay.

2-26



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 15, 1939. No. 33

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

After Albania.
Delhi Meeting on South Africa.
Dr. Hjalmar Schacht.
Nazi Propaganda not Wanted.
Burma Gets Independence.
Labour Law Member on Strikes.
Dr. Deshmukh's Bill.
Opium and Prohibition.
Science and Politics.
Bribing, Coercion or Conversion?
Games and Politics.
Relief of Agricultural Debt.
Prohibition in the North West Frontier Province.
Labour Problems in the Philippines.
An Incomplete Message to the World.
Indian Leaders and Politics.
Temperance in Mysore.
No Prohibition in Bhopal.

NOTES.

After Albania:— On Good Friday, Italy marched against Albania and took over the little Kingdom after a brief resistance. A day previous to this Mr. Chamberlain had expressed the official British view that Britain had no special interests in Albania. Signor Mussolini has all along been conceded by the Western Powers a special sphere of influence in Albania. The reason for his sudden action is rather obscure. "The minority situation in Poland and Italy today," wrote Mr. Arnold J. Toynbee in *Foreign Affairs*, "is not unlike that in Czechoslovakia before September. In each country there is both a German and one or more non-German minorities of a nationality which Germany might choose to make common cause with her *i. e.*, the Yugoslavs in Italy and the Ukrainians in Poland." Poland had proved after the Anglo-Polish pact a difficult proposition for Germany to handle. In view of the consultations that took place between Italian and German leaders, it is highly probable that the Italian move in Albania was conceived as a reply to the attempts at forming an anti-Fascist front. By this Yugoslavia is reduced to impotence and the turbulent minority of Macedonians in Yugoslavia and in Greece might well prove uncontrollable. Italy with her control over the Adriatic Sea now becomes a valued partner of the Axis. An attempt has been made to rouse Muslim feeling against Signor Mussolini for his aggression on a State which was two-thirds Muslim. The British press points out that Signor Mussolini can no longer expect to be recognised as the Champion of Islam. Seeing, however, that no Muslim took the Duce's title to leadership of Muslims seriously at the time he first made it, this is no more than a debating point. The Sultans of Arabia are not likely to be rushed into a war on such arguments and, if they do side with either Fascist or Imperialist, they will be more careful this time in the promises they obtain and the measures they take to ensure fulfilment. Profiting by the troubles in neighbouring territories, Bulgaria, it is reported, is pressing for concessions from Roumania. The projected formation of a neutral block of Balkan States is not reassuring; in the event of war, neutrality; in South-East Europe must be futile. The presentation of German demands to Poland relating to the "Corridor" Danzig and certain territories claimed by the Reich, add to the threats to European peace. News comes through on Friday morning of the announcements of Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons in Britain and of M. Daladier in the French-Chamber of an anti-aggression pact concluded with Greece and Roumania. The Roumanian guarantee, it is said, was the result of French insistence. The omission of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia and the restriction of the Anglo-French guarantee to assist Greece or Roumania in opposing aggression, indicate the next step of the Axis powers. Negotiations are on hand with Turkey and Soviet Russia.

Delhi Meeting on South Africa:—Swami Bhavani Dayal, President of the Natal Indian Congress, came to India last month in order to impress on the public and the Government of India the serious consequences which will ensue if the proposal to impose by law a policy of Segregation of Indians in South Africa is carried out; and to get them to exert all their influence to avert the contingency. He spent a few days in Bombay, met the members of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association whose representation to Government on the subject was widely published in the Press. The Swami went to Delhi and he had no difficulty in enlisting the sympathy and support of all parties in the Legislature and of the Government of India. The proposal is a flagrant violation of the principal term of the Cape Town Agreement and of the Settlement with Gandhiji in 1914. We can not think that the Hertzog Government seriously intend to put it on the statute book. There is very great pressure on them to do so by a section of the White population which has adopted Nazi ideology. In passing, we hope that this section will note that Dr. Schacht is now in India and that, in his first interview, he reminded the people of this country of the long-standing appreciation by Germany of India's culture and civilization. Swami Bhavani Dayal's leadership has been marked by a spirit of conci-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

liation and he has been successful in enlisting the sympathy and support of fair-minded Afrikanders to the Indian cause. But he is out of touch with the distracting elements in our public life here today and this led to an unpleasant incident at the public meeting convened at Delhi on Sunday last, which, we are afraid, might have serious consequences in directing the Indian attitude to Indians overseas on political and communal lines. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was in the chair. She knows the South African Indian problem from A to Z and, while being one of the Congress High Command, she is persona grata also with the Government of India. She enjoys besides the confidence of the Mahomedan community to a larger extent than any other Hindu. The occasion was a non-party one and she invited as a matter of course Sir Syed Raza Ali, lately Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, to move the principal resolution. His appearance at the table was the signal for an uproar. The Arya Samajists in the audience—Swami Bhavani Dayal is himself an Arya,—shouted at him and would not allow him to speak, because, forsooth, he made a speech a few days ago in which he condemned the Arya Samaj Satyagraha in Hyderabad State. Sir Raza Ali in an interview to the Press has exaggerated this unfortunate incident into another communal issue, as if we have not enough of them already. This should be a warning to delegations from Overseas coming to India. They are naturally anxious to get their grievances redressed and they are impatient of advice which does not breath blood and thunder. But in the long run they are doing harm to their own cause by identifying themselves with our political and communal quarrels. Not only that but they are making the position of those who seek to advance the interests of Indian Overseas in less sensational ways, extremely difficult.

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht:—In the ordinary course we should not have felt called upon to notice the arrival on Monday in Bombay of Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, for over sixteen years President of the Reichsbank, on an unofficial visit to India. But the hysterical outburst in the *Bombay Chronicle* on Tuesday, obliges us, for the good name of Indian journalism, to refer to the career of this remarkable man whose genius saved his country from complete economic collapse at the hour of her direst peril. The magnitude of the problem which confronted him when he was charged with the responsibility of redeeming the Mark from the abysmal depths to which it had sunk, is thus described by George Glasgow in his introduction to the English edition of Dr. Schacht's great book "The End of Reparations." Mr. Glasgow writes:

> . . It was the historic German financial collapse of 1923 that first brought Dr. Schacht into prominence. The problem was that the mark had totally cut itself adrift from realistic values. The exact figures are meaningless. The par exchange with sterling being twenty to the pound, the mark did actually [illegible] 150,000,000,000 to the pound, a figure which [illegible] does not convey any recognizable meaning to [illegible] mind.....Dr. Schacht at once established in Berlin [illegible] gold Bank which was to be the basis of his [illegible] That plan he prosecuted steadily, unremittingly, [illegible] as it were with eyes shut and his teeth clenched [illegible] succeeded. He reformed the Reichsbank, held Germany [illegible] on the very edge of the precipice, and pulled her back. It was a thrilling achievement.

Whatever one may think of [illegible] politics, one can not but hold in [illegible] admiration a man who has such [illegible] magnificent achievement to his credit. Dr. Schacht was appointed President of the Reichsbank ten years before Herr Hitler came to power. The fact that he was retained in office under the Nazi regime shows that he was recognised as the one man who could guide the financial affairs of his country. He was relieved of his job a few months ago and he has come to India without any official position. To attack him not merely violently but with vulgar savagery on the ground solely of his nationality, is [illegible] against the innate courtesy of Indian culture. The *Chronicle* writes:

> For, in all honesty, there is no Indian, with [illegible] that distinguish man from the animal, who can pretend to any sense of pleasure at the "honour" which Dr. Schacht has done us.

No one need feel pleasure but certainly [illegible] one is called upon to foam at the mouth at Dr. Schacht's choice of India for a holiday trip. Dr. Schacht has not claimed to have done a "honour" to India by coming here. The *Chronicle's* sentiments are not those of every Indian. There are hundreds and thousands in this country who do not share the *Chronicle's* blind antipathy to Nazis and Nazism. Among them are Sheth Govind Das, the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress, Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the Democratic Swaraj Party in the Indian legislature, and the Hon. Govind Vallabh Pant, Premier of the United Provinces, all of whom spoke in appreciative terms of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini, the first named going so far as to identify Gandhiji's position in relation to the Congress with that of the two leaders to their respective parties. We do not remember that the *Chronicle* raised its voice in protest against Sheth Govind Das's eulogy.

Nazi Propaganda not Wanted:—While we strongly deprecate unseemly attacks on the distinguished German visitor to our shores, we would at the same time and equally strongly deprecate attempts to carry on propaganda in favour of Nazism in this country. The demonstration in Bombay, with the object evidently of making Dr. Schacht the centre of a movement to propagate Nazi ideas, have been in extremely bad taste, to say the least. In view of the [illegible] minate relations between the British and German governments at the present moment, ostentatious exhibitions of Nazi prowess, however correct, are lacking in [illegible] decency. Dr. Schacht is here as a guest

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

while he is entitled to the traditional hospitality of India, his compatriots are expected not to make his position embarrassing by exploiting his presence to advance their party aims. We read somewhere that the aim of the demonstrations is to remove misconceptions about the Nazi regime. If Dr. Schacht would read the proceedings of the Nagpur Congress, he will see that there are not only no misconceptions but that there is a discriminating appreciation of the authoritarian principles and a desire to learn from them among the leaders of our largest political party. Perhaps, he has seen them in Europe and has been encouraged by them to visit this country. For another reason, too, there is no need to propagate Nazi ideas here. It will be carrying coals to Newcastle as some of the distinctive Nazi doctrines were anticipated centuries ago in this country. The Hindu conception of the function of the State as the protection of Dharma, is in clear contrast to the utilitarian basis of modern democracy, the greatest good of the greatest number, and may be said to bear an affinity to the totalitarian State. Protection of minorities is a very recent innovation in the West and it is still inadequately conceived and carried out. Equalitarianism has been discarded by the authoritarian States, Communists as well as Fascists and Nazis, as it was in Hindu polity ages ago. Race purity is another idea which the Nazis have, perhaps unknowingly, borrowed from Hindu sociology. The essential difference between Indian and Nazi ideology, is that, while in this country political and social theories were founded in a firm and stable metaphysical and religious basis, there seems to be no such foundation to regulate Nazi institutions. Religion in India was the dominating influence. Religious culture had permeated to the masses and the State was as much under its control as society. There was never a royal caste in India. The king was as much subject to his caste rules as the humblest manual worker. Dr. Schacht might learn something in India which the West has forgotten. He will do well to discourage the overzeal of his compatriots while he remains with us.

Philippines Independence :—Our valued contributor at Manila sends us the important radio talk to the Philippine nation given recently by President Quezon. There are many suggestive points in it which deserve the attention of Indian publicists in view of the general similarity of industrial and economic conditions in the Philippines and in India. The President recently issued a decree recommending that the restrictions on Asiatic immigration in the Philippines imposed under the laws of the United States, should be removed as the Filipinos are Asiatics themselves. The present transition arrangements should end in about seven years when the Philippines will become independent under the law passed by the American Congress. In view of what has happened to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel and now Albania, we wonder if the Philippines will be allowed to enjoy their independence for long. The Asiatic member of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio-Madrid axis is keen on finding outlets for her over-flowing population and the removal of the bar on Asiatic immigration will, no doubt, be largely availed of by the Japanese. In a few years, there will be a strong Japanese minority in the Islands and Japan might find that their interests can be protected only by making the Philippines part of the Japanese Empire. This is inevitable whether it happens immediately and forcibly or in course of time by peaceful penetration.

The Law Member on Dr. Deshmukh's Bill :—The speech of the Law Member of the Government of India on Dr. Deshmukh's Bill for securing Hindu women the right of divorce on certain conditions, was remarkable for its irrelevancy to the central idea of the measure. This and not the drafting of the Bill was the principal issue in the motion to refer it to the Select Committee. Sir Nripendra's main point was that, while the Bill gave the right of divorce to the Hindu wife, it did not provide a corresponding right to the husband. The husband can and often does marry a second wife and leaves the first one to her fate. He may give her a nominal maintenance but that is no compensation for a wrecked life. Even this, however, can not be secured without resort to courts, for which the discarded woman has neither the means nor the inclination. We do not deny that there are cases in which the Hindu husband's life is made miserable by a flighty wife and that, by not having the right to divorce, he is obliged to tolerate her or to make her live apart with a maintenance allowance. But this is a very small grievance compared to the plight of the discarded wife who cannot marry another man so long as the first husband is alive. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill was intended to redress an evil which cries aloud for redress and which cannot be redressed without legislation. He was, moreover, keeping close to the injunctions of the ancient texts which provide the right to wives only, for obvious reasons. There were many gaps in the Bill but there were other Bills awaiting consideration which deal with the matters left out in this Bill. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill has, as he rightly said, made the issue a live one and though the present Bill may not be passed, his efforts have brought the needed reform within sight. That itself is no mean service.

Bhopal and Prohibition :—We publish this week along with other Prohibition news, an item relating to the demand for Prohibition in Bhopal. The legislature threw out a resolution demanding the re-introduction of Prohibition on the ground that the State could not afford to sacrifice the revenue. This is the more unfortunate as the liquor revenue is only a recent income in Bhopal State. The last ruler, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, had enforced a policy of strict Prohibition in the State and for long Bhopal led India in this matter.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, April 15, 1939.

SCIENCE AND POLITICS.

Is Politics a Science? Or is it simply the art of managing men? Mr. Franklin Roosevelt when he was elected President of the United States for the first time, believed that it was a science and started with the purpose of infusing the scientific spirit into the government of the great Republic. He collected around himself a number of intellectuals, University professors, journalists and authors, who came to be known as his Brain Trust. One of them was Mr. R. G. Tugwell. The Brain Trust was soon dissolved as the President found that it hampered more than helped him in the day-to-day administration. Some of the Brain Trustees became the sternest opponents and severest critics of the administration. The great majority of the intelligentsia was against the re-election of Mr. Roosevelt for a second term. Most of the newspapers were opposed to him. But he was re-elected by a huge majority. Several explanations were advanced at the time for the landslide. The Press, it was said, had passed under capitalist control and had ceased to exercise influence on public opinion. The Radio had, it was explained, broken the power of the platform. Political meetings were sparsely attended as the candidates could command the whole country for audience through broadcasts. The international situation was another factor which was thought to have influenced the electorates. Mr. Tugwell in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly* for March leaves these reasons aside and deals quite objectively with the basic fact that politics are still largely outside the influence of scientific methods. His paper bears the heading "Notes on the Uses of Exactitude in Politics." Towards the end he refers briefly to the failure of the Brain Trust. He writes:

> Those who made up the "brain trust" might have felt themselves ill-used if they had been less well-read in recent political history.....They might have felt worse, also, if they had not been educators. Being teachers, for the most part, they knew how little education had prepared a citizenry to understand its crises or to sacrifice its prerogatives. They knew that the nation was schooled in orthodoxy and individualism; and they knew the penalty for dissent.

Mr. Tugwell notes as symbolic that of all the important spheres of modern life, it is in politics alone that great issues are relegated for decision to the ballot box. The dislike of precision in politics is not confined to the masses. It is strong even among people whose sense of exactitude is most highly developed in their own personal lives. These too are opposed to the application of exact methods to politics. "Men of precision in government," Mr. Tugwell remarks, "are called bureaucrats by those who do not like them." The bureaucrat, he goes on to say, is attacked by those who want to do what he is doing and make money at it. State competition with private enterprise is one of the shibboleths of the laissez faire economics which is exploited in his own interests by the capitalist. Bureaucrats are hated by those whose life they in the discharge of their duties are required to regulate, and by professional politicians "who act wholly on hunches and who hate precision because it limits them revealing the shortcomings of the hunch as a deliberate method."

It seems to us that if the exact and precise methods of science have not penetrated to politics as readily as to other spheres of human activity the reason must be sought elsewhere than in the inertia or perversity of human nature. This is especially necessary as men who have imbibed the scientific spirit, as Mr. Tugwell himself admits, resist the application of scientific methods to social and political problems. Is it not possible that there is some defect in Science and its methods which make it unsuitable and that if and when this defect is removed the difficulties in the way of their application to the social sphere may disappear? In Nazi Germany they have sought to direct social and political life with characteristic scientific thoroughness. In India we have made a fetish of heredity while the West has completely or nearly completely ignored its influence on political and social relations. In his "Heredity and Politics," J. B. S. Haldane points out that "in a society which was based on a knowledge of human biology it would be realized that large innate differences exist, and men could not be given tasks to which they were congenitally unsuited." He adds: "We must no more forget heredity when we are trying to improve environment than we must forget environment when trying to improve heredity." Germany is trying to rectify the mistake of western civilisation in totally ignoring heredity by drastic sterilisation laws. The basic ideas behind these laws are explained in an article in "Germany Speaks" which is the latest and most authoritative exposition of Nazi ideology. The Nazi regime, in fact, is founded on the doctrine of racial purity carried to an extreme which ancient Hindu lawgivers did not contemplate. Professor Haldane in his book points out the unfairness of sterilisation laws. "Sterilisation of all certified defectives," he observes, "would in our society be a class measure." The fault of both Enveironmentalists and Eugenists, is that they both regard human beings as animals leaving out the spiritual which is the most important part of our nature. Our politicians who are mostly imitators, "born followers" as some one has said, of the West have blindly adopted the conclusions of Western Science with its most glaring defects. Instead of seeking to improve upon our models we have—the most nationalist of us—made them our goal! In no sphere is this more pitifully evident than in the agitation to force the Parliamentary system on petty Indian States.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

FASTING, COERCION OR CONVERSION?

Writing immediately after his Rajkot fast, Gandhiji, who is sometimes aware of the possible repercussions of his policy, set down seven conditions for a satyagrahi. Judged by these tests we do not think anyone on earth can enter on satyagraha and obviously the Congress had to allow movements with very much weaker material. There are rules of chastity mingled with theistic principles and khadi and spinning and truth and non-violence. Lest anyone might escape these restrictions, Gandhiji added a last clause that these qualifications were only illustrative. The meaning is obvious: No one could be a satyagrahi, let alone start a fast, unless he had the prior sanction of Gandhiji. We think this is a very salutary restriction and Gandhiji has always made it clear that no one can ever expect to obtain his approval. If we could be persuaded that Gandhiji's fasts had a certain sanction behind them, apart from the man, which set them on a different footing to other men's fasts, we would be ready to accept the inevitable. But it has been difficult to find out what Gandhiji has thought he could achieve by his fasts which more patient methods and a greater understanding could not bring about. And judged by results the position is even worse. Gandhiji has laid the greatest stress on changing the hearts of his opponents rather than on coercing their actions. He wrote in a recent article:

> It is too often forgotten that it is never the intention of a Satyagrahi to embarrass the wrong-doer. The appeal is never to his fear; it is, it must be, to his heart. The Satyagrahi's object is to convert, not coerce, the wrong-doer.

Mr. Mahadev Desai who has often to rationalise the instinctive reactions of his leader, has come out in the *Harijan* with a defence of the fast which intensely sophisticated lacks conviction. Mr. Desai's entire thesis is astoundingly weak. One feels on reading his article that Mr. Desai had his own doubts of the soundness of Gandhiji's fast and had taken them to Gandhiji, that discussion having failed to carry conviction, loyalty and reverence for his leader had induced Mr. Desai to expound a case he did not understand. Replying to the contention that neither the Thakore Saheb nor the Viceroy were converted, he writes:

> .....that the Viceroy simply yielded to the exigencies of the hour. Quite likely. Full conversion may not always accompany an act of justice. It can only mean that more suffering was needed to bring about the conversion. Is it not enough that it is a fast and not a bomb or a revolver that, to put it at its worst, compelled an act of justice affecting the welfare of 75,000 people? You stand between your sister and a brute wanting to violate her honour or you impose starvation upon yourself. If the brute desists, but is not fully converted, is your act of self-immolation or starvation rendered futile or coercive thereby?

Mr. Mahadev Desai is one of the few politician writers of whom it cannot be said that he does not know the full implications of what he says. When he puts on paper a piece of writing which from any other pen might be dismissed as nonsense, we can but infer that he is deliberately confusing the issues. There are a number of questions which arise out of these words which Mr. Desai has not gone into. If "more suffering" was needed to bring about a change of heart and if the purpose of the fast was conversion not coercion, why was the fast abandoned at the time it was, when it was evident that no one's heart was changed? The reference to bomb and revolver is on a par with Mr. Chamberlain's defence of the Munich coercion of Czechoslovakia as satisfactory because it was achieved by "negotiation" and not by war. Only there is something ludicrous in applying it to the apostle of non-violence. Then again if the desired end was an act of justice to 75,000 badly treated people then what was wanted was not a fulfilment of a promise but what any other leader would have demanded, deposition of the ruler. A man who stands between "a brute" and his sister, we may assure Mr. Desai, would be a brute himself if his immediate object is not to save his sister's honour, but to convert the brute. For so much dispassionateness is not human. We admit that we are not well versed in the literature of civil disobedience but if Mr. Desai could tell us of any case in which a rape was staived off by the suicide or the hunger-strike of the victim's brother we would be surprised. If it has succeeded, we congratulate the unique interventionist not on converting the brute but on saving his sister's honour. That unless he were a freak would be his sole object and the only reason he desisted from the natural human reaction can be excused him.

Mr. Desai seems to argue that the fast was democratic in so far as he says that the welfare of 75,000 people was at stake. Yet this is what he expressly denies earlier in his article. He writes:

> The question of democratic principles does not arise when it is recognized that it was not to "wrest democratic government" out of unwilling hands that the fast was undertaken, but to seek fulfilment of a promise. Democracy cannot be endangered when the victim seeks redress through suffering even involving death. It is endangered when he employs force against the wrong-doer.

Mr. Desai cannot have it both ways. He cannot answer critics who protest against the undemocratic method of fasting by saying that it was meant to change the Thakore Saheb's heart; and then turn round and meet the argument that it has not changed his heart by urging that it has brought about the welfare of 75,000 people. The last two sentences seem to imply that a man who is prepared to die for a cause cannot endanger democracy. If Lord Linlithgow who has the cause of Federation at heart, declares "a fast unto death" tomorrow would it make the Federation more acceptable? If Mr. Jinnah decides to go on hunger-strike for the abandonment of Vande Mataram, will that make his object any more reasonable? If Sir Byramji Jeejeebhoy keeps off his food because he objects to Prohibition, will the sale of liquor against the wishes of the majority become a desirable thing? We are surprised that Mr. Desai who represents the Congress intelligentsia should think of democracy in terms not of the intelligent votes of his electorate but of superstition and emotionalism. Mr. Desai realises the absurdity of the position. Therefore in the last paragraph he throws the entire responsibility on God and to those who cannot agree with him he retorts with the charge that they are lacking in faith. Mr. Desai's argument boils down to this: No man will enter on a fast unless he knows that he is in the right; therefore the very fact of a man fasting must mean that he is the right. An argument which makes no distinction between belief and actuality. A more complete return to the trials by ordeal and other superstitions which have given way in educated minds to ration devices to enure justice cannot be found.

A valued friend writes from London, "I want to tell you how very much I appreciated the notes on the fast appearing in your issue of March 11. They almost exactly represent my own views. I cannot resist describing the method employed as a kind of spiritual blackmail. Even if the Thakore Saheb

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had been entirely right, it might have been impossible for him to have summoned up courge to appear responsible for Gandhiji's death, had he stood out to the end. It might have been even ludicrous had he too decided to resort to a fast. In that case, apart from any reference to a third party, the victory, if any, might have fallen to the more physically fit, irrespective of merits. Apart from this, I have no doubt that cases have occurred where bad people have fasted upon their opponent's doorstep." But the third party is never out of the calculation of Congress leaders. The respect Bishop Blougram was suspected of feeling for men of sense, Congress leaders have for the representative of British Imperialism as the ultimate wielder of power in India:

I pine among my million imbeciles
... aware some dozen men of sense
Eye me and know me, whether I believe
In the last winking Virgin as I vow,
And am a fool, or disbelieve in her,
And am a knave—approve in neither case,
Withold their voices though I look their way.

GAMES AND POLITICS.

The argument advanced by Mr. J. Chinna Dorai and supported by Mrs I. J. Pitt in this week's *Reformer*, is based on a misconception. India is advised by both these writers to try to win swaraj through sports. The reason for this, it is seriously argued, is that the British public can only be moved by prowess in games and that, to persuade the Government of Britain that India is fit for home rule, we must first persuade the British that we can play games. Mrs. Pitt goes even further. In the spirit of the famous admonition to seek first the Kingdom of Heaven "and all else will be added unto you," she points out how Indians will improve beyond recognition if they followed the advice. All this, we repeat, is entirely misconceived, and the error is due to three fallacies: The first is that Britain can only be persuaded to relax her grip once she holds to a thing. The second seems to be a vague feeling that the old heroes of Eton's playing-fields are still governing Britain. The third is the idea that, instead of the rest of the world being right in its attitude towards sport, Britain has the true gospel and will convert the world to her view.

We have seen in recent years the error of these beliefs. So long as Britain had to bargain and negotiate with other countries in which the aristocratic, leisured classes had control, she could successfully apply the principles her statesmen had picked up in their playful moods. But after the War the position changed. First Russia changed over from the old methods. Britain has never forgiven Russia and has refused, till recently, to play any games in which Russia is a party. Then Kemal Ataturk took up this revolution and Britain found it difficult to manage Turkey. Then Signor Mussolini who, so far as the public knows, never played any games. Last of all Herr Hitler who was prepared to play any game provided he made the rules and changed them to suit his convenience. And why not? After all games are made for men, not men for games. Herr Streseman was often reported to be playing golf with one statesman or another. He might have won at golf but in politics he never had a chance until death and the rise of Herr Hitler made him appear more acceptable to Anglo-French statesmen.

India too has her lesson from politics. The Liberals were not good at games but they were fond of sports. It never struck them to start a new game in which they could make a few rules. They lost heavily as a consequence not only in their games with Britain but even in India itself. When under the guidance of Gandhiji the Congress reversed the rules and, to use a homely phrase, made the ladders into snakes and the snakes into ladders, the British were dismayed. Now that with the advent of responsibility Congress leaders have retained some ladders as ladders and changed others into snakes, and have not told anyone which is which, they seem to have all the circumstances in their favour. Nowhere is this more true than in the case of the Indian States.

The Indian Princes are many of them good sports men. In fact if cricket teams were to be drawn from British Indian first-rank politicians and matched against a Princes team, the result would be a win for the latter. Yet British public sympathy lies with the Indian democrats. That was when Mr. A. G. Gardiner inferred from seeing the Jam Saheb at cricket that his State was happily administered. The Jam Saheb did not get much out of this appreciation, it is true, but there was a certain kindliness towards him which concentrated on his cricket and forgot his administration. In Rajkot today we are sure the Thakore Saheb has played many a game in his time while Gandhi only records one hand at a card game in which he took part. Yet the Government of India in looking into the Rajkot question has failed to take note of the runs or goals scored by the Thakore Saheb. The Gwyer decision has gone to Gandhiji.

If one wants to know why the importance of an individual to British statesmen today lies not in his "ability to play the game" but in his capacity to create trouble, one must seek it in the change that has taken place in the type of men who administer Britain. So long as British Labour was not seeking office, politicians in Britain rested easy on the confortable belief that each party must have its innings and that, if the Liberals batted today, the Conservatives would come in tomorrow. In this belief, the rules were maintained unchanged. But when Labour threatened to come in and there was a fear that they might alter the rules in their own favour, the old aristocracy had to turn to business for support. Business gradually assumed control first in the country, then over the Empire. Mr. Neville Chamberlain might have played cricket, golf or tennis in his youth. In fact, the public is aware in recent times of his having played musical chairs at Clivedene one week-end which proved politically disastrous. But the games have left little impress on him while his business life has left a deep mark on his personality. Politics has become a more serious concern today; no longer do the good-at-games imherit the earth.

If the one chance of winning home rule should be prowess in games, we do not know whether political dependence would not be better. Mrs. Pitt complains of the whining of Indian politicians. This is inevitable when one is faced with conditions which can be changed but not by oneself. Germany was very like India before Herr Hitler took charge. But today Britain is reduced to whining. Mr Chamberlain's speeches since Munich have been one continuous lament on the bad faith of those who will not do as they are told by him. The only way the whining can be eliminated is when power and courage combine in the hands of the "whiners." Mr. Chamberlain has the power but he fears to go out against an opponent who might be stronger than himself. Other British leaders have the courage but they have not the power. An unwilling or diffident David against a Goliath feels futile and impotent and not unnaturally whines. If Herr Hitler's aggression brings Britons to see the causes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of whining, the achievement would have been well worth all the agonies of recent months. As for proficiency in games bringing about a change of outlook in a man we would inform Mrs. Pitt, if she does not know it already, that an Indian cricketer of world-renown has recently, like some of his less sporting fellows, married a second wife in the lifetime of his first; that many of our clubs have introduced the habit of drinking alcoholic drinks into homes where it would have been, and still is by the more "backward" members, despised as an obnoxious vice.

RELIEF OF AGRICULTURAL DEBT.

(By Vaikunth L. Mehta)

There is scarcely any subject in the realm of Indian economics which has engaged so much attention as the relief of agricultural debt. It is by no means a new problem, for in the Bombay Deccan it was responsible for an acute agrarian crisis so early as in 1873. Committees and Commissions, provincial and all India, have investigated the problem, administrators and economic thinkers have propounded solutions. Legislative and administrative measures have been forged and yet the problem has baffled solution so far. The intensity of the burden of debt was gravely aggravated by the world economic depression which bore most heavily, statistical evidence leads us to deduce, on all primary producers and particularly on agricultural producers. Alone among the countries with a modern system of administration, the Government of India lagged behind in evolving some plan of campaign to meet the devastating effects of the depression. Nevertheless, in several provinces even the pre-Reform provincial Governments were moved to enact legislation for the control of money-lending and for the relief of debt. The province of Bombay was unique in that its Government refused officially to take cognizance of the growth of this economic menace and failed to adopt any legislative or administrative action to meet it.

It was only with the advent of the Congress Ministry, that for the first time since the enactment of the Dekhan Agricultural Relief Act, a plan of action was drawn up in Bombay to afford relief to the peasantry from the growing burden of usurious debt. Pending the introduction of debt legislation, a Small-Holders' Relief Act was passed last year, the object of which was to protect small-holders from eviction or loss of property resulting from the execution of decrees of civil courts. A Bill was also introduced for the regulation and control of transactions of money-lending, and this as well as a Bill for the grant of protection to tenants are both before the legislature. Essential as both these protective measures are, it may be hoped that they will be soon put on the statute book.

To complete the scheme of legislation the Hon. Mr. A. B. Latthe, Finance Minister who is also in charge of the portfolio of Rural Development, has introduced during the current session of the Bombay Legislative Assembly a Bill for the relief of agricultural debtors in the Province. This Bill is a very comprehensive piece of legislation, even more far-reaching in its scope than the Madras Agriculturists Relief Act of 1938 which created such a furore in South India when it was enacted last year. All the same the aim of the Bill is modest and its framework simple. The proposed law will apply to agriculturists who cultivate lands personally and whose debts are less than Rs. 15,000 and more than Rs. 100. Debtors are called upon to submit application for debt adjustment boards, which will be set up in all parts of the province and which will be charged with the duty of inquiring into the history of the debts, of examining accounts and scaling down the outstanding liabilities to within the paying capacity of the debtors. Prior to the scaling down on the basis of the paying capacity, the claims will be subject to a reduction on account of the accumulated charges of interest; allowance will be made for simple interest at 6 per cent on debts incurred prior to 1931 and at 9 per cent on those incurred subsequently and there will be a further reduction, if necessary, in accordance with law of Damdupat.

The paying capacity is to be limited to 80 per cent of the value of the property held by a debtor, distinction being made between secured and unsecured debts and including in the term property, assets other than the lands cultivated by the debtors. The debt adjustment boards will pass awards after the debts have undergone the process of scaling down; these awards will be registered and can subsequently be made recoverable, in the event of default, as arrears of land revenue. Until the awarded amounts are repaid in full, there can be no alienation of the property concerned by the awards. The parties are permitted to arrive at mutual agreement and get such settlements certified by the boards. Debts which are not reported to the boards for adjustment within a period of one year from the date of their establishment of the boards are liable to be declared as having been discharged. The debt adjustment boards are expected to function as independent bodies, but will be subject to the control of the First Class Subordinate Judge of their respective areas; and there is also provision made for appeals being preferred against the awards of the boards. While it is necessary to provide for some kind of supervision over the working of the boards and to grant a restricted right of appeal, care has to be taken to ensure that the working of the boards is kept as free as possible from the intricacies and technicalities of civil court procedure. This is the reason why in many provinces professional lawyers are debarred from the proceedings before the boards and their awards are deemed final.

These provisions and the additional provisions in respect of rural insolvency, though differing in certain respects from corresponding provisions in enactments in other provisions, do not depart materially from the procedure of debt relief followed elsewhere. The radical features of the proposed law are in its constructive aspects. With the forethought of a statesman, the Hon. Mr. Latthe has attempted to build for the future within the framework of the very legislation that may sound the death knell of the present credit agency in rural areas. To scale down debts, to make them repayable in instalments, to reduce the burden of future interest on the scaled-down debts, to transfer them to the State or to the land-mortgage banks and even to extinguish them, do not afford a solution of the problem of agrarian debt in India. To protect is not enough, it is necessary to prevent the growth of further usurious debt and it is still more necessary to apply the cure and bring about a state of balanced rural economy which is the deep-rooted cause of most unproductive debt.

Recognizing the need for preventing relapse into the self-same condition of abject indebtedness from which agricultural debtors are retrieved—not an imaginary fear as experience elsewhere amply bears out—the proposed legislation provides that no debtor will have an award made out in his favour unless he is or becomes a member of a co-operative society the object of which is to provide

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

resources required for the pursuit of industry. It is further provided that if, after the grant of an award, a redeemed debtor ceases to be a member of a co-operative resource society, the award will be deemed to have been cancelled. The co-operative resource society is expected to arrange for the current crop finance required by the redeemed debtors who become its members. To facilitate the smooth working of the proposed arrangements for the grant of short-term credit through co-operative agency, there is a further provision that the standing crops of a debtor will be deemed inalienable without the permission of the cooperative resource society to which he is indebted. It will only be as an exception, apparently, that the Provincial Government may authorize, in any local area, any individual or body of individuals to advance loans to debtors whose debts have been adjusted.

These provisions while they enhance considerably the status of co-operative societies also increase their responsibilities in a thereefold manner. Along with other creditors, co-operative societies too will be called upon to agree to the scaling down of the liabilities due to them, although in their case the machinery for debt adjustment will be internal. Secondly co-operative societies will have to devise arrangements for the provision of crop finance promptly and adequately and to supplant effectively the existing individualist credit machinery. Thirdly they will have to organize immediately an efficient system of marketing to enable the members to sell through their agency the agricultural produce on which there is the lien in favour both of the outside creditors and of the credit societies themselves. The first of these responsibilities, co-operative societies will have to shoulder in their own interest even if not in the interest of their debtors. Unless loans due to co-operative societies are brought within the purview of the debt adjustment operations, the *unencumbered assets and the aggregate paying capacity are apportioned among the other creditors and cooperative societies may be unable to recover their dues.* The admission of redeemed debtors on a wholesale scale to the membership of societies will present some difficulty. Easily a bare ten per cent of the agricultural population have so far come under the influence of co-operative societies and to manage satisfactorily the financing of large numbers of agriculturists with whom there has been no previous contact is by no means an easy undertaking. Even with the indirect lien on crops that co-operative societies will secure, agricultural credit for all and sundry will have to proceed with caution and, therefore, while one welcomes the desire that the co-operative societies should recruit new members and have a practical monopoly in the field of rural credit, one only hopes that the accretion to the membership of existing societies and the increase in the number of societies will not be so great or so sudden as to put an undue strain on the mechanism. From this point of view there is much to be said in favour of Government assuming responsibility, albeit provision for the grant of credit for crop requirements is authorized under the existing Agriculturists Loans Act of 1884. If the cooperative credit organization reaches only a tenth of the rural population, the numbers affected by existing cooperative marketing agencies is still small. For this reason the third aspect of the work before cooperative societies is likely to prove extremely arduous. It cannot, however, be shirked because it is through his hold over the crop that the money-lender has established his thraldom and no credit agency can supplant the money-lender which does not assist in bringing about a satisfactory disposal of the marketable produce.

This exhausts only one aspect of the curative programme. The constructive aspect as the Hon. Mr. Latthe observed in his Budget speech, is no less important. A mere adjustment and scaling down of debt and the provision of cheap easy credit cannot suffice in achieving the object in view. Rural economy has to be refashioned radically before it can convey a message of hope to the rural population. The rural development organization that Government wish to set up, will be expected to take in hand all the diverse factors that have a vital bearing on rural economic life. The improvement of agricultural production by popularizing scientific and co-operative methods, the provision for the economical marketing of agricultural produce through the regulation of marketing in general and through co-operative marketing in particular, the organization of supplies to the rural population through the agency of cooperative stores and through the organized co-operation of rural or cottage industries—these, as the Hon. Mr. Latthe summed up, are the main items in the immediate rural economic programmes of Government. It is not a day too soon that the Government of Bombay have embarked on this policy of rural development. This "drive" is as essential for the well-being of the rural population as the introduction of prohibition is for the urban and industrial population. We have had no recent inquiries conducted in the Province of Bombay into the problem of agricultural indebtedness. An inquiry conducted in Madras five years back showed the total aggregate indebtedness of the peasantry to be Rs. 200 crores, an increase of Re. 50 crores over the estimate in 1929-30 by the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee. The gross value of the crops in the Province of Madras was computed at Rs. 165 crores which value was reduced by one half with the fall that occurred in commodity prices. A corresponding estimate of the total value of the agricultural production of this Province inclusive of Sind made by the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee in the pre-depression year put the figure at Rs 132 crores. Deducting the value of the agricultural production of Sind and making an allowance for the falling commodity prices, the present figure of the gross value of the crops will be somewhere between Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 crores; against this, we have the total volume of debt as computed by the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee at Rs. 81 crores, or excluding Sind at Rs 58.40 crores. That was the estimate of the pre-depression year. As in Madras the figure may have gone up during the last ten years; at any event the incidence has been nearly doubled. This is too tragic a state of things merely to weep over, which is almost all that Government in our Province have done in recent years. The programme that the Hon. Mr. Latthe has unfolded may not be revolutionary and his remedies may not be drastic but that it is bold in its conception, ambitious in its scope and heroic in its methods, none can deny. If it succeeds—and all who are interested in rural welfare should cooperate to ensure its success—we may well hope to see a new horizon opening before our long-suffering fellow-citizens in the countryside.

PROHIBITION IN THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

All districts in the North-West Frontier province would shortly go dry, according to a statement made by Qazi Ataullah Khan, Education Minister, in the Frontier Assembly in course of the central discussion on the budget. Prohibition was already in force in Dera Ismail Khan district and the Minister added that the results achieved so far had been encouraging.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

LABOUR PROBLEMS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

(By President Manuel L. Quazon).

Industrial conflicts and agrarian troubles which have arisen during the last few months have reached a point where I deem it necessary that I address the people of the Philippines and particularly the inhabitants of the provinces of Central Luzon, stating, in as plain and clear a language as I can command, the policy of the Government in reference to these industrial and agrarian conflicts in order that no one may have any doubt as to how the Government shall act in every case that may confront it.

That there is need of improving the working and living conditions of the wage-earner in the Philippines, be he a factory or a farm labourer, can hardly be disputed; that in many instances injustices and abuses are being committed against the workingman and the peasant, is an undeniable fact; that the income of the labourer is too low to permit a substantial improvement of his living conditions is generally admitted. To correct these injustices and abuses and to ameliorate the lot of the masses is the prime concern of my administration. But as I have repeatedly stated on every opportune occasion, it is impossible to accomplish these objectives in a short period of time, because we are dealing with a complex and complicated problem, which is the result of traditional practices in the treatment of labour by capitalists and landowners on the one hand, and on the other, the lack of the habit of continued and sustained work among the workingmen. Moreover, production methods are generally unscientific and inefficient, particularly in agriculture.

A legislation fixing a minimum wage is easy enough for the National Assembly to enact, but unless such a law takes into consideration the effects that it will have upon existing industries and their continued progress, as well as upon the creation and development of new ones, it might result in greater hardships for the labourers themselves for it might cause the closing of factories aleady in operation and thus increase the number of the unemployed. Besides, a minimum wage for the workingman, to be economically sound and also fair to capital, can only be justified if the service rendered is actually worth the minimum wage fixed.

The strict enforcement of the present Tenancy Law alone will not automatically solve our agrarian problems. Certainly not in so far as the situation of the tenant or farm labourer himself is concerned. With the enforcement of the Tenancy Law, it will also be necessary to provide credit facilities, not only to landowners, but to the tenants as well. In addition, new methods of farming must be adopted to increase production and insure the maximum benefits that the land can yield. Moreover, the tenant must learn, and have an opportunity, to work through-out the year, for generally no one can earn an income that will be sufficient to properly support himself and his family all the year around if he works only for a few months.

I am mentioning but a few illustrations of the complexity of the problem that we have at hand. So that those who expect to be benefited by the policy of social justice which we have proclaimed may understand fully why they must have patience and should not expect immediate results. Even if the Government were to take every foot of arable land in the Philippines and distribute them without compensation among the tenants, these tenants would find in the end that their situation had not been materially and permanently improved, and in some cases they would perhaps find that they were in a worse condition, unless they were at the same time granted better credit facilities and they themselves worked harder, more consistently and intelligently than they are doing at present. Of course, the Government cannot take the lands from their present owners and give them away to the tenants, for under the Constitution, no person can be deprived of his property except for a public purpose and with just compensation. The confiscation of land by the Government is, therefore, out of the question in the Philippines. Indeed, it is my inescapable duty to protect property rights and I shall use all the powers of the Government in the discharge of this duty. This should be made clear to the tenants so that they may give no credence to those who tell them that the Government has the power to confiscate privately owned land and to distribute it among those who are working it. Nor should these tenants believe that should they become landowners, the mere fact that they are no longer tenants but landowners, will greatly alleviate their present condition. They will have, I repeat, to learn to work more efficiently during the whole year and use methods that will make, the land yield much more than at present.

Again I want to reassure the masses of my determination to do justice to them and to improve their lot. The National Assembly, I am certain, will enact the required legislation to carry out the policy of social justice. Such laws as experience has demonstrated are necessary to improve or supplement existing labour and tenancy legislation, will be enacted. Greater credit facilities will be given to industry and agriculture; the establishment of new industries and the use of modern methods in agriculture will be fostered, and labour and tenancy laws will be strictly enforced.

But in order to carry out the social justice programme there must be, first of all, peace and order. And so I am determined to prevent and suppress all kinds of violence and lawlessness, and all attempts to sabotage the programme of social improvement approved by the Government. In this determination, the whole government is united. This is evidenced by the promptness with which the National Assembly has granted my request to appropriate five hundred thousand pesos to be spent at my discretion for purposes of law enforcement. I am calling, therefore, upon every law-abiding citizen to cooperate with the Government in its efforts to maintain peace and order and to carry out the social justice programme. I advise everybody to refrain from carrying on any movement through propaganda or otherwise that might result in arousing the people to commit acts of violence or lawlessness, or even to make threats to do acts of violence or lawlessness. I warn those labour leaders who are engaged in this kind of activities that their continuance in this pernicious agitation is done at their own risk. I know that there are so-called labour leaders who have engaged in the provocation of labour troubles as a means of livelihood, and I know who they are; and I want to tell them that, although the Government has heretofore tolerated their activities, it is because they have been adroit enough to walk on the borderline of legality without transcending it. The consequences of their activities now, however, are such as to warrant the Government, in the exercise of its police power, henceforth to deal with them drastically and with the severity which the circumstances demand and the law authorizes. As for the misguided people who follow these false leaders with the full knowledge of the consequences of their acts, I want to tell them that I am laying a deadline beyond which any man or group of men

An address delivered from the library of Malacanan palace on March 11 and broadcast to the nation.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

may go only with the certainty that they will be met by the forces of the government.

I bespeak the cooperation of the labour leaders who are honestly interested in the welfare of the labouring class aud are not seeking their own selfish ends. They should counsel patience to their followers and to use only legal means to secure redress for their grievances. The strike is, of course, lawful, but there would seem to be no occasion for employing it now in the Philippines. The Department of Labour and the Court of Industrial Relations have been created precisely to afford labour the right, and the sure and effective means of securing justice from capital. The labour leaders who would resort to strikes rather than to these instrumentalities created by the government will not have my sympathy. On the contrary, and so that they may be advised of what they will have to face, I want to tell them that if a strike is declared by any labour organization before the labourers have presented their grievances to the Department of Labour, or before the Department of Labour has had time to act thereon or to submit the matter to the Court of Industrial Relations, the Government will protect by force, if necessary, any individual or organization that may offer to do the work of the strikers. And if the strike concerns those public services that immediately affect the well-being of the people, should the situation demand it, the Government itself will assume the responsibility of providing the men needed to take the place of the strikers. I will particularly take precautionary measures against general or sympathy strikes which may menace peace and order and the public welfare.

With regard to the controversy between tenants and landowners, the practice of force in taking crops, either by a tenant or a landowner, without the consent of the other party, must be stopped. If necessary, I shall use force to prevent it in the future. The gathering of armed men will be considered as a threat to commit violence, and any such groups will be dispersed by force in case of resistance or refusal to obey the order of authorised government agents.

If any tenant should have grievances because of the violation of the Tenancy Law, or because he has otherwise been deprived by the landlord of his just participation in the crop, such tenant should at once go to the nearest public official, be he a teniente del barro, councillor, mayor or governor, fiscal or public defender of the province, to submit his complaint. These officials are directed to hear these complaints and to render to the tenant the help that may be necessary forthwith to bring the case before the Court. From my conversations with tenants during the trips that I have been making through the provinces, I am convinced that some of the agrarian conflicts which have arisen are due to the fact that these poor tenants, lacking the means to present their case before the court, have felt that the only remedy for their grievances was to take the law into their hands. For this reason, I command every official of the government and request public spirited citizens to pay immediate attention to the complaints of these tenants and give them assistance so that they may be convinced that by appealing to the constituted authorities and through legal means, they can secure justice and redress for their grievances. Failure on the part of these officials to give prompt assistance to the tenants will be considered a grave dereliction of duty and dealt with accordingly.

Once more I urge the people to be patient and to abide by the law. Once more I urge them to have faith in the ability of their government to right the wrongs which they suffer, to redress their grievances and to administer justice promptly and fairly.

AN INCOMPLETE MESSAGE TO THE WORLD.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Through an interviewing American journalist, Mahatma Gandhi has sent a message to the world on the present European problems, which seem to be heading towards a crisis. The message is a brief one advising the democracies all to disarm so as to make such a deep moral impression on the Dictators as to make them feel uneasy in mind and heavy in conscience when thinking of attacking them.

The message is a good one, and should not necessarily make its giver a laughing-stock, as Gandhiji apprehends, but it is essentially incomplete. It is quite possible to disarm *Himsa* by *Ahimsa*; to overcome violence by non-violence; to melt cruelty by kindness; and, in short, to impress a sinner by virtue. But for all that the necessary condition is that there should be genuine sincerity on the other side. If I am full of *himsa* and violence freely loosening my muscles against those weaker than myself and wresting possessions of others at will, I cannot hope to make an effective impression on my attacker by quickly throwing away my weapons and looking innocent like a harmless lamb. In the *ashrams* of great Indian saints there was no *himsa*, no fear; serpents went by without biting; a goat drank water with a tiger at the same place without fear. That was because those saints were absolutely free from any fear or *himsa*, which even in others could not survive in their presence as darkness could not stay with light. Pretension of *ahimsa* or even its practice under stress of circumstances will not, however, avail in dispelling violence or in removing cause of fear.

That truth must be very deeply impressed on those, who are given the prescription of non-violence against an attack of violence. They must further be advised honestly to undo their past wrong acts and make adequate amends for them so as to give genuine indications of their repentence for the past and of their sincere determination to be unselfishly fair to all in future.

What is, however, the position in Europe today? There are some powers who are organising themselves under the leadership of some inspiring personalities to wrest from the hands of others whatever they can of the advantages, economic, territorial or influential, which the latter have already secured to themselves by their previous adventures enterprise or by their successes in former wars. The latter powers in the full enjoyment of their possessions and privileges want to maintain the *status quo* if not also to remove the possibility of future danger by keeping the rising powers in check. Thus, though these powers have been called totalitarian and democratic states because of some formal difference in their political and constitutional organisational there is little difference in their political or moral outlook. Either side believes in physical strength and imperialistic domination over weaker people and particularly over non-European races.

"If Europe is still not worthy to fulfil her colonizing mission to the world, then the hour of her decadence is irrevocably sounded," said the Italian Dictator when crushing Abyssinia to fulfil that European colonizing mission; and he haughtily asked if the League of Nations was to be the tribunal before which "Negroes, savages and backward races

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

could arraign the great nations which had revolutionized and transformed humanity."

Those arrogant words of a pride-blinded individual not only represent the feelings and the philosophy of the Fascists and the Nazis, who have at least the virtue of outspokenness, but of other European powers also, who are more guarded and diplomatic in their language. The preaching by one group of them, therefore, of non-violence or of the blissful virtue of ahimsa to fellow human beings cannot impress the other group that wants to share with it the exploitation of the weaker people. And even if acting on the advice of Gandhiji, though of course they will not, the members of the first group were to dramatically pose to disarm, with tears streaming down their cheeks and arms raised prayerfully in all innocence to the Heaven and lips all the while repeating the ten commandments of the Son of God, they cannot impress those of the other group, who will justifiably detect more shrewdness than sincerity in such affectations. And, as Germany has recently done in the Czecho-Slovakia annexation if the latter reject the appeals and holy protestations of the former as being "without moral basis," and all the more forewarn themselves against such clever moves to stifle their efforts to raise themselves as powerful rivals, they cannot be criticized and their conduct cannot be damned as sacreligious under present European moral or political philosophy.

If, therefore, Gandhiji's suggested remedy is to succeed in the ever-recurring European disease of strife, jealousy, and warfare, it has to be supplemented by an essential prescription to all imperial powers to disgorge all that they have already swallowed, withdraw their claims in all their extra-territorial possessions; and to realise the folly of indulging in a sense of racial superiority that hurts its sufferers more in as much as it blinds them to the beauty, goodness and grandeur, which in one form or the other, manifest or latent, are to be found in all creatures of God. For adjustment of all claims and natural rights not only of the European powers but of all peoples and countries of the world, free or under the domination of others, a great tribunal consisting of representatives of all, each having absolute equality of status, and actuated by the highest ideals of liberty, equality and equity should be formed to administer world justice. Not the spirit to disarm under force of circumstances against superior power, but the spirit to call such a tribunal and to unreservedly submit to it all gains, possessions and imperial acquisitions to such tribunal for disposal and dispensation, will cure the European or rather the colonization and imperialism disease of the Europeans and solve the problem of lasting world peace.

But I am dreaming of an age that is yet far from coming to come; and if Gandhiji fears to become the world's laughing stock by proposing a remedy in part, must I not feel sure of becoming the same by offering it in its whole? And yet it is a hard truth that this sure remedy for all human and world problems has to be given and taken in its entirity. Dr. Wilson, the war-time President of America, had a faith of the idea, but his League of Nations scheme failed because behind it were feelings of victor and vanquished and the arrogance of Europeans towards the rest of human beings whose existence on earth could not claim their consideration except as creatures for exploitation. That was an attempt to try the remedy not in its entirety but piecemeal and in a perverted manner. Gandhiji's message, essentially incomplete as it is, would also prove to be unefficacious, even if given a trial. I therefore offer the message in its indispensable fullness to all thinkers of the world, not because I have any hope of its being accepted, but because a far-visioned on-looker often loves to share with others the pain and sorrow that he feels in his immediate surroundings and the beauty, peace and bliss that he discerns ahead. "Come, let us go there," says he.

INDIAN LEADERS AND POLITICS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

In a leader of March 4th, "The Political Goal," you recall the words of Mr. Gokhale in 1905 when for the first time he "prescribed a goal for Indian politics." He said, "The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that in course of time, a form of government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire.....That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one; for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility required for the proper exercise of the political institutions of the West can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only.....also of Dadabhai Naoroji, and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta." Reflecting upon these great personalities one is overcome by two waves of feeling. First of almost awe-struck admiration—"there were giants in those days." Second, of inexpressible regret and deep sadness. All were of equal stature of greatness, but having been privileged to the friendship of Mr. Gokhale, my remarks will be confined to him. What an intellect was his! which could envisage a future for India founded upon reality. What startlingly correct political sense which had grasped the very essence of the democratic government, the "gradual advance," the progress by stages of "apprenticeship," the acquisition "through practical training and experiment only." Startling when we compare these words with the "progressive realization," "method of trial and error," "working out their own salvation" of the laid down principles of the India Act. Here was a man with unclouded eyes: a prophet. Had he lived, would he not have rejoiced to see in the India Act a fulfilment of his dearest hopes? Here was the door open at last! the pathway revealed, by walking along which the goal of freedom would be reached, and accompanied by no "violent tornado and uprooting" as lamented by Lord Irwin, but instead the gentle sunshine of goodwill, trust and friendship with the British Government.

What deep sadness must overwhelm me, that these true Mahatmas have passed away, and that unfortunate Mother India has fallen under the dominance of those lacking the qualities of great and sound leadership.

* * * *

I am so much struck by Mr. J. Chinna Durai's article "A Primrose Path to Freedom," in your issue March 11th that I cannot refrain from making some remarks on it. First, I hope the article will be taken in all seriousness. There is a very great deal in all he writes, even more than he may be conscious of himself, and which could be apprehended only by one of the race of good "sports." To a foreigner at superficial glance it will seem even grotesque that the British make sport of so great importance. But sport is inextricably mixed up with all that is best in British character, that which could make the true Briton give his life for his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Democratic Government, and find the totalitarian State intolerable. Mr. Chinna Durai enumerates some of the good qualities necessary for the sportsman, "give and take, tolerance, self-sacrifice?" honourableness, loyalty, sense of responsibility, co-operation or the team spirit, self-control and abstemiousness, good humour, all these could be added. Now-a-days sporting terms even stand for these qualities "don't hit a man when he is down," "don't hit below the belt," "be a sport" and many others and to say "it isn't cricket" means it is not worthy of a gentleman, used with its highest implication. In India you were surprised when the British bureaucrats co-operated with the new Congress governments in all friendliness. But we should take their conduct as a matter of course, as we always expect the Briton "to play the game." It is quite true that if Indians highly distinguished themselves in sport in such numbers as could not fail to be remarkable to the British Public, that Public would say to itself, how is it that India is not yet a Dominion when Indians are like this. They, the Public, would mean being good sportsmen they are fit for full self-government, and they should have it and if India were a nation of good sportsmen with strong bodies, they would have clear minds, and instead of moaning, groaning, and whining that they are still poor downtrodden, frustrated subject people, they would have the sense to see that they are actually no longer a subject people, having their feet off the ground of the past, and set upon the first rung of that ladder which is named freedom !

Do they so revel in self-pity that they love to hug their chains while all the time those chains exist only in their fevered imagination—those chains that have actually been lifted from them ? "But there are none so blind as those who won't see."

Cambridge,
March 26, 1939.

Yours etc.,
I. J. PITT.

TEMPERANCE IN MYSORE.

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, received a deputation of the members of the Mysore State Temperance Federation on April 5.

The deputation consisted of Capt. A. J. Moss, Mr. J. R. Isaac, Mrs. M. R. Marler, Mrs. L. Gill, Mr. A. F. Legg, Mr. G. T. Bridges, Mr. T. Ramachandra and Mr. R. Gopalaswami Aiyar. Mr. K. V. Anantaraman, the Second Member of Council, and Mr. P. H. Krishna Rao, Secretary to Government, Local Self-Government, were also present.

A memorandum was submitted to the Dewan who discussed with the members with interest and sympathy the points raised in the memorandum and said that he would favourably consider the requests made by the deputationists.

In the course of a long statement, the signatories to the memorandum state, after thanking the Dewan personally for the generous help that was being given by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and for the sympathy and generous help he had always given as Patron and the interest he had shown in the work of the Federation:

"As you are aware, the Federation has been in existence since 1914 and we shall be completing our Silver Jubilee by the end of this year. The Federation is carrying on an intensive educative propaganda in the urban slum areas inhabited by labouring population, as also in the rural parts, through the help of a band of devoted workers drawn from various affiliated organisations. We are glad that our work has been made possible through the Government grant as well as support from the public and personal voluntary service.

"Our coloured posters are used intensively not only here but throughout India and in the West. Our specially prepared Temperance film and the projector and magic lantern slides are constantly in demand. We organise exhibitions during important fairs and festivals. It has been possible that this year, thanks to your kind and personal interest, their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Vicereine visited one of our Temperance stalls at the Closepet Rural Exhibition.

"As members of the Federation working for the ideal of total abstinence, we feel very glad that the whole country is taking up the programme of Prohibition which is being attended with quite an amount of success. We are equally glad that, in our own State, His Highness' Government is sympathetic towords this ideal and has taken up necessary steps towards the same. In this connection, we desire to request that the following special measures may kindly be adopted :—

'The Closepet Prohibition Area be enlarged into two or three taluks and that all drink and drug shops in the area be completely elminated, and Prohibition be enforced on a systematic basis.'

"To help the labouring classes from the immediate temptation of drink and wasting their hard-earned wages of the whole month on the pay days, Government may be pleased, as a first step, to close the drink shops in urban areas like Bangalore City; Kolar Gold Fields, Mysore, Bhadravati, Davanagere and Mandya during pay days. The management of industrial concerns, including Government factories and also municipalities, in response to the appeal sent from the Federation, have very kindly consented to co-operate in such a measure by synchronising their pay days. It is now for the Government to sympathetically consider this request and include this as one of the conditions of the auction of liquor shops.

"The Federation, through the leaders and members of the International Order of Good Templars, K.G.F., have been able to achieve a good amount of educative propaganda amogst the labourers in the Mining area, and now there is an increasing demand for more workers, suitable literature, posters, slides, etc., to carry on an intensive day-to-day Temperance propaganda in the field. Towards this intensive educative propaganda work, we request the Government to kindly give us an additional grant of Rs. 500.

"The Government's sympathy towards attempts at Prohibition by the neighbouring provincial governments encourages us to request the Government to be pleased to declare a dry area belt on the border of the Prohibition districts, and close the liquor shops situated within about 10 miles in the border all round. This, we are sure, will not entail the Government any great loss, while it will create for the Government a large amount of sympathy and establish confidence as a generous response."

NO PROHIBITION IN BHOPAL.

In the Bhopal Legislative Assembly a resolution by Pandit Chatar Narain Malaviya to introduce total Prohibition in the State was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The mover said that during the reign of Her Highness the late Begum, there was total Prohibition in the State and so, now that Prohibition was being introduced in almost every Province in British India, Bhopal also should revert to the policy adopted by her late Highness. The Government moved an amendment to the effect that a Committee be formed to go into the matter, as total Prohibition meant a loss of Rs. 8½ lakhs in revenue. Pandit Malaviya refused to accept it.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon („ „).
Satara (District Nasik).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad („ „).
Kalol (District Panch Mahals).

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more delicate perfumes in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 8, 1939. No. 32

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

The Return to Collective Security.
Encirclement.
Sir M. Gwyer on the Rajkot Papers.
The Hussein-McMahon Letters.
Gandhi and Hitler.
Lessons of Tripuri.
Christian Support to Prohibition.
Succession in States.
The Ethics of Power.
Two Books on Federation.
The Kingdom and the Church.
Tripuri's Message for Christians.
Love of Power.
Prohibition Scheme in Bombay.
Cochin for Prohibition.
Prohibition in Bombay.

NOTES.

The Return to Collective Security :—Unlike the Bourbons who never learnt anything, Mr. Neville Chamberlain has profited by his Munich experience. Immediately after Munich Mr. Chamberlain expressed his faith in diplomacy supported by armed strength. Even that seemed unavailing this March, when Herr Hitler showed a tendency to annex without warning and without giving Mr. Chamberlain any opportunity of negotiating. The British Premier is, at any rate in Europe, a man of peace. That he has declared times without number. He is building up an enormous British army to threaten but not to fight. But "armed diplomacy" with anxiety to avoid war, is of no avail after an annexation. To meet this new menace, an old method discarded by Britain as impracticable since the last general election, has been revived, collective security. Last week marked a notable development in European politics. The democratic worms were turning. The French Premier declared his determination on March 30 to resist Italian threats. A day later Mr. Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons that Britain and France would support Poland in fighting any threat to her independence. This statement was less definite than it could well have been and two such political extremes as the London *Times* and Moscow officials agreed in the opinion that a guarantee of independence did not mean a guarantee for every strip of territory. While Moscow seemed to be pressing for something more definite, the *Times'* comment appeared startlingly like an inspired hint to Germany which she would, as in the case of the Sudetens, follow up at once. Mr. Chamberlain, however, was not content this time with an emphatic repudiation. He gave a specific assurance that he meant resistance to aggression.

Encirclement :—It is rather difficult to appreciate how British speakers can object to their policy being called one of "encirclement" of Nazi Germany and at the same time urge that Mr. Chamberlain means to stand by what he says. Collective security against Nazi aggression can only succeed if it amounts to encirclement. That the politicians appreciate this is shown by the assiduity with which they are pursuing a policy of bringing in as many states as can be brought into the anti-Fascist alliance. Mr. Chamberlain has been forced into action by his fear of German aggression on British interests and by the strength of British opinion. But with the lapse of time the public memory will fail and once more appeasement will take the place of resistance to aggression. Let us not forget that in 1935 the British Premier was an enthusiast for the League of Nations and for collective security before a general election, and that a general election is expected next year in Britain. It is also worth remembering that in May 1938 general mobilization in Czechoslovakia and her close co-operation with Britain and France prevented Nazi aggression at the time and solved one crisis, only to hand over the Republic in less than a brief six months into Nazi hands. Today Poland, ideologically in a much weaker position, is preserved by her mobilization and the strong declarations of French and British support. Herr Hitler who slowed down his campaign against Czechoslovakia last May, can the more easily do so now as his prestige has been enhanced in Germany by his "conquest" of Czechoslovakia and of Memel, and his economic treaties in the South-East. Only a policy of "encirclement" can meet the danger and consolidate the position. The present Government in Britain sees the position clearly enough. But the tortuous diplomacy or Mr. Chamberlain seeks to form a "defensive" alliance against the Fascist powers without provoking the anger of Germany and Italy. In doing so his methods resemble with a startling resemblance the tactics of the German Social Democrats in the early days of Herr Hitler's rise to power. There is moreover the need to preserve the appearance of continuity in foreign policy. It is but natural that the Premier should still publicly commend his Munich policy as a success. What surprises us that he is able to convince his public of this. The absence of anything more than futile and diffident opposition in Britain at the present time, is the greatest and perhaps the sole strength of the Government party.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sir M. Gwyer on the Rajkot Papers :—Sir Maurice Gwyer's opinion on the papers submitted to him relating to the dispute between the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, was published in the daily press on Tuesday. Some press comments refer to it as the award of the Federal Court. It is nothing of the kind. Sir Maurice Gwyer is the Chief Justice of that Court and has the prestige of that great position. But in this case, to use his own words, "doubts having arisen as to the meaning which should be attached to these documents, my advice was requested (by the Crown Representative) as to the way in which they should be interpreted." The opinion expressed in the statement, therefore, has the character of advice only. There were two points on which Sir Maurice's advice was immediately sought. The first was, did the Rajkot ruler give a blank cheque to the Sardar to recommend any seven persons (being subjects or servants of the State) and undertake to nominate all of them to the contemplated Reforms Committee, whatever his own opinion and that of his councillors may be of the merits and capacity of the persons recommended? The second was whether the Chairman of the Committee was to be nominated by the Thakore, was included in the ten members mentioned in the Notification or might he be the eleventh of the Committee? On both these points Sir Maurice has advised the Crown Representative that the contentions of the Thakore are, in his opinion, untenable and that those of the Sardar commended themselves to his legal judgment. Sir Maurice says that there is no single principle which regulates cases where one person recommends and another appoints. One of the analogues which he has cited, namely, appointments to Universities in India, is rather a slippery one. Owing to the restricted character of the reference, precluding his taking into consideration any but the strictly legal connotation of terms, Sir Maurice Gwyer could not consider whether any ruler, with a due sense of his responsibility, would give a blank cheque of this character to a political leader whose friends and followers at the time of the negotiations were, many of them, in his prisons or before his courts, and from whom some, perhaps all, of the seven men to be recommended might be drawn; and whether, after giving such a blank cheque, he would follow it up next morning with a letter expressing his gratitude to him who has taken the blank cheque. As for the number of the Committee members, it is generally found convenient to have an odd number in order to avoid the possibility of a tie. If the Chairman was to be one of ten, he will have either to have his right to vote restricted, or be given a casting vote, in case of a tie; the notification did not do either.

The Hussein-McMahon Letters:—It is at last admitted that the Hussein-McMahon correspondence bears out the Arab contention rather than the British. The *Spectator* observes: "The publication of the McMahon letters, though they are admittedly open to two opposite interpretations, suggest to the average plain man who reads them that Syria was in fact excluded from the Arab territory promised to the Emir Feisal by Sir Henry McMahon and that Palestine was not." The *Economist* is more precise. It says: "The wording is—perhaps deliberately—obscure. But if it was intended to exclude Palestine from the Arab Kingdom, the least that can be said is that the drafting was culpably lax. The more obvious meaning of the words would be more in accordance with the Arab claim." Independent observers had never any doubt that the Arabs had been deceived. Hocking in his "Spirit of World Politics" cited the conclusive fact that when Feisal hoisted his flag at Damascus and other towns in the conquered territory Allenby asked him to take down his flag only at Beirut. While the English Press recognises that the Arab interpretation is right, it seems to think that the fact has no bearing on the Palestine problem at the present day. The Balfour Declaration has also been understood in two different senses by the British Government and the Zionist leaders. The least that should be attempted now by the British Government is to shape its interpretation of the Declaration as far as possible in accord with the Arab interpretation of the McMahon pledge. The *Spectator* thinks that it is impossible to find a solution acceptable to both Jews and Arabs and that Federalism seems to offer the best course. But would the Jews and Arabs accept a Federal solution? Evidently not, in which case it is no solution at all.

Gandhi and Hitler:—The *Economist* writes: "The Mahatma without a single gun to back his diplomacy, presented his ultimatum and mobilised his forces of personal prestige and will power. He was as successful as any Hitler. It is true that the terms on which he was persuaded to demobilise were not those that he had stipulated when he began his fast unto death. But this is likely to prove as deceptive as the seeming fact that the Munich Conference gave Herr Hitler less than he had demanded at Godesburg. There is a general feeling that Gandhi's interviews with the Viceroy cover a wider field and might lead to more important results than the Rajkot settlement. In India, too, there is a similar feeling though it takes another form of apprehension. The *Modern Review*, for instance, affirms; "Whether hereafter the Congress accepts, recognises and works the British-made Federation scheme or not, a part of that scheme already stands recognised by the supreme leader of the Congress." This is not correct. As we point out in the Note on the Gwyer statement, the Federal Court is not in the least involved by the fact that the gentleman who was requested to advise as regards the correct legal interpretation of the Thakore Sahib's composition, happens to be its Chief Justice.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

misapprehension would and should have been avoided by selecting some other personage to interpret the Thakore's words. The President of the Indian Legislative Assembly would have been quite as competent an authority on the legal aspect of the subject and he would have had the advantage of being well-acquainted with the mental processes of Princes and politicians in this country.

Lessons of Tripuri :—Much has been and is being written on the lessons of the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress. Three of our contributors state their impressions, approaching the subject from different standpoints. Mr. Ganguly, we are afraid, is unjust to the so-called Rightists. The difference between the Rightists and Leftists in the Congress are precisely that between the right hand and the left in the majority of men who are neither ambidextrous nor left-handed. The left hand is equally useful as the right but it has not the same power to grasp things as the right. Indian Leftists are Rightists in the making. They have not the experience and cunning of the Rightists. The latter, while making the masses believe that they are more fearsome enemies of Imperialism than the Liberals, are also able to make Imperialism believe that they are its true friends and allies. The Leftists are more literal but Tripuri has taught them their first lesson in diplomacy. The wholesale manner in which they abandoned their President to his fate, when they found that their bubbles would be pricked, has taught another lesson to the public, not to take the Leftist at his face value. Not love of power as Mr. Ganguly unjustly thinks but fear of collapse of the hugh ramshackle structure which they had reared and its damage to their own personal safety and prestige, is responsible for their sudden stampede at the election of Mr. Subhas Bose in spite of their expert horsepulling. Mr. Bose would have gained greatly in personal prestige as well as in his physical health if he had followed the precedent of Ranade who in 1895 waived the right to hold the Social Conference in the Congress Pandal, after he had secured it against Lokamanya Tilak from a majority of Congress Committees. The lesson of Tripuri to the man in the street is that although 52 elephants may be in readiness to draw the President's chariot, if the Presidential succession is upset not all of them can induce him to occupy the chariot. The 52 elephants chariot is a revealing fact about the methods by which the Indian people are educated and interested in democratic politics. This is merely the old simple *jatra* converted into a Congress mela : the great thing evidently is to collect a crowd. This at present can be done only by means of crowd most by its 52 elephants. The Tripuri Congress will be remembered.

Christian Support to Prohibition :—We reprint elsewhere the comments of the *Indian Witness*, Lucknow, the organ of the Methodist Church in India, on the inauguration of Prohibition in Bombay. The reference to the two thousand years old tradition, was relevant because it is still in force with a considerable section of the population. As we observed last week, the practice of total abstinence by the middle classes as a whole, makes it necessary to adopt special measures to bring home to them the vital importance of Prohibition to the classes lower down in the social and cultural scale. It was also important as differentiating the position in this country from that in the United States where, owing chiefly to the absence of such a tradition, Prohibition failed. The failure of Prohibition there has been constantly advanced by opponents against its adoption in this country. As for the exemption of Europeans, the Bombay Government's Press Note which we reprint, explains that it is due to the fact that while the use of liquor is alien to Indian culture, it is not condemned by Western civilisation. If a large proportion of Europeans in Bombay refrain from applying for permits, as we trust they will, that will be evidence that the exemption is unnecessary; and Government, we are sure, will be only too pleased to drop the exemption clause. The exemption of sacramental wine, is in accordance with the principle of respecting religious scruples. Here again, the Churches are not obliged to take out permits and we believe that the Protestant Churches will not need them. The Catholic hierarchy in this country seems also to be favourably disposed but it remains to be seen how the lesser clergy will react to the call of abstinence.

Succession in States :—Apropos of the statement by the Maharaja of Indore that the question of his succession remains unaffected by his marriage with Miss Lawler, the position is thus described by Mr. Varadarajan in his book, "The Indian States and Federation," noticed today on another page :

> As a result of representations made by the Princes, it is now admitted that, when there is a natural heir in the direct line, he succeeds as a matter of course, and the claim that such succession requires the sanction of the Paramount Power has been abandoned. But the claim that such succession requires the recognition of His Majesty the King-Emperor still holds the field. Such recognition is conveyed by an exchange of kharitas of a complimentary character between the new Prince or Chief and the Viceroy or other high authority concerned.

This was the procedure followed in the accession of the present Maharaja Gaekwar to the Baroda gadi on the death of his grandfather.

> In the case of successions other than those of the direct natural heir (Mr. Varadarajan continues) the announcement of recognition is made by a representative of the British Government either at a durbar held for the purpose or at a formal visit of the Prince or Chief.

Mr. Varadarajan is needlessly vague here. If there is no direct natural heir, the Paramount Power practically appoints the successor. If there is more than one claimant, it selects the one who succeeds.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, April 8, 1939.

THE ETHICS OF POWER.

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai struck new ground in his address at the seventeenth annual Convocation of Delhi University. He left severely alone such conventional topics as overproduction of graduates, unemployment, the Wardha Scheme and basic English. There has been of late a little too much of shop in Convocation addresses and Sir Girja's departure is welcome and refreshing. He took for his thesis Power, particularly Political and Economic power. Political power, he said, has existed since the beginning of history, while economic power is a modern phenomenon. He briefly defined Power as the ability to produce an intended effect. In this he differs from Bertrand Russell who in his "Power: A New Social Analysis" published a few months ago, maintains that "the fundamental concept in social science is Power, in the same sense in which Energy is the fundamental concept in Physics." The difference between Sir Girja and Russell is, that Power like Energy has no necessary relation to intention to produce any effect. The difference is important because according to Russell "Power, like Energy, must be regarded as continually passing from any one of the forms into any other." No better illustration can be found than the power of Gandhiji which is religious at one moment, economic in the next, political in the next after that. You never know when the fasting, praying Gandhi passes into Gandhi the consummate political tactician and when the latter turns into the stern moralist of Truth and Non-Violence in their most absolute, uncompromising form. This elusiveness constitutes at once the charm and despair of this extraordinary personality. Sir Girja Shankar himself observed that Power is good or bad according to the uses to which it is put. The aim of Power, he said, was to secure to each individual the fullest opportunity for self-expression: Totalitarian Power failed to satisfy any rational standard. Democratic States, on the other hand, depend on the consent of the governed. Sir Girja is obliged to admit that totalitarian, or as they prefer to call themselves authoritarian, states are also based on the consent of the governed. "No government," he says, "can for long pursue an aim which a majority of its subjects do not desire or are unwilling to work for. Totalitarian states are as much subject to this law as democracies, in the last analysis. The common man can be master of both." But the common man, if there is such a person, has no definite views as to what he wants his government to be or do. The "common man" is not a good judge of complex political issues. The majority view is not always the right or the moral view, although it may not, as Carlyle said, be mostly fools. Morality, in fact, is not determined by a majority of votes. The power of the majority is not different from brute force unless it is controlled and inspired by moral motives. The individual conscience is the seat of morality and therefore the majority, unless it is led by high principled men, is liable to be as oppressive as the most despotic tyranny.

Power in the animal world and among primitive men, is physical strength. The strongest man is the man of power as the bellwether of the flock is the stoutest goat. To prevent one strong man from dominating the mass, several men less strong physically combined to put him down. When men ceased to live by hunting and fishing, and took to breeding herds of cattle and cultivating land, physical strength ceased to be the main criterion of leadership. Some men were more fortunate than others in breeding sheep or growing corn, and they became economically stronger than their fellows whom they were able to hire to do their fieldwork while they concentrated their attention on consolidating their authority. The power of the priest preceded the power of both the men of muscle and the men of wealth because it had its roots in the imagination of the people. Not till the advent of the machine age did the power of the priest and that of religion finally give way to the economic power. The authoritarian states are a reaction against the overweening power acquired by the plutocracies under the guise of democracy. The fact is that what makes a system good or bad is the existence and the willingness to work it of men of high character and sound principle. Where such men do not exist or are unwilling to devote their time and energy to public service, however excellent a system may be in the abstract, in actual practice it is bound to be a failure. The European countries which have turned away from democracy, had experience of democratic systems of Government and have found them lacking in honesty. The authoritarian State came into existence as the result of dire necessity. It is the function of Universities to train men to think clear of labels. It is also their function to train men to serve their country or community in ways in which the exercise of power is strictly subordinated to the influence of example and persuasion. If we had a voice in the matter, we would insist on every member of the Legislature and of Government taking a pledge of total abstinence side by side with the introduction of Prohibition. Sir Girja Shankar thought that Acton's dictum that "Power corrupts" was an over-statement. Power used for a good purpose does not corrupt, he thinks. Acton, however, had the whole vista of ancient and contemporary history before him when he made the generalisation. And it is true. A man can do good to himself and others only if he exerts no power save moral power. The secret of influence, observes Santayana, is suggestion not force. Power, implying as it does the possession of the right and the means to compel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

its force, and liable to the reactions of force. The aspirant of *yoga* acquires certain supernatural powers in the course of his practice but he is sternly warned not to be seduced by them from his true goal. They are the temptations which assailed Buddha and Jesus Christ. These two and Pythagoras and Galileo are the four men whom Bertrand Russell selects as the men who have wielded more power over men than any others.

No one of these had the support of the State until after his propaganda had achieved a great measure of success. No one of the four had much success in his own lifetime. None of the four would have affected human life as he has done if power had been his primary object.

We may add that the support of the State to the sects of Jesus and Buddha led to their corruption and downfall as spiritual empires. Power corrupted them. "We have taken the world's pay," lamented Cardinal Newman, "and must not grudge its yoke."

We are tempted to say a few words about freedom for individual self-expression as the end of the ideal State. With the implied qualification that one individual should not be allowed to express himself at the cost of another, the maxim is fairly sound. But qualifications are apt to drop out, especially when they are of a negative character. A positive ideal, therefore, must be found. And we have not to go far for it. The Bhagavad Gita declares that the Cosmic Power incarnates whenever the moral order decays and the forces of evil gain the upper hand. It is the function of the State to uphold the rule of right against the rule of might. Whether it is government by one man, or by a group of men, depends on the circumstances of each period and the needs of each society. Self-expression by itself is a dangerous doctrine to be taught in a University. Every one of us has two selves: The higher self can not express itself except by the lower being severely curbed. Youth is the period of revolt is another sentence in Sir Girja's address, which at the present time is apt to be interpreted to mean that youth has the right to revolt and that if it does not exercise it, it will not be youth but senility. What youth have to be reminded of at this time is rather the old saying that he cannot wisely command who has not learnt to obey.

TWO BOOKS ON FEDERATION.

"The Indian States and Federation" by Mr. M. K. Varadarajan (Oxford University Press, price Rs. 6d) has a foreword by Lord Lothian. "I am glad" he writes, "that he recognises that the advantages of the scheme of Federation overwhelmingly outweigh the anomalies and inconsistencies which at present any form of Indian Federation must involve." If Lord Lothian had said "which the scheme of the Government of India Act of 1935, implies," he would have been within his right. It is not to say that no scheme can be conceived at present which does not involve all the anomalies and inconsistencies of this scheme is to confess more the inadequacy of British statesmanship for the task than to describe its magnitude. In any case, there was no need to undertake a task so much beyond the capacity of British statesmen. India did not ask for Federation. British India asked only that the promise made in the Declaration of 1917 should be fulfilled. There was nothing in that Declaration about Federation though it has since been authoritatively declared that that Declaration had definitely in view responsible government in British India. The true story of how the idea of Federation as an immediate possibility came to be sprung at the first Round Table Conference, is yet to be told. Mr. Varadarajan does not throw light upon it though he fully recognises that the Maharaja of Bikaner's announcement was dramatic and unexpected. The paternity of the idea has been attributed to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. Sir Samuel Hoare at one of the congratulatory functions said that when the proposal was made, no one knew anything of Federation except Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The Prime Minister, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, who presided at the Round Table Conference, lost no time in declaring the view of His Majesty's Government to be acceptance in principle of the Maharaja's offer. Those who are conversant with the routine of the British Government as disclosed in memoirs and other records of similar Conferences, will be slow to believe that there was no stage management behind the scenes in all this. To the man in the street it seemed that the scheme of Federation as an immediate possibility was a move to take the edge off the British Indian demand for responsible Government at the centre which had been put off with a denial that the promise has been made but which has since been found to be undeniable. The Princes were to be introduced in order to sterilise responsible government even in the highly diluted form in which it was to be conceded at the centre. The Princes lost nothing by entering the Federation. If there was any doubt on the point, Mr. Varadarajan removes it once for all. He writes:

> To a great extent defence, external affairs, railways, posts and telegraphs, currency and coinage, customs, salt and opium, were already federal subjects, administered by an all India service. In respect of all of them a common policy applicable to British India and the States alike was determined by the same authority, viz; the Governor-General in Council, who in the case of British India exercised his power under the Government of India Act, and in the case of the States acted as the Agent of the Crown.

This process of unification was necessary as much in the interests of the States as of British India. It was certainly just that the States should be given a voice in determining these common factors. But was it necessary for that purpose to break up the unity of British India? Mr. Varadarajan is as hazy on this point which to us has from the first seemed crucial, as others who have writen or spoken on the Federation. The impotence to which British India was reduced by the dissection, is feelingly described in "Federation versus Freedom" by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar published by the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.

> If British India could have secured responsible government, Dr. Ambedkar laments, it might have been in a position to dictate which State should be admitted and on what terms. It would have been in a position to make the reorganisation of the States territory into tolerably big units as a condition precedent for their entry into the Federation. Unfortunately British India has no responsible government. Indeed its right to responsible government at the centre is denied and made dependent upon the entry of the States. 'No States, No responsible Government' has now become the fate of British India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dr. Ambedkar was a member of the Round Table Conference but it is not known that he exerted himself in any way to avert this contretemps.

Mr. Varadarajan in his concluding sentences exposes the weakness of the Federation owing to the indeterminate position of the States in it. He points out how a single State can bring the whole mammoth machinery to a dead stop unless forced by the Paramount Power to discharge its obligations. He writes:

> The Act imposes several obligations on the rulers without conferring corresponding rights on the Federation to enforce such obligations. If a ruler disregards his constitutional duties, the Federation stands helpless. Within the limits of the constitution there are really no sanctions at all for enforcing such obligations. The Governor-General will have to appeal to the Crown Representative (the same person in another uniform) in cases of such recalcitrance, to use his good offices and persuade the ruler to fulfil his obligations. Paramountcy is thus made the Federal sanction, and on its exercise depends the smooth working of the Federation. Without paramountcy a ruler might bring the federal mechanism in relation to his State to a standstill by refusing to carry out the instructions given to him by the Governor-General with regard to the administration of federal subjects and render the judgement of the Federal Court wholly abortive by neglecting to give effect to them in his State.

On a rather important point Mr. Varadarajan and Dr. Ambedkar take diametrically opposite views, Mr. Varadarajan is of opinion that the States once they enter the Federation can not come out of it. Dr. Ambedkar on the other hand holds that they can if any change is made which alters or extends their Instrument of Accession. Here as in the matter of obligations no legal or judicial machinery is provided in the Act by which this claim (to leave the Federation because of a change in the Instrument of Accession) could be prosecuted by the States. It is left to be determined by negotiation between the State and the Crown. Writes Mr. Varadarajan:

> The ruler of the State will have to appear perhaps as a suppliant before the Crown praying to be released from the federal tie on the ground that the basis of the constitution to which he originally adhered had been changed to his prejudice without his consent. British constitutional precedents, however, do not encourage one in the hope that such prayers would be granted.

Dr. Ambedkar on the other hand, maintains that Federation would limit the power of Parliament to make such changes as transferring defence and foreign affairs to responsible Ministers, because such changes may be claimed to affect their Instrument of Accession by some States, and as, notwithstanding Federation, the States are technically foreign States Parliment can not legislate for them. It is these and similar anomalies that Lord Lothian considers indispensable for the well-being of India at the present time!

THE KINGDOM AND THE CHURCH.

(By Paul Santamurti, Lucknow.)

To understand clearly the respective places of, and the exact relationship between, the Kingdom of God and the Church of Christ, one has dispassionately to read and honestly to interpret the New Testament. Jesus studied the conditions of the people of Palestine. The masses were ground down by the ecclesiastical formalism of the rapacious priests, the economic exploitation of the grabbing money-leaders and greedy tax-gatherers, and the political oppression of the heartless Roman Imperialists. The three sections of the exploiters often acted in perfect co-operation to the detriment of the oppressed Jewish population.

The people, who were always in despair, were ready to revolt whenever any inefficient and short-sighted leader instigated them to rebel. But before the highly disciplined and well-equipped phalanxes of the Roman Army they were often scattered like dry leaves and butchered with great ferocity. The hopes of any successful revolution through human efforts was almost extinct and the Jewish race was looking up to the heavens for a divine warrior who would descend and complete his threefold business of exterminating all those who oppressed the Jews, setting up the Jews as the rulers of mankind, and enslaving the races that did not belong to either of the above groups and making them the servants of the Jewish people for eternity.

In fact, there were several prophets who had predicted the coming of such a leader and, with the exception of those who for their own selfish reasons did not want the Messiah to come, the whole Jewish nation was in daily or hourly expectation of the deliverer. Nor was there any paucity of impostors who pretended to be the Messiah they were waiting for. These false leaders so often misled the helpless Israelites into conflicts with the Roman soldiery sometimes with most disastrous results that when Jesus came he actually had to grieve at the pitiable condition of the oppressed people saying that they were "as sheep not having a shepherd."

The Jewish nation's noblest patriot was also the world's greatest statesman. He did not see any meaning in encouraging a political rebellion against the Romans merely for the purpose of getting rid of their yoke unless the Jews were prepared to free themselves from all their individual and national sins because those sins landed them again and again into bondage as often as they freed themselves from slavery. With their deep-rooted desire to have all the Gentiles as their slaves they were not fit to be free. Besides the mere attainment, by any nation, of political freedom from foreign domination will not help that nation to retain its independence for long unless and until all the causes that led to its repeated loss of freedom are carefully and completely rooted out.

Now the causes of any nation's fall may be many and various, but the chief of them all is the want of unity among its various sections. The unscrupulous few who coerce others to acknowledge their real or fancied superiority; the greedy few who care neither for the laws of God nor for the misery of man in their attempts to get rich at the cost of their less crafty and more honest brethren; the wicked few who want to monopolise for themselves all the power for all the time, in order that they may use it for their own personal or class advantage; the proud few belonging to the so-called cultured classes who instead of helping their less fortunate brethren by educating them, use their learning as instruments for oppressing the ignorant, bring about disunity most potently. And at the root of all these diverse distempers are found selfishness, want of love, want of purity in heart, want of honesty in thoughts and deeds, in a word, the sin of living apart from God and His divine law of love. Jesus saw that all these factors were at the back of the Jewish problem and He decided that, if they were ever to live peaceful, free, happy and brotherly lives, there must first of all come a right royal change of heart which he called repentance. Jesus and, before Him, John the Baptist and several prophets before him sounded the same note,—the clarion call to repentance—individual and social.

While the prophets and John the Baptist wanted the people to repent and change their hearts in order to escape the wrath of God, Jesus wanted them to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

repent and change their hearts in order to prepare themselves for the bringing of the Kingdom of God on earth. His "Kingdom of God" was the solution of all the problems of the age, indeed of all ages. It comprised an intellectual Emancipation from all ignorance, superstition, illiteracy, fear, religious formalism, respect for dead customs that have ceased to have any meaning. It comprised a Spiritual Reaffirmation in which the ultimate ends of existence, the *summum bonum*, is clearly defined. The means of its attainment or obtainment is definitely marked out and loyalty to the leader is specifically and ultimately affirmed. It implied a Social Reconstruction under which all the distinctions between man and man is finally abolished and no respect is shown to anyone save on the ground of righteousness, wisdom, and social usefulness. It emphasised an Economic Redistribution by virtue of which it will be decreed that there shall be no poor save the poor in spirit, and no rich save the rich "in hunger and thirst after righteousness," none idle because every one will have opportunities for work and find the joy of living in doing, none overworked and broken down as the fair distribution of work will lighten the labour of each, and the whole earth will be turned into a veritable abode of bliss where men will be untrammelled by want and suffering. And it foreshadowed a Political Revolution by which all the nations and races of the world will be perfectly free and equal, none ruling the other or being ruled by the other, but all marching together, shoulder to shoulder, towards the establishment of universal Peace and Brotherhood on earth. It is the all-round Regeneration of Man and Mankind. These are some of the mighty contents of the divine concept of the Kingdom of God. Jesus fully knew that this Golden Age cannot be brought about by men with their old hearts of lead and he rightly laid his emphasis on repentance, on change of heart, on ceasing to live for self and its comforts and living for God and His Kingdom.

In his mind the Kingdom of God was the one and the only remedy for all the ills of mankind. Love and self-sacrifice were his sole weapons for the establishment of the Kingdom. He wanted a body of disciples who not only accepted his goal but also pledged themselves to follow his own methods to carry on his work. He trained his disciples as no other teacher ever trained his followers. The knowledge that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the Living God, was the central rock upon which he wanted to establish his Kingdom and when Peter made that momentous declaration Jesus was satisfied that he had found the rock to build his church upon. This Church was to be the nucleus of the Kingdom. The burden of carrying forward the work of Christ after he left them was entrusted to this infant Church. In fact the Kingdom was to be the goal and the Church was to be the instrument to bring about that goal. The Church was not an end in itself. Jesus took his place among, and identified himself completely with, the miserable sinners, outcastes and the publicans. He championed the cause of the economically disinherited against the rich exploiters, the cause of the oppressed against the oppressors, the cause of the helpless against the powerful with the inevitable result of being hung up on the cross. It was and is his desire that his disciples, individually and as a body, the whole Church, should also stand for truth against falsehood, for right against might, for liberty against oppression.

There are few orthodox religionists, whose number is happily becoming smaller day by day, who assert that Jesus had nothing to do with social affairs, economic problems and political struggles and that the only business of a true religious man is to "say his prayers" and count his beads, to be obedient, docile, submissive, subservient and to spend all his time in putting on a sanctimonious appearance and preparing himself for the next world. How can the Church descend to such levels? If Jesus was what these professional religionists represent him to be, the Princes and Priests and company of Palestine would have taken very little notice of him. It is an important matter to be stressed over and over again, that the teachings and activities of Jesus with reference to his Kingdom of God movement, began to cut across and cut deeply too into the social, economic and political interests of the privileged classes that the priests, princes and plutocrats formed themselves into an unholy alliance for the purpose of committing the murder of the noblest, the purest, and the loveliest man that ever breathed.

The psychology of the exploiting classes all the world over, call them by whatever name one may, Capitalists, Imperialists, Nazis, Fascists, National leaders, is still exactly what it was nineteen centuries ago and the disciples of Christ, if they are to be true to his name, have to resist these evil ones, even as he resisted, with all the Truth, Love and forgiveness they could command and die, if need be, even as he died on the cross. By seeking to escape from the dread duty laid upon us, by the Master, saying that we seek the Kingdom in the next world we are only betraying the Master.

The Churches have a special responsibility laid upon them in this respect. It is a matter of deep regret and indelible shame that in the past our churches have turned quite right about and have been seeking to gain the favour of the mighty oppressors by helping them to keep the oppressed down. They have preached a kind of opiate in the name of Christ and lulled the disinherited into submission and aquiescence to despotism by assuring them that they would have in heaven all that they had missed or lost on earth. This caricature of Christianity has done enough harm to the world and it is high time to stop it. The Soviet decrees banishing Churchianity from Russia and the Indian attitude of approving Christ and rejecting Christianity are the direct results of preaching pseudo-religion by the dupes of imperialism sent out as missionaries of Christ. But Jesus Christ, all honour and glory to him, preached good tidings to the poor, and the only good news that is of any good to the poor is the assurance that they need be poor no more.

If we read the Nazareth manifesto, the Magnificat, the declarations of the aged Simeon, the prophecies of St. John the Baptist, why for the matter of that, all the Gospels carefully and prayerfully, we will find that he waged an unrelenting war against sin and sickness, slavery and selfishness, privilege and poverty in order to establish the Commonwealth of God. The Sermon on the Mount, the teachings about love, about forgiveness, about humility, were all directed towards the attainment of a particular goal and that goal was a new Social Order, the New Age, the New Race, the Kingdom of God. One has to read the New Testament dispassionately to be convinced of this.

In this connection let us concentrate our attention for a while on the scriptures and see what they have got to give us. In the days when different portions of the New Testament were written it was not so easy as it is nowadays to write and publish books. Very few people wrote books. Besides as all the books that were written had to be copied by hand, nobody cared to make copies of them unless there was something original and worth having in them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The writers of the New Testament books had a distinct message which they wanted to convey to the readers. Therefore in any attempt at finding the message of the Gospels it is necessary that we carefully examine (1) the principal thought with which the book begins, (2) the new and original topic which the author expresses and which was not familiar to readers before, (3) the predominant subject to which the author again and again reverts by means of frequent repetitions, (4) the central message that is sought to be left upon the mind of the reader and upon which the author concentrates all his powers, (5) the important idea with which the author finishes his book or teachings, and (6) the immediate results of the author's work upon the people for whom he wrote or whom he taught. As the Epistles were written as answers to particular questions that were raised or for settling temporary disputes, we shall leave them aside for the moment and apply these tests to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

(1) Both John the Baptist and Jesus Christ started their respective ministries by preaching that the Kingdom of God was at hand and that people must repent in order to obtain it. (2) The idea of the Kingdom of God, as the solution for all the problems of the whole world, is the original and bold idea of Jesus. Though there are references to it before his time, nobody dared to advocate it as the only remedy for all the distempers of mankind. (3) Jesus refers to the Kingdom of God more than a hundred times in the Gospels and he commands his disciples to seek it first so that they might have all other things added on to it. (4) All his parables, moral teachings, activities and, in fact, the whole life is directed towards the establishment of the reign of God. (5) Even after his resurrection, Jesus spent 40 days in discussing the affairs of the Kingdom of God with his disciples and that was indeed his parting message. (6) After his ascension and after receiving his Holy Spirit Pentacost, his disciples did in fact lead the life of the Kingdom in which all man-made inequalities social, economical, political, racial and cultural were at an end. In fact it was only because this Kingdom example, set by his disciples, before the rest of the people was shaking the foundations of the capitalist economy of the Jews and the Imperialistic Social Order of the Romans that the disciples were persecuted.

Thus it is absolutely clear that Jesus intended his Church to be the most potent weapon for the establishment of the Kingdom of God and, if that very weapon is now being used for the purpose of the Kingdom of some one else, there is still time enough for it to repent and come back to Christ. For the Church to forget the fact that it is only the tool, and to claim to be the Kingdom itself, is to resemble the servant who believing that his master would be late in coming began to play at being the master and was at last found out. Like Peter, who followed Christ from a distance, warmed himself at the enemy's camp fire and denied his Lord, our churches too have been following Christ at a distance. They too have long warmed themselves at the enemy's camp-fire and have denied their Lord. Will the similarity end here or go further? Peter repented and wept bitterly and the Lord forgave him. Are the Churches also going to repent and weep bitterly? If they do so he who taught his disciples to forgive each other seventy times seven times, will surely forgive his churches also, and sanctify them for Kingdom ends.

TRIPURI'S MESSAGE FOR CHRISTIANS.

(By Cyril Modak.)

In 1885 the Indian National Congress met in Bombay for the first time. W. C. Bonnerjee was the President. The Congress then was a small body of Indian patriots, who felt it their moral responsibility to articulate the national aspirations of the Indian intelligentsia. What strides the Congress has made in half a century! Today it articulates with fearless determination, the aspirations of the vast majority of the Indian population. Today it is the national organisation through which the *Kisan* and the *bhumijan* no less than the educated, women no less than men, carry on the sacred fight for freedom. The pageant of these fifty-two years was aptly symbolised in the presidential procession, led by fifty-two elephants decked in royal trapping, bearing large portraits of national leaders. Indeed, few countries have had such a succession of heroic leaders as India has, during the last half a century. If India has yet not achieved complete independence it is not because of the dearth of high-calibre leadership but because of the fatal conspiracy between illiteracy and religionists. But India is on the march. Reactionary forces are doomed.

The Tripuri Session of the Indian National Congress is considered by some to have been a sorry failure. Others think it was a great success. We have all read the speeches made by Rightists and Leftists in support of, or in opposition to, the various resolutions. There is no need for another report of the happenings at Tripuri. Let us rather try to understand the significance of those happenings, pleasant or unpleasant as they were, and the bearings of those incidents on the Christian community. At Tripuri the glittering curtain was mercilessly torn down. It became amply clear that under the Rightist banner have assembled people of various shades of political and moral opinion, self-sacrificing Gandhians, astute Pateliites, autocratic Ramrajists, and ambitious politicians of vacillating convictions. While on the side of the Leftists are those who belong to the Congress Socialist Party, Royists, some extremists, and a few who have grievances against some pontifical ruling of Vallabhbhai Patel.

The Leftists made it quite plain that they welcomed a united front but would compromise none of the essentials of their creed. With uncanny insight the Leftists discovered the reactionary forces in the Rightist camp. Their challenge to these forces was unmistakeable. The Rightists exerted all their energy to safeguard their conservatism and check a progressive revolutionary movement. The clash revealed that what used to be a vague Socialist tendency has become a vigorous Socialist Movement. And it is bound to grow. Opposition is sure to help it to gather strength. Criticism will certainly spur it on to clearer definitions. The fact that Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru failed to bring about a compromise shows that the Leftists have sufficient faith in their programme and creed to be willing to part company with the powerful Rightists, and Nehru himself if need be. As a matter of fact, the chief complaint against the Rightists is that they have no programme of action commensurate with the desperate needs of the country.

It is wrong to believe that even the most extreme among the Leftists minimize the extent of the progress made so far or the value of the Gandhian philosophy. They rejoice in the wonnderful progress made. But they are not sentimental enough to interpret the present stand-still as progress. They honour Gandhiji and his heroic efforts. But they are not blind to the fact that great as its achivement have

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been in the past, Gandhiism needs to be tempered in the fire of socialism if it is to be an effective instrument for the next phase of the battle for freedom. On the other hand, one could not return from Tripuri without feeling that the Rightists have been using the magic of Gandhiji's name for small ends. Did the highest interests of the country inspire the obduracy that the Rightists manifested? Did the best welfare of the nation dictate the resolutions apparently expressing confidence in Gandhiji and in the ex-Working Committee? Was it really for the sake of Indian independence that the Rightists gave resolute battle to the Leftists? It would be extremely difficult to find satisfactory answers to these questions. It is evident, however, that what used to be the progressive phalanx of the nationalist movement is now the conservative, for a new and more radical phalanx has arisen and is striving to make its influence felt. The Radicals (or leftists) are using no magical mantrams to gain mastery. They are arousing mass-consciousness on the one hand and implementing consolidation, and on the other hand loosening the props from under the imperialist and capitalist structure. They are convinced, and make no secret of their conviction, that cultural, social and economic reconstruction must accompany political emancipation if that emancipation is to be permanent and worthwhile. Do the Rightists share this conviction?

Harold Laski said in a message to the Tripuri Congress, "The fight in which the Indian National Congress is engaged is of vital importance beyond the frontiers of India. Imperialism is the common foe of all who seek a world in which men and women have an equal claim to the gains as well as to the toil of living. Many of the main problems of India are insoluble save by Indians themselves. They require self-government not merely as a right which no democratic state can deny to them. They require it even more because without self-government the vital economic problems of India will be disregarded..... I hope the Congress will continue to struggle for the right to determine its own relationship to the British Commonwealth. But I hope it will realise also that the attainment of self-government is the beginning and not the end of its effort. I stand with those who, like Pundit Nehru and Mr. Bose, see that without socialism there is no way of freeing the masses of India from their economic slavary. I hope that the new generation of the Congress particularly will give all their mind and energy to assisting Nehru and Bose in the great fight for an India socially and economically as well as politically free." The younger generation of the Congress seems to have anticipated such a message: They are definitely socialistically minded.

The national situation today, has a tremendous challenge for the Christian community. We have long kept aloof under various pretexts from the fighting line. We have long deluded ourselves with all kinds of sophistry. Of course, there have been exceptions, but few and far between. The time has come when Indian Christians must get free from the inhibitions of a century and take their stand alongside of their non-Christian brothers and sisters, and fight shoulder to shoulder for the freedom and honour of the Motherland. Especially all Christian realists, all those whose hearts beat fast at the challenge of radical Christianity, must not lose this opportunity of ranging themselves against the exploitation, of the weak, against the perpetuation of unchristian distinctions, against pharasaism of all kinds, against cowardly compromise. In Jesus Christ, whom we profess to follow, we have the champion of the economically disinherited, of the physically disinherited, of the politically and socially disinherited, and of the morally and spiritually disinherited. Will we be true to Him and bravely meet the Cross for sake of liberating the oppressed, setting free the captives, ensuring that the poor have the same rights as the rich? Or will we shrink and justify by chicanery our disloyalty to Christ?

Are we so deaf that we cannot hear Jesus calling his followers in India to honour him by joining with the progressive forces of the world and of India to the emancipation of the millions held in intellectual thraldom, held in social bondage, held in economic fetters, held in political chains? Are we so blind that we cannot see Jesus pointing to the miserable outcastes, to the poverty-stricken peasants, to the thousands of despondent unemployed, to the unacknowledged heroes of the land in prison and in exile, and saying, "In as much as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto Me?" The basic position of radical Christianity should drive us to co-operate whole-heartedly in the reconstruction that the Leftists are undertaking in order to establish a classless society in India, in which every man shall be free to share the fruits of his labour and the responsibility of his citizenship, in which every man shall have equal rights and equal worth, in which, indeed, every man shall be able to love God with all his being and his neighbour as himself. We have a more powerful incentive than the Communists. We have Christ. Surely, we will not waste the power of that matchless indomitable incentive. Surely we shall prove the sovereignty of Christ's matchless power by manifesting His courage by co-operating consistently, creatively, and unflinchingly in the work of emancipation that non-Christians have been attempting to do for the nation.

Loyalty to Christ demands that we get out of our narrow communal trenches and come up on the vast plains of the national struggle, unafraid of hazards, happy to prove the greatness of Him who inspires us. The trenches have restricted our vision long enough. Our comrades of the trenches, native and foreign, have held us back all too long. We must take them along with us to see a larger horizon, fight a bigger battle, serve a nobler cause. We do our Lord grave injustice by behaving in such a fashion as to give people cause to misunderstand Him. Our courageous dedication to liberty, our unfaltering stand for justice and truth, our heroic suffering and sacrifice for establishing the Commonwealth of God with our own borders will convince our brethren of the supremacy of Christ's claims much more effectively than all the wordy windiness of apologists. All the cleverest rationalization in the world cannot absolve us from the stigma of disloyalty both to Christ and the Motherland if we persist in burrowing little holes for ourselves and call it Christian service.

Tripuri declared to the world that a tremendous national revolution is in process. Millions of men and women are passionately interested in the struggle for freedom. They are intensely desirous of participating in that struggle. The slumber of the ages is broken. Men and women, young and old, rich and poor, high caste and low caste are in person registering strong protests against the iniquities of exploitation. What turn will the revolution take? Is the Christian community in India too small to throw its weight into the balances in favour of a spiritually motivated revolution? Certainly not, it is not too small; but is it too hesitant? No arguments can justify timidity. Hesitation at moments of crisis is timidity. A policy of safety-first is landing us into grave dangers. Whereas a policy of *Christovert*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

action, even if it costs one generation dearly, will extend the Commonwealth of God and win glory for the Martyr-Messiah, Jesus, the divine Revolutionary. Let us fall in line with the progressive forces of the country and transmit the influence of Christ to the national movement. Let us reclaim what has been lost. Let our hesitancy not drive men away in disgust from the dauntless Christ. Vande Kristam! Vande Mataram!

LOVE OF POWER.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta).

Love of power is a weakness which few indeed can overcome. And the greater the power the more is is such weakness, which leads people into inconsistencies, disregard of principles and loss of directness of aim and purpose. At Tripuri, however, something more happened; it made leaders eat up their own arguments before the latter had even the barest time to cool down a little after their hot delivery. And that they did in broad daylight, in and out of the open session of the Congress, without a platitude and without even a shrug of shoulder. Love of power, if it brings weakness of a particular sort, also toughens one's sensibility to moral pricks coming from one's inconsistent conduct.

Following Mr. Bose's election the so-called Rightist leaders, taking the cue from Gandhiji's open statement, took their hands off the Congress working machine explicitly for the understandable reason of letting Bose run it according to the mechanics of his own and his outnumbering supporters in the country. There were many in the country, whether or not in the evanescent public limelight, who genuinely regretted such hastiness of sober people in rushing to demarcate so sharply between this and that group of the national organisation as to make out that active and responsive cooperation was not possible and even desirable between the two. The awkward position of the leaders after the unworthy and unsubstantiated reflections, however provoked they might have been, cast on them by an election-fever sufferer was no doubt appreciated, but after Gandhiji's deciding manifesto asking President Bose to get on with his programme and policy without counting on his or his old colleagues' support, no-party thinkers left off thinking over the matter and looked forward to the activities of a new regime said to be inspired by new ideas and more dynamic spirit.

But that would have virtually meant the self-brought-about retirement of many a working leader and their parting with important and influential powers that they had been holding. Such prospects work on the nerve of even strong hearts, and so long as man is not the full master of himself, of his senses, of his sense of ego and the rest, that long he breaks down one way or the other. And so did the Rightist leaders, who beat back on their track, hurdled over the barriers they had themselves raised by their previous statements on their way back to the front line, and canvassed hot for necessary votes to support them. True, the out-going Working Committee members had the modesty not to speak out their mind, but they did not also, even for once, reiterate what they had only a few days ago said about their avowed preference to watch from a distance the new President working out his convictions with a free hand. While they thus behaved knowing well enough that their significant silence, whether they willed it or not, was bound to influence voting in their favour, Gandhiji went to Rajkot on the eve of the Congress, distracted the country's attention from the Congress to himself by his fast, and preferred to ignore beseeching calls from Tripuri to go there even for a day to explain his position and his intentions to people whose mind was set more on divining them than on the issues presented to them. Obviously Gandhiji owed such explanation to himself as much as to the people whom he had set thinking and wondering by his rather hasty statement issued without very sufficient cause on the announcement of the President's election. His Delhi visit should have been postponed; that was undoubtedly of less importance than his presence at Tripuri. Even if it was physically or otherwise impossible for him to present himself and his views before the assembled delegates at Tripuri, it was for him to send a very clear statement of his position to them. The argument that the delegates should be left free and uninfluenced to deliberate and decide by themselves could not hold there, because he had already very strongly influenced them by his very meaningful, though not very direct, previous statement. If he had already advised the President to get on with his programme without reckoning on any active cooperation from him and those of his way of thinking and if he had, at least indirectly, been responsible for the *en bloc* resignations of the latter, was it not in the fitness of things for him to advise from Rajkot his staunch supporters not to fight again for the positions, which they had under his inspiration thought best to relinquish?

What, however, he actually did was quite different; and if it be true, as has been said, that he rather advised them not to agree to the slightest change in Pandit Pant's resolution, he had unconsciously failed in his experiments with the truth of his own mental psychology, a deep analysis of which might possibly have shown traces of hurt vanity.

One seems to detect such traces again when reflecting on happenings following the Congress session and the passage therein of Pant's resolution. The Congress President is seriously ill; his hands are strongly fettered in an unprecedented manner in exercising discretion in the constitution of the Working Committee; it is the Mahatma who is to do the whole thing, the President only signing at his bidding; and even for this formal act of attesting his signature, it is the President who has to travel and travel to catch the Mahatma. Mahatma Gandhi in the meantime is conferring at Delhi; he can, in spite of his weakness after the fast, go right from Rajkot to Delhi to see the Viceroy, but cannot go in stronger health from Delhi to Dhanbad to see a seriously ill President lying helplessly on bed to tender to him the advice which he has been ordered by Gandhiji's lieutenants to seek from him. From the point of view of humane feelings, of sympathy and tenderness for an ailing colleague, or of showing magnanimity in not hurting the feelings of one who has already been humiliated, Mahatma Gandhi has not acted Mahatma-like in acting as above. That is harsh to say, but I feel I owe it to Gandhiji to express my feelings, though in doing so, I assure him, I feel more pain than he and those who will read this.

And what about the other leaders who are gleeful at their come-back to the former position which they have skillfully effected? They are impatient at the delay in the formation of the Working Committee and are assembling round Gandhiji, instead of caring to go to the side of the sick President. They have asked him to go by Gandhiji's advice, but when he is unable to go himself for such advice it is none of their humane consideration to get that advice from Gandhiji and carry it to the sick man. That is not all; the unkindest cut comes when they ask for a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee not at the place where the President is lying but at distant

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bombay, for the apparently obvious reason that they anticipate criticism and unpopularity at the President's headquarters. But is not such fear to face criticism wholly inconsistent with the courage that is necessary in the doctrine of non-violence? Gandhiji might as well test his leading followers in this respect.

Lest the above comments be misunderstood, I would refer my readers to my article on "The Congress Presidential Election and After" in *The Indian Social Reformer* of the 4th March in which will be found why I, more than many another, prefer Gandhian leadership in Indian National regeneration to continue to its being displaced by the leadership of not only the so-called Left-wingers but also of most of the denationalised Rightist leaders who, whatever they may think at heart and however they may act in private, pass themselves under Gandhian sail so as to keep themselves in popular political limelight. But for reason of my such preference, I cannot blind myself to things and doings which do not appeal to my head or heart and which leave me pained and wondering at the mis-steps taken by national leaders under impulse of vanity, love of power, jealousy, and like weakness, which disturb our balance of mind, cloud our judgement, and make us do things unworthy of ourselves.

PROHIBITION SCHEME IN BOMBAY.

The following Press Note has been issued by the Bombay Government :

On the introduction of Prohibition in the city and suburbs of Bombay, no licenses will be renewed for the retail sale of country liquor, foreign liquor, toddy, opium or hemp drugs.

More stringent conditions than at present will be imposed on—

(1) denatured spirit,
(2) rectified spirit,
(3) medicated wine,

licenses, and on licenses for the manufacture and sale of—

(1) essences,
(2) perfumed spirits.

It will be obligatory to take out licenses for possession and sale of any spirituous medicated articles and spirituous toilet preparations.

Greater restrictions than at present will have to be imposed on the use of spirits of any kind in industry or manufacture.

All licenses for supply of intoxicants at restaurants, clubs, etc., and the licenses now granted to clubs for supply of liquor to their members will be terminated.

Wholesale dealers in wines and spirits who now have "Trade and Import" licenses will be allowed to carry on their business so far as the supply of goods to customers outside the Total Prohibition Area is concerned under strict Excise control.

When Prohibition is in force it will be illegal for any person, not having the appropriate license or permit, to have in his possession any Country liquor, foreign liquor (wines, spirits, beer, etc.), Toddy, Opium, Ganja, Bhang, Charas, or, unless it has been dispensed by a licensed chemist on the prescription of a Registered Medical Practitioner or registeered Vaid or Hakim, any medicine containing spirit, medicated wine, drakshasava or other asava containing alcohol, brandy for medicinal purposes.

While Government holds the view that the consumption of intoxicants, whether liquor or drugs, is alien to Indian culture, they recognise that such consumption is not condemned by western civilization. Therefore permits for the personal consumption of foreign liquor will be given to foreigners, temporarily resident in or touring in India. Government consider, however, that those Europeans who have made India their permanent home should be willing to comply with Indian sentiment in this matter.

Therefore the issue of permits will be made only to 'persons of Non-Asiatic Domicile.'

Instructions regarding what constitutes domicile will be shortly issued, but, speaking generally, a person born of parents domiciled outside Asia, who was educated outside Asia and who intends to reside permanently outside Asia after he leaves India, may be said to have a non-Asiatic domicile. This will exclude Europeans domiciled in India and residents of other Asiatic countries.

Application for permits will be made to the Collector of Bombay on forms which will be obtainable from any Excise Office after a date to be notified later. Applicants will have to make a declaration of domicile and, if required, to produce evidence to prove that the domicile is non-Asiatic.

Government will reserve the right to refuse the grant of a permit to any person if they think fit, and to cancel any permit issued.

Fuller instructions about the quantity allowed, method of purchase, etc., will be issued later.

Any breach of the conditions of the permit will render it liable to cancellation, whereafter the person concerned will not be entitled to possess, purchase or consume alcoholic liquor.

Government understands that in some religions the use of wine is considered necessary in certain religious ceremonies. Government has no desire to interfere with any religious observances and will be prepared to consider all such cases and to issue permits or authority for such use under proper safeguards through a constituted authority of such religion or community.

Government understands that a number of persons normally keep a small quantity of brandy or other alcoholic beverage in the house for use in case of illness and that apprehension has been expressed that under Total Prohibition this will not be permitted. It may be stated that on obtaining a Registered Medical Practitioner's, Registered Vaid's or Hakim's prescription, it will be possible to obtain from a licensed chemist 4 ozs of brandy and to keep this quantity in the house against emegency.

To prevent the diversion of alcoholic consumption from wines, spirits, toddy, etc., to medicinal or quasi-medicinal spirituous beverages, physicians, chemists and other licensees will not be allowed to supply certain medicines of either Western or Eastern medical systems containing spirit, or medicated wines, drakshasavas or brandy for medicinal purposes, unless the patient has produced a prescription from a registered Medical Practitioner or registered Vaid or Hakim. Such prescription will be filed by the supplier and will be checked by the Excise Department. Steps will be taken to prevent misuse of this privilege.

All chemists who wish to dispense prescriptions containing spirit, or to sell medicated wines, or brandy, etc., for medical use, will under the terms of their license have to keep detailed accounts, the form of which will be notified later, which will be open to inspection by the Excise Department.

Similarly, all physicians who may wish to dispense any of these articles to their patients will have to keep accounts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The arrangements for the Messes and Canteens of the Defence Forces are under separate consideration.

Such Trade and Import liquor licensees as may wish to continne to supply their upcouutry customers outside the Total Prohibition Area will be permitted to have godowns where their stocks will be kept under Excise Bond on payment of the cost of the excise staff required to supervise the godown.

Any person, who may find on the introduction of Prohibition that he is likely to have in his possession liquor, drugs, etc., for which he will have no permit or license, or in quantities greater than his permit or license may allow, will be allowed to deposit them in a Government ware-house and to withdraw therefrom according to the terms of his permit or license thereafter, or to remove them to non-prohibition areas.

Government recognises that persons habituated to the use of opium and hemp drugs in many cases are not able voluntarily to relinquish such use. Therefore provision will be made for issue to such persons as may produce a medical certificate stating the need for the drug, of 'addicts' permits'. Such a permit will enable the addict to purchase a limited quantity of the drug from a Government Opium and Hemp Drugs Depot. Government hopes to arrange for local Medical Boards in the various wards of the City which will issue the medical certificates entitling the addict to obtain a drug permit.

At the Government Opium and Hemp Drugs Depots the drugs will be sold in sealed packets of specified weights at fixed prices which will be notified later.

The sale and possession of charas will be entirely prohibited, as in the opinion of Government, it is a drug so deleterious in effect that its use must be entirely discouraged. Government proposes to make arrangements that any charas addicts convicted in connection with possession, smuggling, etc., of the drug, should undergo a course of curative treatment while in jail. Curative treatment for all addicts will also be arranged for in Government hospitals.

COCHIN FOR PROHIBITION.

A resolution favouring Prohibition was carried in the Cochin Legislative Council against the Government which pleaded that owing to the position of the State, a comparatively small one surrounded by non-Prohibition districts, it would be difficult to enforce Prohibition. The following extract of the proceedings is taken from the *Hindu*.

Mr. M. K. Devassy moved a resolution recommending to the Government "to reduce the number of toddy and arrack shops by 25 per cent annually, beginning from 1115, with a view to prepare the State for Prohibition."

Mr. C. V. Iyyu moved an amendment to exempt "toddy" from the scope of the resolution on the ground that toddy was an indispensable necessity for the poor labourer, but the amendment was lost for want of a seconder.

Mr. S. S. Koder opposed the resolution on the ground that it was unwise to curtail the civil liberties of the people, that Prohibition was a failure in America which had turned wet, and that the loss of drink revenue would necessitate the imposition of all sorts of levies as was being done in British India.

Mr. P. Atchyutha Menon supported the resolution and referred to the great havoc done by drink among the rural population.

The resolution was pressed to a division and carried, 25 members voting for and 12 against.

PROHIBITION IN BOMBAY.

They are having "Prohibition Week" in Bombay. The Premier inaugurated the "Week" with a startling and effective statement. He had all the facts and logic on his side. The difficulties he faces are connected with personal habits and commercial profits. When these two are combined they will go to any length to gain their end.

The Premier declared that he "would rather go begging" than depend on revenues derived from excise. But those who will be taxed to make up that revenue may not be so self-sacrificing. They are not concerned that the money spent on liquor by their shoemakers, washermen and sweepers bring in the revenue which the opponents of Prohibition are shouting to preserve.

Mr. K. Natarajan, editor of the *Social Reformer*, took his stand by the Premier and congratulated the Government on its Prohibition policy. In this he was running true to form. He has been actively advocating Prohibition through the years, while many Congress leaders have had little or nothing to say about it. But we are not greatly impressed by the stress he laid upon the point that "Prohibition has been the national policy of India for two thousand years." The important matter is to discover whether Prohibition is the national policy to-day. If it is nothing can block the Prohibition movement. But the danger is that we shall discover the national policy to be one of not caring one way or the other so long as extra taxes are not imposed. If taxes are levied look out!

If the leaders can hold the nation loyal to Prohibition it will be a triumph of leadership worthy of all praise. Let them draw upon the past "national policy," let them appeal for help in removing the evils that drink has brought to the depressed classes, let them picture the future advantages that Prohibition will bring to all, let them claim the support of all creeds and clases. They will need all their persuasive powers and all the support they can muster.

It is to be regretted that an exception is being made in Bombay of the European drinkers. Why is this done? Is it because of special consideration for their feelings or because of fear lest they prove a hindrance to the working of the law? In either case the Europeans should hang their heads. Liquor is just as harmful to them as it is to their Indian associates. If India without liquor does not appeal to them, the world is wide and they can go where they please. Australia is inviting them. In years to come they will certainly have little pride in teaching their children that they stood out as exceptions in reform of this sort.

And certainly no exception should be made in the case of wine for sacramental purposes. What a blot upon a holy ceremony! It is time for all Anglican leaders to announce that no exception need be made for the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. Surely the Lutheran Churches are not insisting that an exception be made in their case. And is it too much to hope that even the Roman and other "Catholic" Churches will help the reform by refusing to ask that an exception be made for their Church? Temperance leaders in all these groups should be urging their Churches to refuse to ask that an exception be made for sacramental wine. The unfermented grape juice can be used and should be.

We congratulate those in Bombay who are thus concerning themselves for the public welfare. We desire for no one any difficulty or suffering either personal or material. But the greatest good for the greatest number certainly demands that those who oppose Prohibition change their attitude on this. May Bombay unite and lead India.—*Indian Witness*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol („ „).

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Vardo, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balance not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)
INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.
HEAD OFFICE:
ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

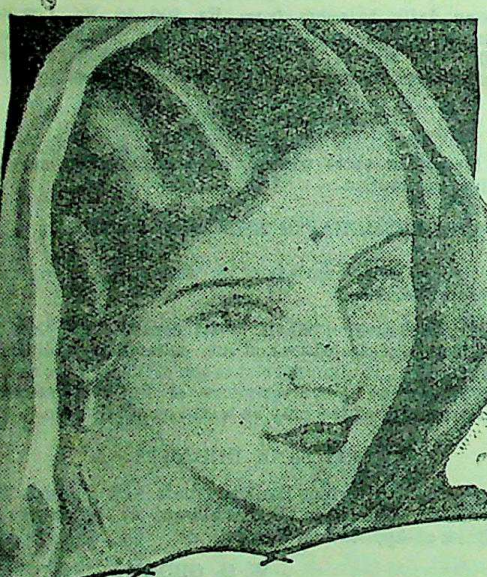
THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate.
2-26 Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy lather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—
The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY APRIL 1, 1939. No. 31

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Prohibition.
Points for Propaganda.
Parsis and Prohibition.
Alcohol and Motor Accidents.
Freedom of the Press.
Theory and Practice
Travancore Minister's Resignation.
Cochin Maharaja's Marriage.
India and Europe.
War and Pacifism.
A Plea for Fairplay.
Prohibition, Education and Abstinence.
Parsis and Prohibition.
Medical Reasons for Abstinence.
The German View of Race.
'Politicus' and Travancore.
The United States and Europe.
The Iona Community.

NOTES.

Prohibition :—This issue of *The Reformer* is devoted largely to Prohibition. We had thought of reviving the Supplement which used to be issued monthly on the subject with *The Reformer* sixteen years ago. On second thoughts we decided that in the completely changed circumstances, there was no need to do so. Prohibition now is the accepted policy of practically all provincial Governments. In the Provinces under Congress Governments, it is actually in force. Madras began but Bombay has distinguished itself by the boldness and imagination displayed in the scheme which has been adopted. It is due here to say that no Government except a Congress Government would have had the grit and nerve to face the problem of finance raised by the adoption of abolition. And no Congress Government would have attempted to do so but for the magnificent leadership of Gandhiji. Animal sacrifices and drink were the evil heritage which Gautama Buddha freed India from. Buddhism itself after a thousand years became corrupt and the evils which the Jamuna had put down returned in the shape of the Tantric abominations. The philosophers and saints of medieval India purified society of these evils. But during the political confusion which immediately preceded the modern era, society again relapsed into its old ways. The purifying movement has again to be revived. Religious and social reformers who during the last one hundred years have been working to rid society of corruptions which had come in association with Western civilisation. The first generation of educated Indians succumbed to them. Young Bengal, as a shrewd observer remarked, was baptised in brandy. What was true of Bengal was true of other parts of India as well. The idea of making total abstinence an integral part of social reform, belongs to the Madras Indian Social Reform Association. This step was taken in the early part of the last decade of the last century. Pledges were required of members of every Social Reform Association binding them to total abstinence. The Congress during recent years has adopted Prohibition as a part of its programme. Congress Governments have started introducing it in seven provinces, each in its own way according to the local conditions. None, however, has shown the intrepidity and determination shown by the Government of Bombay.

Points for Propaganda:—Last Saturday the Prime Minister inaugurated Prohibition Week at a great mass meeting on Chowpathi Sands. The speakers on the occasion were chosen without reference to political views. This is important as Prohibition is not a political issue but a moral and social one. From this fact arises the need for great caution in the manner of propaganda, which is, necessary to strengthen the instinct against drink which the greatest part of the population has inherited as part of its spiritual and social heritage. In political propaganda exaggerations do no great harm because political issues are intangible and seldom arise in a concrete way. In social matters, on the contrary, every man, woman and child is in a position to test the truth of facts. If a single statement advanced in support of a social reform is found to be false, the propagandist not only fails to carry conviction but jeopardises the success of other and more careful propagandists. To take one instance. One of the speakers at the Chowpathi meeting attacked the argument that drink in moderation was not harmful. He declared that the moderate drinker ended in the gutter. Everybody knows moderate drinkers who have not landed in a gutter and also that there are numerous other ways in which men and women arrive at that destination. Also that all people who are found in the gutter are not there owing to any fault of theirs. The argument of the moderate drinker is thoroughly fallacious but not for this reason. The true reason is that, although he may not visibly come to grief, his constitution and mental powers are undermined by the habit and he sets an evil example to others. This is very aptly stated in an opinion which is reproduced elsewhere, by a distinguished Health authority. The havoc caused by drink in not realised by the middle classes in this country because a very large proportion of them has been brought up

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the tradition of total abstinence. When all is said, the fact remains that the middle classes are the backbone of society, on whom falls the burden of every progressive movement. Owing to our water-tight caste system, an impenetrable barrier divides the middle classes from the masses. This barrier has to be broken down and the road opened for the masses to rise to the level of the middle classes and for the influence of the latter to operate freely on the masses. The drink habit is the most obstinate fence in this barrier.

Parsis and Prohibition:—We deeply regret that an influential section of the Parsis of Bombay has taken up an attitude of undiscriminating opposition to the Prohibition policy of the Government. That policy is rooted in the ancient tradition of India and is integrated to the policy of religious toleration which gave a warm welcome to refugees from religious persecution. This policy of toleration was possible only because the social life of the country had been stabilised by, among other things, the enforcement of total abstinence; and ran little risk of being affected by the influx of immigrants. In entire accord with that policy, the Government of Bombay have announced that permits will be issued for religious uses on the authorities being satisfied that liquor is an obligatory part of any ritual. Government have also met the case of old and infirm people whose health may suffer from the deprivation of a luxury to which they have been accustomed, by providing for the issue of "addict permits" on application by persons of this class. The word "addict" has unsavoury associations and there can be no objection to the use of a less pointed epithet such as "invalid" and "old age" permits. These two points are urged in the well-reasoned article by a much-respected Parsi friend, which we publish elsewhere. At a mass meeting in Cowasjee Jehangir Hall last Wednesday, some speakers criticised the Prohibition policy as an infringement of civil liberty. It certainly is that, if civil liberty means the liberty to beat one's wife, to starve one's children, to scamp one's work, to drive a car into the ditch or to dash of an article which one is ashamed to read in cold print. No civilised society can permit this kind of "civil liberty." Nor is there any point in the slogan about "minority rights" because the right here claimed is for the minority to sell drink to the majority which is debarred by the most sacred sanctions from touching and tasting liquor. The European Association sent a letter of encouragement to the meeting. This group is composed mostly of persons who have no interest in the country except of a business kind. It does not represent the mind and conscience of the British people. The Rev. J. F. Edwards who has been good enough to contribute the weighty article which we publish today, is far more truly representative of it. No British Government would presume to impose its veto on the adoption of the policy of Prohibition consecrated through centuries by the religious conscience of India, without incurring the deepest odium in the eyes of the whole world. The Parsi community has contributed much to the progress of the country and is entitled to the greatest consideration in all matters affecting its well-being. Its opposition to Prohibition is wholly out of keeping with its general attitude of benevolent philanthropy and would not, we are sure, have been countenanced by Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta and Dinshah Wacha.

Alcohol and Motor Accidents:—From time to time suggestions are made, some of them fantastic, all of them more or less costly, to avert motor accidents. High sounding slogans like "Safety First" are displayed in posters. The colour of road lamps is frequently changed. Islands are constructed at road junctions. When a driver is prosecuted for an accident, his guilt or innocence is often judged by whether or not he sounded his horn. On the other hand the blowing of the horn is denounced by some ultra-sensitive "expert" as a nuisance and a danger to public safety. In all this Babel of suggestions one most important cause of motor accidents is either wilfully or ignorantly overlooked. In a case which was decided some time back in Bombay, the Court admitted an alcohol test which would be regarded as utterly inadequate in other countries. We take the following from the *Indian Witness*:—

> In Berlin, the police, who are the authority for issuing driving licences, hand to every applicant for a driving licence a mauve card, entitled: "Alcohol Warning for Motor Drivers." This card contains ten cautionary paragraphs, commencing, "The responsible calling of the motor driver makes it necessary for him to abstain completely from all alcoholic beverages, both before and during work." Such value do the Berlin police attach to these warnings that a driver cannot receive his licence until he has signed a receipt for the card.

Mr. Harry Porter, Chief Municipal Magistrate of Evanston, Illinois, recently declared that ninety per cent or more of traffic accidents and injuries are traceable to the use of alcohol. He added:

> Our method of handling alcohol drivers must be strengthened and made more efficient at the earliest possible moment. Strangely enough, the really dangerous driver is not what we have heretofore humourously called the 'horizontal drunk.' The really dangerous driver is the man who has had a few drinks and is absolutely and thoroughly convinced of his own sobriety and of his unequalled driving perfection.

We are sure that not the least important effect of introducing Prohibition in Bombay will be a much greater reduction in traffic accidents than all the Safety First measures put together.

Freedom of the Press:— While we agree with the Home Minister of Bombay that the principle of freedom of the Press should not be allowed to cover incitements to commit ill-will, we nevertheless think that ordering the publisher of a newspaper to furnish a deposit is not the best way of dealing with its abuse. There is a special provision of the ordinary law for prosecuting writings and speeches calculated to promote communal hatred. There is no more reason why this provision should not be enforced than for not enforcing the law in cases of

CC-0. Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

theft or forgery. The effects of giving publicity, good or bad, are the same in both cases. We think that a public exposure in a Court of Justice of the wickedness of writings inimical to communal harmony, is likely to prove a greater deterrent than a hole and corner decision by the Minister to demand a deposit from a newspaper. Another objection to the deposit practice is that its incidence is unequal. It bears hardly on poor papers while a newspaper which can secure the backing of a wealthy individual or organisation, can snap its fingers at the Minister. He can confiscate the amount of one deposit but another will be found and another and another. There is a sneakishness about the deposit method which is offensive to one's sense of fairplay. The Minister is not infallible and with the best of motives he might be misled into doing injustice to honest criticism. If the rule against writings calculated to arouse communal ill-feeling, is to be applied strictly, there is hardly a comment on current politics in this country which can escape attention. Even the Indo-British Trade Agreement called up the communal obsession in the discussion on it in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The effect of demanding deposits is not less calculated to make martyrs of newspapers than having them prosecuted under the ordinary law in Courts of Justice. The previous Government which enacted the Emergencies law was not elected by the people and did not trust them to judge fairly in political matters. But the Bombay Government is the creature of a popular vote and surely it is illogical of it to under-rate the intelligence of its creators.

Theory and Practice :—When people borrow theories instead of evolving them from their own experience, they are apt to overlook the limitations and qualifications which attend their application in the land of their origin. One of the most commonplace of these in British Indian politics, is the separation of executive from judicial functions. This principle which is derived from the British constitution, is interpreted here in a sense far more absolute than is to be found in British practice. The Lord Chancellor is a member of the Cabinet, he is the head of the Judiciary and he is also the presiding officer when the House of Lords sits as a Court of Appeal. Judges are appointed on party lines whenever vacancies occur. If the Lord Chief Justice dies when Liberals are in office his successor is invariably a Liberal. The Home Department exercises considerable supervision over the county courts. With all this, it is true that there is considerable independence of the judicial from the executive administration in Great Britain. In France the principle has been interpreted to mean the complete freedom of the Executive from Judicial processes. There is no appeal from executive action to the Courts. This is exactly the opposite of what prevails in Great Britain and this is also the general Continental practice. In India we have likewise to adapt political theories to our requirements. It is interesting to watch the transmutation undergone by theories in actual practice. The Government of India Act is a curious mosaic of constitutional principles forced through the sieve of political expediency. The Indian National Congress organization is another. It passed a resolution at its last session that the President should exercise his right to choose his Cabinet under the direction of Gandhiji! This has been the practice for several years but Mr. Subhas Bose's contumacy has forced the Congress majority to have this anomaly enshrined in a resolution. To the student of political science, it is of surpassing interest to watch the processes by which fact breaks through appearances.

Sind Minister's Resignation:—It is announced that the two Hindu Ministers of the Sind Cabinet have resigned and that their resignations have been accepted. The action of these two gentlemen is due to pressure brought on them by the Hindu party on account of the failure of the Sind Government to suppress the Om Mandli to which reference has been made several times in *The Reformer*. Government have to follow the procedure laid down by the law and evidently they have not found anything to justify the use of any power that they may have to do so summarily, in the constitution or working of the Om Mandli. Bhai Lekhraj, the founder and Director of the Mandli, has been prosecuted before the courts. If the Om Mandli is, nevertheless, obnoxious to a section of Hindus in Sind, the community should under normal circumstances, have been able to bring moral pressure to bear on the inmates, their own near relatives, to quit attending the institution. The fact that they have to invoke the Executive Government to suppress the institution arbitrarily, reveals lack of moral influence as well as a total disregard for legal proprieties. Satyagraha has been put to many ridiculous uses but that of the opponents of Om Mandli surpasses them all.

Indore Maharaja's Marriage :—The Maharaja of Indore surprised the public this week by a grandiose proclamation, evidently copied in part from the abdication statement of the Duke of Windsor, announcing that he had married Miss M. Lawler in order to serve his people to the utmost of his power. "This I can only do," said His Highness, "if I enjoy sound health and domestic happiness. Therefore, I have married Miss Margaret Lawler the lady I love, so that we both may serve our people whole-heartedly and contribute towards the progress of our State." His Highness did not state when and where and under what law the marriage took place. But he thought it fit to mention that "the marriage will not affect the question of succession." In the case of the late Raja of Pudukotta the Government of India passed the *gadi* on to the Raja's brother in preference to his son by an Australian wife. The Maharaja of Indore's statement was superfluous unless it was meant to signify that this precedent will not apply to his successor.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, April 1, 1939.

SPAIN AND EUROPE.

One by one the strongholds of the Spanish Republican Government are surrendering to General Franco. On Tuesday, Madrid gave in after a heroic resistance of two and a half years. With the fall of Madrid, the Spanish War comes practically to an end. From the point of view of Spain itself, the only regret must be that the struggle for power was protracted. It is true that help from Fascist countries enabled General Franco to convert a military rising of no great strength into an effective revolution against the Republican Government. But at the same time, it is significant that in the three years of war the Republican Government changed internally from a democratic administration to a very nearly Communist State. Authoritarianism, therefore, was inevitable whichever side won. The penalisation of political opinion would have taken place on a large scale if the Republicans had won, as surely as it will take place now that General Franco is at the head of the Government. And in any case, the work of reconstruction and the leading back of the country into normality must occupy the greater part of the victor's energies. In such a task it is obvious that the greatest responsibility falls on General Franco and the leaders of his group. In spite of the anxiety of Britain, on the one hand, to resume her traditional role of friend and adviser to the Spanish Government, and the eagerness of Germany and Italy, on the other to lead General Franco's Government to independence from Britain and dependence on themselves, in Spain itself and among the General's own supporters, the final decision will depend on his ability to win the confidence of his people. In emergencies one is not particular about the friends that come to one's aid. But no man can govern a nation, and especially a nation like the Spaniards, in a perpetual emergency.

From an international point of view, however, the conclusion of the Spanish War in a complete victory for General Franco is an event which is bound to have widespread repercussions. The Italian and German "volunteers" who took part in the rebellion, are now released and, very likely with the removal of this distraction, the Fascist and Nazi dictators will press forward their campaigns in the rest of Europe with greater vigour. Then again, the addition of a third dictator to the troubles of Europe might well be too much for the democracies. The winning over of Spain to the Fascist cause is peculiarly ominous to France. Not only has France been reduced in Europe, after General Franco's success, to a position similar to that of Poland, menaced on all sides by Fascist powers, but in Africa, in addition to Signor Mussolini's demands for territory, General Franco's agents have accustomed the tribes of French Morocco to Spanish gold and promises. Now that the Republican forces on whom the entire attention of the Francoists were so far concentrated, have broken down, there is every reason to fear that in their inability to satisfy the Moors, Spanish agitators might instigate trouble in French colonies. These are new threats. The old ones are growing greater after the settlement of Spain. Germany is apparently preparing for the next step—in Poland, in Hungary, in Belgium. Which State will be the next to fall to Nazism depends on where the agitation grows fullest. The position of small States which distrust Germany and are unable to rely on France and Britain, is pitiable. Placed in this predicament, Lithuania, following one course, declares its determination to face the threat of extinction rather than give in to panic; Roumania following another gives Germany trade concessions and preferences. The attack on Belgium has began insidiously in radio appeals to the "German-speaking" people of Eupen and Malmedy, from the broadcasting station at Cologne. The German press and foreign office attacks on Poland have assumed simister proportions. Unfortunately Poland has not a liberal tradition in administration and it will take considerably less to persuade the world that minorities are persecuted in Poland than the German pretext found necessary in the case of Czechoslovakia. In other ways as well, notably in her relations with Soviet Russia, Poland is weaker than the Czechoslovak Republic was in facing German threats. If she has any advantage it must be in the realisation of Britain and France that the days of diplomacy, even of Mr. Chamberlain's diplomacy supported by armed strength, have gone.

Such a realisation had come about, when negotiations were opened with Soviet Russia and other countries. Unfortunately the failure of these negotiations—for obviously they have failed inasmuch as they have not resulted in the immediate declaration which the British Government had hoped to achieve—has engendered a defeatist outlook in the press of Britain and France. One has only to note the reactions to Signor Mussolini's provocative address to the twentieth anniversary rally of Fascists. The Italian leader who always speaks with more restraint than Herr Hitler, is pressing forward Italian demands in connection with Djibouti, Tunis and Suez, let fall some aphorisms on war and peace which were the reverse of reassuring. Signor Mussolini, while regarding "perpetual peace" as a catastrophe of civilization, expressed the view that Europe would be the better for an era of peace just now. Read with his later remark that the relations between State and State were relations of force, there is clear warning here that the Duce wants a short interval of preparation before launching out on his empire-building schemes. Yet with imperturbability, both French and British newspapers congratulate themselves on the Duce's moderation

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tion. The usual reasons for straining every nerve to represent an opponent's threats as friendly overtures are, either when one fears to provoke him into action or when one is anxious to win him over to one's side. There is a little of both in the attitude of the Anglo-French Governments and the press. But the repeated crises that are coming up in Europe, indicate that in spite of the best intentions on the one side of meeting all reasonable and many unreasonable demands, war is almost inevitable. The Spanish peace, itself hastened by the absence of a general war in Europe, has now added to the troubles of that harassed continent. The democracies are in a bad way. Herr Hitler has made it clear that peace can only be assured if the democratic states concede predominence in Europe just now, in the world later, to the Fascist powers. Spain has proved conclusively that the only chance of survival for democratic institutions in the event of war, is a quick victory. That they are unable to conceive of, let alone achieve.

WAR AND PACIFISM.

In his "Gita; a Critique" reviewed in the *Reformer* of the March", Mr. P. Narasimham writes:

The sentiments of Arjuna on this occasion appeal to the "modern" mind as the loftiest expression of the love of human peace and order. They can not be surpassed in their dignity and in their exaltation of non-violence and pacifism. It is from such a psychological attitude of Arjuna's that Sir Krishna has to extricate him and make him fight. One might reasonably question, after reading the whole Gita, if Sri Krishna ever answered the specific point raised by Arjuna. Can we say that the fight resulted in the restoration of dharma and of Lokasangraha, or in the people settling down to a peaceful life? Has any war in human history ever brought any people abiding peace? The most 'modern', that is, the most recent, mind is reflected in Signor Mussolini's address at the twentieth anniversary celebration of the Fascist triumph in Italy. The Duce observed:

Professional pacifists are particularly detestable individuals, the word "peace" is now a little worn by excessive use, and rings dubiously like a false coin; we consider perpetual peace as a catastrophe for civilisation.

Some years ago von Papen declared that the pangs of war are to men what the pangs of child birth are to women, the way of fulfilment. The 'modern' mind is more accurately reflected by the doctrine of Sri Krishna than by the scrupulosities of Arjuna. And it should not be forgotten that Sri Krishna does not proclaim like Fascist and Nazi ideologists that fighting and killing is the duty of all men. In another part of the Gita where the duties of the different vocations are described, "not running away from battle" is ordained as the special duty of a Kshatriya. Hindu thought entrenched in the metaphysical Absolute is dominated by the principle of relativity in viewing the world of phenomena. In as much as Gandhian philosophy runs counter to this and demands the same form of conduct from all men in all circumstances it is not reconcilable with Hindu notions. A pacifist has no call to join an army and march to the battle front. All sudden conversions are suspect. Arjuna was not actuated by the conviction of the futility of war. He did not like to kill his own kith and kin, to see the prospect of their families left destitute, because they were his. For the moment he completely forgets that he is fighting for a great cause. Just so, the British Premier argues that it is not worth while fighting for the freedom of a country and a people who were strangers and goes on piling up armaments to defend his country and its possessions if they are attacked. True, mankind has not renounced war after Kurukshetra any more than after the War to end War which set up the bitter Peace of Versailles. Neither the mission of Gautama Buddha nor the teachings of Jesus Christ have been more successful. "Nature red in tooth and claw" is still the goddess whom the nations worship in their relations with one another. It is a strange paradox that, although the Gita justified War, the Hindus are the most unwarlike people on the face of the earth, whereas among the nations which profess the religion of Jesus who forbade War, are to be found some of the most ferocious of the human species!

A PLEA FOR FAIRPLAY.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It is not lightly that I take up a critical pen against your renowned and excellent paper. Yet I am constrained to do so this once, at all events.

I write for fairplay.

You venture to criticise Mr. C. F. Andrews in your issue of March 18th, under the heading "Mr. Andrews' Misconception." This criticism is of the book, "The Rise and Growth of the Congress."

Though you must be extremely well aware of it, you never once mention in your article the fact that book was written jointly by C. F. Andrews and Girija Mookerjee. In the Preface of that book are the words:—

"previous consultation, while we were both together in England, has made it a comparatively easy task to keep the book *in every respect a joint volume.*"

This being so, any criticism of the book should surely be levelled at both its authors. You have surely not only slighted Mr. Girija Mookerjee, but also been very unfair to Mr. Andrews.

One further point I must raise. I cannot help but feel that sometimes you let your personal feelings, may be not unnaturally biassed sometimes, lead some of your statements a little from strict fairness. As an example, in this same paper under the note headed "Sequel to Munich" you have the words "The Powers.....are in danger of being involved in a war over an even smaller State than the old one *which they thought was useless to defend.*"

Do you really think that the Powers thought like that? Or do you think that they thought that the best way to defend her was not to resort to arms?

When your thrusts hurt because of the truth in them we thank you. When they hurt because we feel there is some truth and fairness lacking, we much have our say.

Davangere,
Mysore State,
23rd March 1939.

Yours etc.,

H. ALEX CRUMP

We apologise to Mr. Girija Mookerjee for not mentioning his name as joint author of "The Rise and Growth of the Congress." That, however, does not absolve Mr. Andrews of his share of the responsibility for the disparaging remarks about the earlier nationalist leaders, and particularly for the very serious omission to note the important contribution made by Ranade and the National Social Conference. As regards Munich, the remark objected to by Mr. Crump was almost in the very words of the British Premier when he said that Czechoslovakia was a country of which they knew very little and that it must be a larger issue on which Britain would fight. We should scarcely have believed that anyone could seriously regard the Munich peace as the best way or any way of "defending" Czechoslovakia. The last few days have given the final verdict.—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PROHIBITION

PROHIBITION, EDUCATION AND ABSTINENCE.

(By the Rev. J. F. Edwards).

Ever since the passing of the 1919 Indian Reforms Act, the Bombay Government has been one of the most progressive and resourceful of India's Provincial Governments in relation to the whole question of Drink Reform. It must be regarded as one of the tragedies of modern Indian history that the magnificent Rationing Scheme introduced by Sir Chunilal Mehta was so sadly marred by the failure of his successors in the Excise portfolio to take their courage in both hands, and of the European members of the Bombay Government to smooth the path of Indian Prohibitionists. If Sir Chunilal could be persuaded to tell the 'inside' story of his battle for the 'Rationing' of country liquor whereby Bombay City was supplied with ten per cent less liquor every year and the Deccan with five per cent less annually, which led incidentally to a loss of nearly a crore of rupees in revenue, it would supply inspiration to many reformers in India, both Indian and non-Indian. Sir Chunilal's scheme was finely conceived and would have led the Bombay Presidency to complete Prohibition of alcoholic liquors by now, had its provisions been properly carried out by those who came after him.

There is, however, no use crying over spilt milk, and one vital question that should nowadays be considered by all who wish to help the Bombay Government is this: *How can the Bombay Government best ensure the enduring success of its Prohibition Scheme?* In the present article we make two constructive suggestions. The *first* is that the Bombay Government should organize a scheme whereby the young life of Western India may be educated regarding the evils of liquor, physically, mentally, morally. This means concentrating on the growing youth of India. If we may borrow a dynamic word from the Moderator of the United Free Church of Scotland in his 1938 New Year's Message: 'The new age on which we have entered has sprung upon us a menace to society with which our fathers were not called upon to contend. I refer to the colossal scale on which the brewers and distillers are advertising their goods...Beside the poster which advertises strong drink see to it that another is pasted to warn parents that danger and destruction lie that way.' Scotland, we are sure, will in no way object if in this connection we borrow from it another idea. The Education Department of the City of Glasgow has included the following in its syllabus: Systematic instruction in (a) Temperance, and (b) Morals and Manners, shall be given on one day per week from 9 to 9-45 a. m. After devotional exercises, the period shall be equally divided between the two subject. The syllabus on Moral and Manners is intended to co-ordinate and emphasise the teaching given, incidentally on those subjects in the course of the day's work, and should be based definitely on the Syllabus of Religious Instruction. The various chapters lead to very decisive announcements about the evils of alcohol such as contradict certain popular slogans regarding its use. Children over 12, for example, are taught that 'amongst the consequences of habitual drinking of such beverages are, the waste of one's money, the loss of self-respect, unfitness for work, cruelty, and even insanity.' Just as certainly as the absence of adequate education on these lines led to the temporary eclipse of American Prohibition, so certainly would an adequate scheme of education on this subject help to ensure permanence of Prohibition in India.

There is a type of Indian writer against whom our Indian students need to be warned. Here is a sample. In an article on 'Economics of Prohibition' in *The Examiner*, the able Roman Catholic Weekly of Bombay, on March 18, Professor A. Correa Fernandes described the Bombay Province as 'the richest, the most progressive, the most enterprising and the most self-sacrificing province in the whole of India.' Continuing, the Professor said: 'the total Excise revenue of the Bombay Government was about 3½ crores of rupees a year from this source. The total volume of the liquor trade must have been nearly two-and-a-half to three times as much; in other words, something like 7½ to 8½ crores of rupees will be probably transferred from other channels of more useful expenditure like better food or housing, or sanitation, education, amusement, etc. From a social point of view Bombay will definitely stand to gain as a result of the transference of expenditure from drink to the purchase of other services and goods. Thus the toning up, moral and economic, of a large section of the people addicted to the drink evil will more than counterbalance the direct loss of revenue to the State and the financial loss of the people engaged in the liquor traffic.' And yet after stating these astounding facts, we are asked to accept the following paradoxical conclusion: 'Nevertheless, these social and wider economic facts do not even from a strictly financial point of view justify what really amounts to a reduction of wealth and suppression of income by the State to a class of people, however limited, at almost a moment's notice.'

Another constructive suggestion we wish to make to ensure the success of the Bombay Government's Prohibition measures. This suggestion we take from a new Criminal Justice Bill now being hammered out in the British House of Commons, a Bill such as shall humanize prison life and introduce other far-reaching Prison Reforms. But a tragic thing happened on February 23 during the Committee stage when the Probation Pledge of Personal Abstinence which magistrates can apply in drink-caused or drunkenness offences, was deleted from the proposed Bill. The Government's new Bill had incorporated Section 2 of the Probation of Offenders Act of 1907 which provides that a recognisance (or bond by which a person promises a Court or a magistrate to observe some condition) might contain the condition of 'Abstention from intoxicating liquor where the offence was drunkenness or any offence committed under the influence of drink.' This section in Sir Samuel Hoare's new Criminal Justice Bill, the Committee deleted to the great sorrow of all those who desire drink reform. Behind that clause lay the following story: More than thirty years ago four young men used to meet at the Leicester Y. M. C. A. every Friday afternoon to discuss what they could do to advance the Temperance cause. Judge William Jefferson Pollard, of the United States, went to tell them of the success of his plan for reclaiming drunkards. They decided in July, 1906, that Judge Pollard's plan was worthy of adoption in this country. Five months later the Judge visited England, and thus described his plan when dealing with drunkenness offences:—'I allow a man to sign the pledge for one year, have him report to me, and if his face is indicative of drinking, or he shows any odour of liquor, I put the sentence into force. I say to him in the Court, using a common American expression, "It is up to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

you. You have the opportunity to work out your own salvation; will you do it? I will fine you fifty dollars and costs or four solid months' hard labour in prison, but you shan't pay one cent, or serve one minute, if you will sign the Temperance Pledge and keep it." That is my plan.' The four enthusiasts prevailed upon the Leicester Magistrates' Bench to try the new plan, and the first four cases proved very satisfactory. The magistrates, however, had no legal power to make abstinence a condition of the recognisance, and so they had to depend upon the willingness of the offender to make a promise to abstain while on probation. Even under such limited conditions the plan was applied in many places with success. The pledge provision was also ultimately incorporated in the Probation Act of 1907 after twelve months of hard, persistent, self-sacrificing labour. We have no doubt that sooner or later that probation pledge must be restored, for wherever it has been used it has been a great success. If the securing of such a Probation Pledge of Personal Abstinence could be made legal for every Magistrate's Court in India, we believe it would greatly help India's Prohibition Cause.

PARSIS AND PROHIBITION.

(By ZOROASTRIAN.)

The Prohibition policy of the Bombay Government seems to have aroused the wrath of a large section of the Parsi community. A crusade was sounded and the community summoned to a public meeting held under the auspices of the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat, on the 29th March, to register its protest.

A protest of the kind raised on behalf, and in the name, of the whole community will naturally be taken to reflect the thoughts, sentiment and cultural outlook of the community in general and it will also have some repercussion on the self-respect and dignity of that community. It is, therefore, necessary that it should proceed on none but weighty and carefully-considered grounds and avoid all semblance of overstating the case.

The resolutions passed at the meeting and published in the local papers indicate the grounds on which the protest is based. They may be briefly summarised as follows:—

(1) Religious:—It is said that the religion of the Parsis *enjoins* drink in moderation: that the use of liquor in Parsi rituals is both customary and *indispensable*: and that, therefore, Prohibition will be an interference with the free observance of religious practice guaranteed to all communities.

(2) Stigma on Parsi character, for sobriety and moderation:—The distinction made between the Asiatics and non-Asiatics and the inclusion of the former alone within the prohibition while conceding greater freedom from restraint to the latter implies, it is urged, that the latter alone are capable of conducting themselves with requisite restraint and prudence in the matter of drink and not also the Parsis who are placed in the former group. This puts a slur on the Parsis' reputation for temperate habits.

(3) Interference with civil liberty:—Here the argument is that the Parsis have never been known to indulge in excess: that drink in moderation is not harmful: rather at proper times in proper quantity, it supplies a well needed stimulant to those accustomed to it all their life: depriving these of their habitual dose is an unwarrantable curtailment of civil liberty prized as a birthright by every citizen under a democratic form of Government.

(4) Economic harm: Parsi capital to the tune of a crore, it is said, is engaged in the trade: a large number of Parsis and their families are wholly dependent on the living they make from the business: but no thought is given to the ruin and hardship the measure will spell to them.

The question for thoughtful members of the community is: Are all these grounds valid? Could the community commit itself to all of them without suffering in its reputation for sobriety of thought? Take the religious ground which is put in the very forefront. Is it not palpably the weakest and the least convincing? To secure a doubtful support for the cause in hand does it not represent the sublime tenets of the Zoroastrian faith in an unfavourable and unworthy light? To any one reflecting on the fundamentals of the Zoroastrian creed with its ever-present emphasis on purity of body, mind and soul, it must be self-evident that it could not be a correct interpretation of its chaste doctrines to assert that it *enjoins* drink of alcoholic liquor, or looks down with disfavour on total abstinence or that complete abstention would be contrary to its true precepts.

By delving deep into ancient literature certain passages, about half a dozen in number, have been unearthed in which reference is made to the habit of drink as being common amongst the ancient Iranians as well as to the use of 'liquor' in their rituals. But from what that liquor was obtained and how far it was alcoholic is not made clear. The Haoma juice mentioned in the ancient scriptures and used in the rituals of the time, could hardly be alcoholic. For, it is stated to be a sweet drink and each time it was obtained fresh from a special variety of tree. Assuming, however, for argument's sake, that the liquor referred to in those old writings was spirituous, still, the use of it mentioned therein is only as a recital of historical fact not as a religious command binding on the conscience of the followers of the Zoroastrian faith. The utmost limit to which an argument based on these extracts could be carried is, therefore, that there is no religious ban against the use of liquor either as an article of consumption or as an ingredient of ceremonial rites. To go further and urge that these references amount to a positive command to drink would certainly be carrying the argument to untenable lengths.

The Vendidad being one of the oldest books in the Avastan language, naturally receives considerable attention. As the etymological meaning of the word would suggest, its main purpose is to prescribe a penal law against acts regarded as demoniacal. Most of its prescriptions would be entirely unacceptable to the advanced intelligence of the present day. But, as, at some place, it mentions wine to be a health-giving drink, without indicating what variety of wine it contemplated, that is enough for those striving to draw upon religion for enforcement of their argument to cite it against total abstention, conveniently forgetting that it is but the opinion of the writer on the food value of certain drinks. Would it be congruous in these days of advanced medical science to turn to the Vendidad for the health giving properties or otherwise of any drink? Would it be a logical deduction to infer from such a statement a religious sanction for drink?

A fairly large number of Parsis do practice total abstinence as a matter of principle. Could any one make bold to assert that in so doing they are contravening the precepts of the Zoroastrian religion? The Trustees of the Panchayat are men of light and leading. By the position they occupy, the promotion of moral as well as economical well-being of the community should be their concern. That being

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

so, they might pause to put these questions to themselves: would they or would they not, as a matter of pure preference, desire the growing generations of Parsis to be brought up in the habit of total abstinence? What advice would they give to Parsi fathers in the home-training of their children so far as fostering a taste for alcoholic drink is concerned? Seeing that the economic condition of by far the large majority of Parsis is what it is, would they or would they not deem it conducive to the greater good that all expenditure on alcoholic drinks should be avoided for utilisation of the money so saved to better ends? Would they deliberately go out of their way to foster the idea in young, plastic minds that character formation need not begin with total abjuration of all intoxicants? Has not the vice of drunkenness, like all other vices, grown up with small indulgences? Bearing that in mind, would they advice our boys and girls that, if they had to make a choice between total abstinence and moderate drinking, they should declare their preference for the latter as being more in accord with their religion?

So much for religious support in favour of the moderate drinking habit. Turning to the use of liquor in rituals, the usage is certainly not universal. A good many families and particularly those with a theosophic bias have always excluded it from their ceremonies. At the same time it must be admitted that the custom is old and prevalent in a large number of families. But to affirm that it is *indispensable* and that an adequate substitute could not be found, say, in fruit juice, would be far from true. Most of the rituals owe their origin to the belief that the souls of the departed revisit their earthly haunts when properly invoked with offerings of food, etc. Upto a short while back country liquor distilled from Mowra flowers was used. Now, it is often replaced with foreign liquors. Either of this variety could not have been obtainable in ancient Iran. So, at least, the quality in use must have varied with change of place and time. If, therefore, in the larger interests of the country of our adoption, we are required to make one more change and substitute a purer drink in the form of fresh fruit juice, should that be characterised as an intolerable interference with religion, would that not be indulging in the language of exaggeration? To suggest that, in the opinion of the community in general, the religious merit of their rituals and with it the spiritual well-being of the performers would suffer by being deprived of the use of alcoholic liquor would be to put a stamp of inferiority on their standard of intelligence and broadmindedness as well as to invite discredit on the holy doctrines and eternal verities of their sublime religion. For, in these days, few could be found to subscribe to the belief that religiousness or righteousness depends on the scrupulous observance of ceremonial rites with all their traditional concomitants unimpaired.

If there was any dogma emphatically laid down by the unimpeachable ancient scriptures, that was concerning the religious duty to spread far and wide the holy faith by free conversions. When, however, occasions arose in India to apply that precept did not the Parsis, by an overwhelming majority, refuse to act on it and to take any outsider into the Zoroastrian fold because the environment of the country and circumstances of the time rendered, in their opinion, that course detrimental to blood purity and cultural traditions of the community?

Therefore, both for the credit of the intelligence of the community and sanctity of the virtuous doctrines of its religion, it is to be hoped that no undue emphasis would be laid on the religious ground.

Coming to the second ground of stigma, it proceeds on the assumption that the exclusion of non-Asiatics from the prohibition scheme is due to their temperate habits and, therefore, the inclusion of the Parsis must necessarily imply absence of such habits. But is there any warrant for such assumption in the opinion expressed opinions of the framers of the scheme? If the assumption is untrue the argument easily becomes fallacious. The exclusion of the non-Asiatics might as well be explained on the ground of their alien domicile. As the scheme is conceived with the sole object of helping the uplift of the Indians of humble classes by weaning them from the vice of drunkenness, for that reason alone, the non-Asiatics may have been regarded as outside the pale. True, amongst the Asiatics there would be some non-Indians too, such as Chinese, Japanese. But as they chiefly work and associate with the poor among Indians their exclusion may have, on that ground, been deemed impolitic. Surely, in a struggle of this kind, the Parsis would not have themselves differentiated from other Indians? That would in the long run not be to their interest. And they have always shown themselves patriotic enough to share the sacrifices deemed necessary for the benefit of the country as a whole. This ground of stigma would thus appear to be both strained and misconceived.

The third ground of invasion of civil liberty is obviously not peculiar to the Parsis alone. The number of moderate drinkers among the other Indian communities must be by far much larger and the Parsis are called on to bear no greater sacrifice than they. No organised society is possible without curtailment by law in many directions, of an individual's liberty to do as he likes. If a policy of total prohibition is necessary for the good of the country at large, could the Parsis avow themselves so unpatriotic as not to put up with the inconvenience incident thereto or so lacking in power of self-restraint as to be unable to part with the habit of drink? Even confirmed inebriates, smokers, tea-drinkers, etc., have not found it difficult to throw off a life-long habit when considerations of health have necessitated the step. Are members of the Parsi community incapable of exerting the requisite will power when circumstances make it necessary?

There are indeed some to whom age or infirmity may have made a moderate stimulant indispensable for maintaining physical strength. Perhaps owing to the generally weak stamina of the members of the Parsi community, their number is disproportionately large. A way, however, is left open for them through the provisions for medical certificate. Here the Parsis would be on a stronger ground in urging that that provision should be very liberally construed in favour of the Parsis both on account of their generally weak stamina and their life-long habit. They would be ill-serving the cause of these deserving persons if they alienate sympathy by adopting an obstinate attitude, putting forward futile grounds and using reckless language.

The last ground of economic hardship is the strongest, if not the only convincing, ground in the armoury of the Parsis. Of course, this ground is not entirely peculiar to the Parsis as it is shared by them with others engaged in the same business of liquor. But it affects the Parsis with so special a degree of hardship that they may justly claim to have their case considered in a class by itself. For, it is the Parsi capital that is chiefly, if not exclusively, invested in the trade and its figure is said to reach a crore. Also, the proportion of families wholly and solely dependent for their living on their earnings from the business in liquor

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

or toddy is by far the largest amongst the Parsis. Further, being unaccustomed to any other work, even if such could be found in these days of slow depression and general unemployment, they would be unable to engage themselves in it and earn sufficient thereby to keep out starvation. The scheme, as conceived, would, at one fell swoop, with deafening suddenness, leave them beggared and starving. The Parsis as a community would, therefore, be perfectly within their rights in asking Government to give due consideration to this aspect of their policy. The benefits to the Indian masses from that policy are, at best, problematic. But even if they were more assured, still, that would not justify indifference to the distress and ruin it will inflict on so many Parsis. Of course, the community cannot go so far as to demand that, on account of the hardship referred to, the prohibition policy should be wholly given up. That would be making an absurd claim. But they can, at least, ask that the blow may be staged to fall gradually and that the Parsis thrown out of business may be given all necessary help to find out other suitable employments. Prof. Mahajani in the Assmbly had pleaded for spreading the scheme over a period of years. That would enable those now engaged in the trade to gradually adjust themselves to the changing circumstances. The idea is worth taking up. And the Parsis would be well-advised in formulating their request along that line. It is not only the sudden and sweeping character of the measure which nearly paralyses its victims by taking them unprepared but also the numbers involved that make the problem so very formidable for the Parsis. Nearly a third of the community already lives on doles or close to the starvation border. This measure would augment their ranks very considerably. And it could be nothing short of callousness on the part of Government to ignore this result of their policy as at present devised.

To avoid any possibility of misconception it may be added in conclusion that this writer is himself a Zoroastrian with an abiding faith in, and unbounded respect for, the sublime doctrines and sacred tenets of his religion, that he subscribes to no political ideology, leastways the Congress ideology, and that he is actuated in making the above observations by no other consideration than that affecting the good name of the Parsis for soundness of intelligence, propriety of views and enlightened patriotism. If a protest is to go forth in the name, and on behalf of the community as a whole, then, it should be in form and language such as would command respectful attention and not have the appearance of having been bolstered up with specious or strained arguments.

MEDICAL REASONS FOR ABSTINENCE

"Medical Reasons for Temperance and Abstinence" were presented by Dr. Haven Emerson, of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, who said:

"Until the latter quarter of the nineteenth century there was not an exact knowledge of the actions of alcohol on man which permitted the creation of a sound medical and public opinion as to its suitability as a beverage use by human beings.

"First among the facts of this new era of science was that alcohol is a depressant, narcotic drug and not a stimulant in any rational sense of the word. Next was the evidence that alcohol could not serve the purpose of the body-building or tissue foods, and that even as a fuel in the body for the property of energy development was of limited value because it cannot be stored or held until needed in the tissues as can true fuel foods such as those derived from starches and sugars.

"Again it was proved that even if alcohol taken with usual foods could develop that heat and energy in the body, there is always the toxic or poison effect which makes its use for food purposes strictly limited and decidedly undesirable.

"Further precise tests on human performance of a wide variety of occupations, sports and physical tests made it clear that the healthy individual is benefited in no way in any of the functions or structures of his body by the use of alcohol.

"Within the past twenty years elaborate tests of the effect of alcohol in amounts way below those accepted as socially permissible have proved that even in such small amounts as to be unnoticed by the drinker, the life-guarding nervous reflexes upon which we constantly rely for safety and protection against injury are delayed from 6 to 10 per cent.

"Lastly, in 1924 a study of alcohol and human efficiency disclosed the long-suspected evidence that every process of mind and body is deteriorated and becomes inferior in quantity, quality, endurance and precision after the use even of such beverages as the beer declared non-intoxicating and permitted by the congress during the period of federal prohibition.

"It is the evidence of the medical sciences which has created a powerful and growing public opinion against the use of alcohol. While it is true that some adults of vigorous physique, mature in mind and body and with sturdy character and well controlled emotions and impulses can use alcohol with their meals in what is called moderation without doing any apparent damage to themselves, their offspring or to their fellow beings, it is equally true that complete abstinence from alcohol is not only consistent with good health at all ages, but is indispensable for the young, irresponsible, reckless and unstable, and for those who are likely to be called upon in their work or way of life to carry serious or emergency responsibilities.

"Understanding of the facts about alcohol as it affects man is the necessary basis of private conduct and public policy. Such knowledge will make legislation either unnecessary or unopposed. Abstinence is the best personal contribution each of us can make to total and permanent discontinuance of the liquor trade."

THE GERMAN VIEW OF RACE.

(CONTRIBUTED.)

"Race" is a purely biological term and connotes the presence of a number of heritable physical and psychological features common to all its members. The term "nation," on the other hand, has a social and historical content and implies that its members are connected by a common language and civilisation, and by the possession of common historical traditions and ethical standards. There are instances in which both terms are identical, but they are of rare occurrence (*e.g.*, Eskimoes and the extinct aboriginals of Tasmania). Linguistic frontiers are never racial frontiers, and it is always misleading when people speak or write about the Italian, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, Teutonic, Slavonic and similar "races."

The confusion of the two terms, however, is not restricted to laymen, but extends to experts on the subject as well. Most of the ethnological maps are liable to the same mistake inasmuch as the distinction they make between the different races is based on language characteristics. According to them, the greater part of the population of Europe belongs to three "races"—Slavonic, Romanic, and Teutonic. It is easy to see that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

these groups are by no means "racial" entities. Among the inhabitants of Normandy, for instances, (who, being Frenchmen, ought to belong to the Romanic "race"), numerous individuals are found who are tall, blond, and blue-eyed, so that—according to these biological traits—they ought to be classified among the Teutonic "race." Similar types are met with among the Slavonic Russians and the Mongolian Finns, and in many parts of Germany (not only in the Eastern provinces, but everywhere else also) there are numerous typical representatives of the Slavonic "race."

Dr. Gunther, an eminent ethnologist, has put forward a plausible hypothesis accounting for these facts. All the European nations, he maintains, are composed of practically the same racial elements, but the proportions in which these latter occur are different in each case. Individuals of pure racial stock are rare. The mixture of the racial elements can never lead to the development of a uniform race of mixed characteristics, as that would conflict with the laws of the science of heredity.

These laws are no other than those discovered by Grogor Mandel. It is true that, by cross-fertilising red and white flowers, pink flowers will be obtained in the first generation, but the second generation will contain only 50% of these, the remaining 50% being equally divided between pure white and pure red flowers. Other experiments have shown that, in cross-breeding two types differing in more than one racial feature (*e. g.*, rough-haired dark animals and smooth-haired light-coloured animals), the various features are transmitted independently of one another. Thus, the result of such breeding can never be a new racial type, but only a mixture of the original racial features, and the concept of definite "national races" is scientifically untenable.

By making racial distinctions on the basis of complexion (as we do when we speak of 'white,' 'yellow,' 'black,' etc., races), undue prominence is given to a feature which alone is insufficient as a characteristic of race. There is, for instance, no such thing as a uniform white or European race. The nations of Europe can be divided into four different races, each of which has its own distinctive features. These are: the Nordic race, the Westic race, the Eastic race, and the Dinaric race. The main difference between them is connected with the shape of their skull, according to which the first two are described as dolichocephalic or long-headed and the other two as brachycephalic or short-headed.

The members of the Nordic and Dinaric races are distinguished from those of the Westic and Eastic races by their tall stature, but there are a great many other details in which the four races differ from one another. By drawing up classified lists containing the racial features as ascertained by by empiric means, such as the shape of the skull, size of the body, complexion, colour of the eyes, etc., and then entering the regional distribution of these features on a map showing where each of them predominates, we are able to arrive at certain general conclusions.

Such a map shows, for example, that in England at least the areas where tall persons predominate coincides with those inhabited by long-headed people of very fair complexion. If we draw a map of France on similar lines, we find that a fair-complexioned, tall and long-headed race in the North must be distinguished from a dark, short and likewise long-headed race in the South, and that dark and short-headed persons form a third race in addition to those two. Thus, the Northern French and the Southern French exhibit characteristics always considered typical of the Teutonic "race," although both groups belong to the Romanic "race."

The fact that the European nations are composed of these four races is of great importance, because without such racial kinship the unity of our Occidental civilisation would be unthinkable. For centuries past, however, this uniform racial blood has been penetrated by a foreign element—the Jews—who are themselves a mixture of Semites and Caucasians. As the psychological characteristics of race, like the physical ones, are transmitted in conformity with the laws of heredity, it follows that the Jews can never be anything but an alien element in this Occidental world.

It is a known fact that in the descendants of mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews the Jewish racial features are always more pronounced than the non-Jewish ones, both physically and psychologically. Similar results have been observed in connection with the descendants of Europeans and members of the native races of tropical countries, *e. g.*, negroes. The racial antagonism between the white and the coloured peoples has given rise to the concept of a "white" race, whilst the lack of such an antagonism between the members of the four European races as concerned, has never caused a special race problem to come to the fore. Where the racial basis is the same, the influences exerted by such nation-creating forces as a common history, language, and tradition were naturally bound to be stronger than those due to common descent. The great importance of the latter, however, is demonstrated by the alien influences emanating from the Jews.

'POLITICUS' AND TRAVANCORE.

(By K. Chandy.)

In the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 4th March 'Politicus' has given the rough details of a scheme of government for Indian States. In the issue of the same paper for 18th March, the Editor writes that 'Politicus' is an experienced administrator—he is apparently still in service as he prefers to be anonymous—and recommends the scheme.

Power politics is now in the ascendant, whether violent according to Hitler, or non-violent as in India. In both cases, standardisation is the objective. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramaya wants the States to adopt the Congress ideology. At such time, it is very doubtfull whether the still small voice of reason would be heard at all. It is much better, however, to be optimistic than to despair. Hence this contribution.

"Politicus" has come to very much the same conclusions as had been formulated by me ten years ago and for much the same reasons. Besides communalism and the non-existence of two strong political parties anywhere in India, I had mentioned a third reason making party government unsuited for India, and this has since been stated by more than one expert. It is that the two parties ought to have much the same outlook on life, like Whigs and Tories and Conservatives and Liberals. If the ideology of one party is the antithesis of the other, for instance, Conservatives and Communists or extreme Socialists, Party government is impossible. I have also said that after the outbreak of the war and up to now there is no real Party government in England. It is quite possible to have Democratic government without Party government.

Sir C. P. Ramaswamy stated to interviewers at Calcutta that Travancore is fully ripe for responsible government, and has also made it clear that

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in his view the English model is unsuited for Travancore. The head of the Police Department said that Dewan has got some schemes ready, but these have not been published yet. What the country requires is peace so as to give a chance for economic development, provided, of course, that India would not be drawn into the vortex of a world war. Even then, it has to be said that peace within the country is essential, and there is no chance of it unless some compromise is effected between the Government and the people.

May I humbly suggest that a representative committee should be appointed immediately charged with the duty of submitting a scheme suited to the tradition of Travancore?

Such a Committee ought to study with the care which it deserves the rough scheme published in your issue of the 4th March.

The following additions and modifications are also suggested.

Besides assuring the independence of the judiciary, there ought to be something of the nature of the Habeas Corpus Act and the free association of the people, and free expression of opinion should also be guaranteed. These are large demands after the life-work of a Masaryk was destroyed in the course of an afternoon, but I am hoping that sanity and respect for human personality would prevail yet in this distracted world of ours.

In order to avoid the corruption and waste of energy and of money—much of the latter goes to petrol monopolists outside Travancore—adult suffrage and indirect election might be adopted. The electors should have instructions to elect a certain number of representatives from each important community and interest, such as Labour, Planting and Commerce. The Chief Minister should always be an elected member. The ministry should have a member from each important community, and also to represent labour.

An enlightened ruler is not likely to demand the power of absolute veto as proposed by 'Politicus'. When he considers that a piece of legislation affects a particular community, culture or interest, he could insist that it should receive the consent of a majority of representatives of that section; he might suggest modification, and with or without modifications require that the legislation should have the consent of a two-thirds majority of *all* members; and he ought to dissolve the Assembly and ascertain again the wishes of the people. If the new Assembly again passes the same legislation with the same majority, it should be assented to so long as it was not vetoed on account of his reserve powers.

Similarly, while the Ministry should feel secure and should not be liable to have to meet frequent votes of censure, it should not be considered to be secure-sanct and must resign in a body if there is a vote of censure passed by an overwhelming majority, for instance, a three-fourth majority. These measures had all been suggested ten years ago and seem to be necessary now also.

Another very important matter which is neglected is that the purity of the elections should be ensured so that the Ministry in office not functioning at all during the inter-regnum of an election. In a State the powers of the Ministry will vest in the Maharajah during this period; and as a further necessary precaution every servant of the State should have a right of final appeal against certain specified punishments right up to the Maharajah and also to sue the Government in a court of law.

There are of course many other desirable points, which a committee, if appointed, will duly consider.

As this contribution refers only to reforms, I have omitted reference to other matters; but in order to avoid any possible misapprehension, it has to be added that for establishing peace, it is necessary that all political prisoners should be released and the civil disabilities resulting from incarceration should also be removed.

THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.*

Partly from an almost hysterical fear that has its origin in the emotional stress of the Czechoslovak crisis, and partly from deliberate propaganda to "put across" the Roosevelt arms appropriations, the United States is being stirred to a bellicosity that contributes nothing to peace. Those who are promoting this mood, from the President down to the newspaper scare-head writers, must bear a heavy responsibility for augmented economic unsteadiness in their own country and for increased perplexity abroad.

No one in his senses would deny that the European situation is serious, and that one or another of the recurring crises may precipitate a general war. But an extraordinary mass of misinformation, superficial judgment, and unscrupulous exaggeration is reaching the public and producing a picture of events which is conspicuously lacking in perspective.

Mr. Roosevelt's not unjustifiable resentment at totalitarian pressure politics has led him to make a series of pronunciamentos whose real meaning has been fully as obscure in Paris and London as in Rome and Berlin. The secret consternation with which his bellicosity has been received in Europe is not confined to those friendly to Fascism, like Chamberlain and Daladier, but has extended to many officials and observers who deplore the irresponsibility of these irritated, but unimplemented, threats—the very opposite of thoughtful or effective statesmanship.

It is no condonation of the tactics or aims of Hitler, Mussolini and Co. to insist, as the facts warrant, that their menacing power—whether in military, economic or political terms—is less than many proponents of a huge American arms programme would have us believe. Nor can there be any doubt that certain sections of the press are "selecting" the more melodramatic events to the exclusion of others. Any opposite selection, if it stood alone, would be propaganda too: but presented in the light of the current trend, it would supply a much-required corrective.

Why—for example—was there scarcely a ripple in the American press, in 1931, when a French-Italian crisis threatened peace as definitely as now? In the spring of that year, troops were being drilled by wholesale on both sides of the frontier, from Nice northward to the Alps of Savoy. Atop a grim mountain near Grenoble, huge new guns, veritable Big Berthas, were trained on the arrow of Italian soil which there points into France. In every gathering of the Balilla in Italy, as the editors of *No Frontier News Service* can testify from personal knowledge, France was being pictured as the enemy which must be subjugated by force of arms; Il Duce even printed a stamp containing a map of Italy which showed Corsica as an Italian possession! But there was no war.

No doubt some concessions will be wrested from the French by Mussolini of his nuisance value; but not because the Rome-Berlin axis can seriously threaten the Franco-British axis by military or economic conquest. Lacking most raw materials

* *No Frontier News Service.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

requisite for a protracted conflict; strong in defensive naval weapons but weak in offense, Italy can menace Franco-British control of the Mediterranean only by securing a foothold on the African continent precisely adjacent to the fortified island of Pantelleria, off Sicily, or by a permanent air base near the Balearics—hence the efforts of the French and British to aid Franco and wean his loyalty away from the Italians, who are cordially hated by all elements in Spain.

General Jean Dufieu, former Chief of the Superior War School, Inspector-General of Infantry, has given to the British periodical, "News Review," a striking summary of the views of the French General Staff. In astonishing contrast to the lugubrious defeatism of army chiefs at the time of Munich—which lends credence to the contention that these were "rigged" —General Dufieu asserts that the reserve stores assuredly laid away in Germany could not suffice for war; that the vaunted Siegfried Line was slapped together too hurriedly to be invulnerable; that the German air force is chiefly a factor to harass, not to conquer. Reports in Berlin show that shortage of raw materials has resulted in an industrial slowdown in many important lines; steel production is only five-sevenths of that required.

Extensive cancellations of train schedules on February 3 were only the outward sign of a widespread breakdown. Locomotives are 4,000 short. Freight cars are 100,000 short, the number having dropped 70,000 in the last nine years. Yet workers on the roads often labour sixteen hours per day.

French complacency over the menace to the Mediterranean by Franco's and Mussolini's proximity to Gibraltar may be in part explained by the development of plans for the enlargement of the Midi canal into a deep waterway, capable of carrying the largest vassels, from Bordeaux on the Atlantic to the French Mediterranean coast, cutting the time to Marseilles from five to two and a half days.

On the other hand, French stiffening toward Italy's Tunisian demands has perhaps been somewhat due to the discovery that the reservoir of French manpower, in Africa, has been tapped by Franco. For it has been revealed by Frank Mellor, a British writer sympathetic to Rebel Spain, that the unexplainable numbers of Moors—a puzzle to many an observer—have poured by thousands across from the Berber tribes in French Morocco to Spanish Morocco in response to bribes from Franco's financial agents. This was confirmed by the Rebel High commissioner in Spanish Morocco.

In the meantime, Hitler is now trying to get the Czechs to negotiate a customs union with the Sudeten Germans. Reason? The Sudeten area requires more foodstuffs than it can produce; Germany, short itself, must buy these abroad at great cost and economic inconvenience!

Nothing is more essential to our war machine than oil. Is the oil industry aroused to an expectation of huge emergency orders? The "Oil and Gas Journal" for January 19, 1939, after asserting that close estimates of petroleum requirements are not easy to obtain, does assert that "officers agree, however, that needs will not jump appreciably during 1939 and not spectacularly in 1940 unless there is a war, or unforeseen contingency requiring much greater manouvering than is now contemplated."

Not one such fact, nor all of them, indicate that everything is safe in Europe. But they are taken into account by informed Europeans, who are united in feeling that, while they would be glad of Uncle Sam's support in a dire emergency, feel nothing but uneasiness when their own tensions are increased by a war mood over here—a mood they believe to be engendered actually less to strengthen democracy than to hush any effective opposition to the Administration's grandiose schemes for non-defensive armament.

THE IONA COMMUNITY.

The first number of *The Coracle*, the bulletin of the recently formed "Iona Community," contains interesting material on the aims and progress of this body.

On the initiative of the Rev. George F. MacLeod, D. D., of the Church of Scotland, the Iona community was formed, as an experience in co-operative Christian living, in the summer of 1938, when permission was obtained for the erection of a log hut settlement, capable of accommodating twenty young men, in the grounds of Iona Abbey. The purpose of this venture was to foster, and try to pass on, a greater sense of the collective spirit, to do something to help break down "man's unbridled inability to share" and the conviction that "whether communism, fascism or Christianity is to be the next immediate world order.....the next stage in man's development is going to be more collective, than the things we know."

The twenty pioneer members of the community, chosen from among a large and varied body of volunteers, included clergymen, divinity students, an architect, a doctor, a cook, a secretary and several artisans. Four members of the community went on ahead in the middle of June, accompanied by two skilled workmen, and erected the hut in three weeks. The rest of the community followed, the hut was blessed, and the community settled down to live a communal life of worship, manual labour and mental intercourse. "Only the spirit," writes one of its members, "could so quickly have welded us into fellowship. Never had more diverse characters, with more diverse backgrounds, been brought into such close proximity for so shadowy a purpose...Groups inevitably formed, but never assumed the danger of cliques. Opposites met...And time and again we were reminded that artisans are better men than persons—not just at their jobs but at piercing through to instinct to those real issues which mental acrobats so often utterly confuse."

For more reasons than one a better site could not have been chosen for this experiment in the collective spirit, for on Iona you cannot escape your brother. There are no 'distractions' in the shape of cinema, or 'pub,' or neighbouring town; the highest hill may be climbed in half an hour, the whole island easily covered on foot, and the Sound can be so rough that for days on end it may be impossible to land or leave. But, of much greater significance, is not Iona historically the retreat from which a great missionary sent his brotherhood *forth into* the world, rather than the monastery in which he restricted them to a contemplative life? St. Columba set out from Iona to convert Scotland. And to-day, with vast masses of the population of Scotland on the move to new areas which are for the most part churchless, the Church of Scotland is seeking to fulfil its responsibility by training men who will share in the life and work of these growing areas.

It is hoped that each year some twenty students who have completed their course and are licensed will pledge themselves to the community for two years, spend the months of the first summer at Iona, where it is hoped to develop the settlement further, and go out in the following October, two by two, to work in the areas where the Church needs them most. Each member of the community will receive no more than £50 a year, together with his keep and expenses.

I. C. P. L. S., Geneva.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „ „).
Nandurbar („ „ „).
Shirpur („ „ „).
Shahada („ „ „).
Sakri („ „ „).
Sindkheda („ „ „).
Taloda („ „ „).
Malegaon („ „ „).
Satara (District Poona).
Kalwan („ „ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol („ „ „).

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the sale custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897)

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the sale Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate 2-26 Bombay

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma :—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 25, 1939. No. 30

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

President and Fuehrer.
To What End?
Reforms and Politics.
Bombay Riots Committee's Report.
Kenya Highlands.
Indo-British Trade Agreement.
Parsis and Prohibition.
In Praise of Wine.
Central European Affairs.
The Crisis in Europe.
An Anti-Fascist Front.
Kenya Highlands: The Issues Involved.
The Kenya Highlands.
Violent Non-Violence.
A Correction.
Rajkot and Satyagraha.
The Worker in Industry.
President Roosevelt and Fascism.
National Dress.
Mr. Khareghat on Parsis and Prohibition.

NOTES.

President and Fuehrer:— We publish elsewhere a friendly but vigorous remonstrance from Professor James B. Pratt, the distinguished American Orientalist, against our criticism of President Roosevelt's denunciation of the European dictators, Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini. The passage to which Professor Pratt objects was as follows:

> The United States has been all along declaring that she will not entangle herself again in European quarrels. But suddenly and without any obvious context, the Minister of the Interior and the President himself publicly denounce the heads of Germany and Italy in language which no responsible European statesman would indulge in even under grave provocation. Nothing better illustrates the inferiority complex from which, Dr. Fisher said, Americans suffer in their relations with Europe.

We had published in the *Reformer* of January 7 excerpts from a sermon—his last—which Dr. J. B. Fisher had delivered to his congregation at Detroit. In it he had pointed out that Americans had not still got out of their colonial mentality. Professor Pratt thinks that the President's action should be attributed rather to a superiority complex. It is much the same. Only, the man who in a controversy loses his temper and indulges in strong epithets which he has neither the means nor the intention of implementing, puts himself at a disadvantage with his adversary who has the power, even if he may not think it expedient to use it, to take his own course unmindful of your diatribes. Epithets only aggravate pre-existing tensions. Spoken from the head of one great Power to that of another, they are to be deprecated as endangering the peace of the world. They can be justified only if they had the contrary effect. Herr Hitler's adventures last week do not show that he had been frightened by the President's tirades. On the contrary, one can not help fearing that they might have exasperated him into acts more daring than he would have otherwise contemplated. We might, we admit, be subconsciously under the influence of the thought that, while the United States profited enormously by the War, Germany was reduced by it to incredible depths of depression from which she has been redeemed by the superhuman efforts of the Fuehrer. We do feel that the United States has no right in this matter to ride the high moral horse after the way in which she repudiated her obligations for the reconstruction of the European system which she had helped to destroy by her self-centred policy. The moral responsibility for the European dictatorships lies heavily on American shoulders.

To What End?:— The latest news available do not show that the bulk of American opinion is at the back of the President's denunciations of the Dictators when it comes to a question of implementing them by action. Strange to say, the defiant movements of Herr Hitler last week have had the effect of diminishing and toning down American attacks on him and his policy. Mr. Sumner Welles declared, it is true, on March 17, that the acts of wanton lawlessness of the Fuehrer were threatening world peace and modern civilisation. The exact interpretation to be placed upon this was indicated in a later message to the effect that American assistance in meeting the danger would be confined to economic and moral measures. In other words, the States will freely sell armaments to those who pay for it and take them away on the "cash and carry" principle. On this point, Mr. Devere Allen's statement that the German air fleet was largely built in the United States, is noteworthy. The news that a provisional Czechoslovak Government was being formed in the States under Dr. Benes, was promptly contradicted by the late President himself. As regards the European reaction to the Presidential fulminations, a message from Washington says that none of the European nations has communicated with the American Government in connection with the negotiations to form a democratic bloc against the Rome-Berlin axis. The writer on American affairs in the current *Round Table* adopts a slightly acid tone towards the President's declarations. In the course of an article headed "Guns, Butter and Gospel" he writes: "He (the President) is the aggressive world leader of the democracies, although somewhat removed from the firing line. He is, so to speak, the leader of the cheering section." The writer winds up: "The principal forecast of experi-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

enced national observers is that, while this policy may or may not be a vital contribution to world peace—that is another matter—it may well elect Mr. Roosevelt to a third term next year." We can not help thinking that the President by adopting a less truculent tone towards the Dictators might have better influenced their policy in the interests of peace.

Judges and Politics :—In the course of our comments on the end of Gandhiji's fast at the intervention of the Viceroy, we expressed a doubt as to the necessity of invoking the services of the Chief Justice of India for interpreting a notification and a letter of the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot. It was like using a steam hammer to crack a monkey nut. Further reflection leads us to question the propriety of utilising the highest judicial functionary in the country to unravel a political tangle. Sir Maurice Gwyer in his public speeches has more than once referred to the Supreme Court of the United States as the closest analogy to the Supreme Federal Court of India. We can not recall a single instance of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court having been requested by the President of the United States to interpret extra-judicially an agreement between the Governor of one of the States and the leader of a political party. Even if such a request was made, we doubt if the Chief Justice would feel free to comply with it. Having regard to the important functions of the Supreme Court, it is absolutely essential that the judges should stand completely clear of politics. In this case, the position is rendered the more delicate by the fact that, according to the statement made (March 6) by the Under-Secretrary of State for India in the House of Commons, the Crown Representative (Lord Linlithgow himself) did not consider that a case had been made out to the contrary of the Thakore Sahib's denial that he had broken any undertaking as to the appointment of a Reforms Committee.

Bombay Riots Committee's Report:— The undesirability of requisitioning High Court Judges for conducting enquiries outside their judicial functions, was unpleasantly brought out in the discussion, in the Bombay Legislative Assembly last week, on the Report of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to enquire into the Police firing on the crowd during the Labour disturbances some months ago. The Chairman of the Committee was a senior Judge of the Bombay High Court. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, who led the opposition, questioned the impartiality of the Committee on the ground that the Chairman was the son-in-law of a millowner. Sons-in-law, as a rule, have no great admiration for the fathers of their wives and are seldom inspired by the desire to advance their interests. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta is too shrewd a man of the world not to be aware of the common experience. It was merely a debating point and we are sure that he himself attached very little importance to it. But all the same it is undesirable that Judges of the highest Court in the Presidency should be brought into controversial debate in the Legislature. If the Home Minister had acceded to the request, not unreasonable in the circumstances, of Dr. Ambedkar to prosecute him on the finding of the Committee that he was cognisant of the causes of the disturbances, instead of declining to do so on the feeble ground that he did not want to make a martyr of the leader of the Independent Labout Party, a situation of much embarrassment would have been caused owing to a Judge of the High Court having been a party to the finding. The Bombay Government have been rather lavish in their calls on the High Court. Apart from the principle, the inconvenience to the High Court Bench and to litigants by the withdrawal of judges from their legitimate functions should be considered, particularly as the Bombay High Court has been chronically under-manned.

Kenya Highlands :—We publish in another column the text of the Order-in-Council relating to the disposition of what are known as the Highlands in Kenya. Orders-in-Council are passed by the Crown under authority delegated to it by a statute and have all the force of law. The attempt to differentiate it from statute law is of no practical consequence. The Kenya Highlands are reserved for Europeans by administrative practice for over thirty years. The residential areas or townships in the Highlands, are not so reserved and, therefore, the policy is not one of racial segregation as is sought to be enforced in South Africa. The reservation is confined to agricultural lands. The policy is one of racial discrimination. Even so, it is a departure from the principle of racial equality which is indissolubly associated with the British Crown. Indians protested at the time when this was introduced but acquiesced in it because Indians were not attracted to agriculture in Kenya. For several years past the European Settlers have been straining every nerve to consolidate their position and impose themselves as the ruling race in Kenya. Among the measures urged for the purpose was the legalising of the practice followed in regard to the Highlands. The idea of doing so by an Order-in-Council has been in the air for over three years. This has now been passed. The pretence that the order only covers the existing practice is untenable since the Highlands are placed definitely under the control of a European Board to which the Kenya Government must look for direction. The next inevitable step is the conversion of Kenya into a Dominion under the White Settlers like South Africa. The Government of India in their communique declare that they have exhausted all constitutional ways open to them. If we are to take this literally, it amounts to a suggestion that unconstitutional or extra-constitutional methods only have now a chance of being regarded by the British Government. There is already talk of a boycott of British goods as the one means which can not fail to bring the Indian protest home to British authorities. We agree with our contributor,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mr. P. A. Mehta, who was a member of the Kenya Indian deputation which visited this country last year, that the question to be agitated now is not the Order-in-Council, a minor affair but the principle of discrimination in favour of Europeans, even European aliens, inaugurated by the old administrative practice.

Indo-British Trade Agreement :— After protracted negotiations an Indo-British Trade Agreement was signed this week. It will be some time before full implications of the arrangement will be known. Meanwhile, it is not amiss to point out that a Trade Agreement between India and Great Britain is on a different plane from one between Great Britain and the United States or even between Great Britain and Canada. The difference arises from the fact that apart from trade, India is a large contributor to British economic life. Thousands of Britons are employed by India, many on salaries which are unobtainable elsewhere. Lord Birkenhead was candid enough to acknowledge that India in this way lightened the burden of unemployment in Great Britain. It has been calculated that, five shillings in the pound of the income of every Briton comes directly or indirectly from India. Any preferences that India may be giving to British imports, therefore, are a contribution in addition to her contributions on account of her political subjection. America and Canada contribute nothing except what is provided for in their trade agreements whereas India's contribution is over and above the large sums paid on account of "invisible imports."

Parsis and Prohibition :—When in the Civil Disobedience movement of 1930 liquor sales rapidly dwindled as the result of picketing of the shops, the late Mr. G. K. Nariman raised the cry that the loss of the liquor trade was calculated to ruin the Parsi community by depriving it of one of its principal sources of livelihood. Neither he, a recognised Avesta scholar, nor any one else, maintained that the use of alcohol was a religious ordinance of the Zoroastrian faith. This view was first advanced in the Bombay Municipal Corporation the other day by Sir Byramjee Jeejeebhoy and it has since gained ground rapidly among members of the community. Except one or two bold spirits, no Parsi has come forward to question the declaration. On the other hand, it has received the imprimatur of an eminent scholar, and highly respected Parsi leaders, Mr. M. P. Khareghat who is President of the Parsi Panchayat, the principal organisation of the community. His testimony that the Parsis here for long observed the practice of offering wine as a religious ritual necessarily carries great weight. Mr. Khareghat does not say whether it is a practice which should be continued in the interests of the community or may be discarded without injury to its religious stability. The white kerchief with which Parsi women used to cover their heads, was regarded as a religious necessity thirty years ago but it is no longer regarded in the same light. Thirty years ago no Parsi could be seen smoking : it was considered an act of sacrilege. Today the sight of a Parsi publicly smoking, excites no comment either from his co-religionists or others. Is the practice of using liquor a more indispensable element of the Zoroastrian religion? This, of course, is a question for Parsi leaders to consider. Whatever might have been the case in the past, in our opinion, Prohibition will in these days be a distinct advantage to the Parsis as to others, from the economic as well as the health point of view—rather more to Parsis than to others as they are a small community two-thirds of which live in the depressing surroundings of Bombay City. If, nevertheless, the leaders of the community insist on the use of alcohol as a religious obligation, Government should, we think, extend to them the same facilities as to Roman Catholics and under the same conditions. This, of course, will not affect the Prohibition policy as regards trading in liquor. There can be no religious obligation on Parsis to sell liquor to those who are forbidden by their religions to drink it.

In Praise of Wine :—Mr. Kharegat quotes some verses from the Parsi scriptures in praise of wine. Similar passages occur in the Vedas also. What the ancients meant by wine, whether they correctly understood the nature of its effects on mind and body, we do not know. The Madras Prime Minister has declared that what in the Christian Bible was called wine was only grape juice. This view is supported by the warning in the same scriptures against being among wine-bibbers. The references in the Vedas and in the Parsi scriptures—there are close affinities between them—likewise probably refer to fruit juice of different kinds. Or they may have a spiritual significance. In any case, the fact remains that the Hindus, notwithstanding the encomiums on wine in the Vedas, found it necessary to denounce its use as a cardinal sin. No one would think of opposing Prohibition today on the authority of the Vedic hymns. As we observed the other day with reference to the Gita, the precepts of the sacred books should be taken as the starting point and not as the last word in our knowledge of any subject.

Central European Affairs :—On Friday morning news came through that an economic agreement has been concluded between Germany and Roumania, by which German expert advice is made available to Roumania for the economic development (and control) of that country. Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on Thursday, took up the attitude that Britain was not opposed to Germany's trade expansion but strongly objected to coercion on independent States to yield up their independence. The anti-Fascist "front", therefore, has a limited objective and Germany's attitude towards Slovakia which is revealed to be the "protection" of its political independence and territorial integrity, shows that Nazi Germany for the moment has no intention of carrying the Czechei methods farther. Meanwhile, incursions by Hungarian troops into the German-protected Slovak territory have introduced a new factor in Central European politics.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, March 25, 1939.

THE CRISIS IN EUROPE.

The Munich negotiations were concluded on October 1, 1938, leaving points of dispute to be settled by an "International" Commission sitting in Berlin. President Benes on October 5, announced his decision to resign the Presidentship of the rump Republic after he saw that the Commission was supported by France and Britain in working out "self-determination" on census figures of 1910. Mr. Duff-Cooper had resigned two days earlier from the National Government in Britain as a protest against a policy of allowing one great Power "in disregard of treaty obligations, of the laws of nations and the decrees of morality to dominate by brutal force the Continent of Europe." Exactly a month after Munich, the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, openly declared in the House of Commons that "geographically Germany must occupy the predominating position in relation to the States of Central and South-eastern Europe. I do not see any reason why we should expect a fundamental change to take place in these regions." The meaning of this was plain to the world. It was a definite warning to the countries of these regions to make their best terms with Germany without looking for support to Britain. It was an encouragement to Herr Hitler in South-East Europe. True Mr. Chamberlain did emphasise that Britain had certain trade interests there and would maintain those interests. But, "in that respect," he argued, "we shall have the good will of the countries themselves because although it is true that their international markets will be found chiefly in Germany, nevertheless they can as a rule only obtain payment from Germany either in the form of goods, by barter arrangements or by blocked marks." The Premier's attitude on the question of South-eastern Europe was strikingly akin to that of some German visitors to India who conceived the future of this country as one of political dependence on Britain and of partial economic exploitation by German industrialists. Their vision did not appeal to Britons. Neither did the Chamberlain scheme evoke enthusiasm in Germany's leaders. Herr Hitler set about remedying the situation. The German economic mission to South-east Europe consolidated Germany's predominating position in the countries there. Politically, Herr Hitler, seizing a favourable opportunity, took the first open step when he annexed Bohemia and Moravia and later Slovakia to the German Reich last week. In doing so he roused a storm of protest in the "democratic" states which appears entirely disproportionate to the action itself.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain has made two important pronouncements on the situation expressing his bitter disappointment at the turn of events. The first of these was in the House of Commons on March 15. The second was at the annual meeting of the Birmingham Unionist Association on March 17. In the Commons Mr. Chamberlain announced that, as the British Government had failed in achieving a guarantee of agreement with other Munich powers, he did not regard the guarantee obligations to Czechoslovakia as binding on the British Government. This was an unnecessary explanation. As early as November 1, the British Premier had cleared up the misunderstanding created by an earlier statement of Sir Thomas Inskip, a leading member of the Ministry, to the effect that "His Majesty's Government felt a moral obligation to Czechoslovakia to treat the guarantee as already in force." Mr. Chamberlain, on the contrary, said that Britain had never given a frontier guarantee but simply a guarantee against unprovoked aggression. That, he urged, "was quite a different thing." Obviously it does not cover the present case, of annexation with the consent of the head of the Czecho-Slovak State. Mr. Chamberlain, therefore, needlessly excused himself for inaction in the present crisis. The rest of Mr. Chamberlain's speech that day was devoted to clearing any charge of complicity in the annexation. Even this was superfluous. It is true that with a single exception every circumstance in the case seems to indicate pre-knowledge of the events or exceeding simplemindedness in the British Premier; and people are reluctant to attribute simplemindedness to one who guides the destiny of a great Empire. But the exception is decisive. We do not think Mr. Chamberlain would have permitted six millions and more out of the ten million pounds loan to go to Prague if he had the least inkling that Herr Hitler would get his hands to them. In his Birmingham speech, there was no protestation of innocence on this point but doubtless the unusual vehemence of his utterance was inspired by the necessity of meeting this suspicion. The most notable point of the speech was Mr. Chamberlain's staunch refusal to appreciate the fact that the present crisis is the more than logical outcome of Munich. The Premier went on to say that all of "us" were asking if this was the end of an old adventure or the beginning of a new one. It is perhaps consoling for one who will not fight except where Britain's interests are involved, to look upon every aggression on the Continent of Europe as the end of an "old" adventure. It is doubtless necessary for a Premier who has bungled a crisis, to regard the chaos that has grown out of it as an entirely new problem; otherwise Mr. Chamberlain must necessarily resign. But to those who bring a dispassionate mind to the question, it appears clear that the annexation of Bohemia-Moravia is but an incident in Nazi policy, no more outrageous than a host of others. In a speech in the House of Lords, Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

explained how Herr Hitler's latest exploit could be regarded as a "new adventure." Few observers, however, will agree with him when he characterises as new the policy of using the internal troubles of a State to advance the imperialist ambitions of a foreign power. The method is an ancient one. It is a corollary of the old maxim, "divide and rule." Before the Nazis, it was used in Arabia against the Turks; in Central Europe against the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It has been the first weapon, perfected almost beyond recognition, in the Fascist-Nazi armoury. Signor Mussolini employed it in Albania, in Yugoslavia, in Hungary, in Austria, in Abyssinia and in Spain. Herr Hitler pressed it into service in Austria, in Spain and in Czechoslovakia. He is still using it in Memel, in Hungary and in Roumania. It is not easy to see with what conscience Lord Halifax can exclaim against it now when his Government had acquiesced in it hitherto. But the reason for the change in the British policy is to be found in the importance attached by the British Premier to economic interests.

Britain has not lost much in the losses that have occurred so far. The next step of Nazi Germany is different. Herr Hitler is pressing on Roumania for economic concessions which will impose on Roumanians a subordinate position. Roumania is asked, as a return for political independence to transform herself into a purely agricultural country, and to sell her wheat and her oil solely to Germany. Yugoslavia is already within the Nazi economic framework. In Bulgaria 58 per cent of her total exports are to Germany and 52 per cent of her imports come from the Reich. Germany's share in Turkey's trade is 51 per cent. The *Economist's* "Commercial History of 1938" issued on February 18, further remarks that Hungary and, to a greater degree, Italy are trading increasingly with Germany today. In Roumania particularly, British trade has a footing, taking as Britain does a third of Roumania's wheat. Mr. Stoyan Pribhichevich in a Foreign Policy Report on "The Nazi Drive to The East," sums up the position tersely:

> German ambitions in Roumania conflict with important British interests. One-third of Roumania's oil resources are owned by British companies, and Britain buys altogether two million pounds' worth of oil from Roumania. Britain already buys much timber there, and is now increasing its wheat purchases; a new clearing agreement is also being negotiated to finance Roumanian purchases of more British goods. The threat to Roumania's right to sell where she pleases, is strongly resented in Britain. The cause of the dispute is obvious but the issue is scarcely an inspiring one.

AN ANTI-FASCIST FRONT.

The annexation of Bohemia-Moravia-Slovakia by Germany—the Hungarian seizure of Ruthenia seems to have passed unnoticed—and even before Germany's threat to Roumania have revived the principle of collective security which the British and French Governments deliberately set aside at Munich. In their extremity the British Government have approached Soviet Russia with a view to considering the possibilities of "encircling" the Nazi-Fascist powers in what is made out to be a defensive alliance. The method proposed by Britain is that of a joint statement of solidarity between principally Russia, Britain and France, to which it is hoped the South-Eastern States of Europe and Poland will lend their support. Efforts are being made to represent this stand as a struggle for democracy but a glance at the possible "allies" should convince any one that the alliance would be very different. Chief among the anti-Fascist forces will be Soviet Russia whose friendship is all the more assiduously wooed now because it was slighted at Munich. Russia is a scarcely masked totalitarian State, differing only in its declared aims from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. There are France and Britain, both imperialist democracies confronted with many internal problems today. And lastly, the Balkan States, if they join the others, range from monarchic despotism to military dictatorship.

If these three groups are to find a common ground it can only be on an anti-Fascist line-up. As this has been a Russian ambition ever since the rise of Fascism in Europe, the very fact of such a union will mean a tremendous triumph for Soviet diplomacy. There is much more implied in the proposed alliance. In the past Britain has been definitely opposed to Communist propaganda while it looked on Fascist preaching with a friendly eye. Can it be persuaded to change this attitude at the eleventh hour? It is absurd to imagine, as some political leaders seem to do, that Russia can be induced to withhold propaganda while the European tangle is straightened out. If Britain is in a dilemma, the position of the Balkan rulers is even more difficult. Most of them are in power today through ruthless suppression of their peoples; they have, all of them, more in common with the ideology of Fascism than they can hope to have with the democracies. It is not surprising, therefore, that their offers of support are qualified by many reservations. Poland has, with all her fears of attack from Germany, shown herself extremely reluctant to commit herself to any definite policy. Roumania, even while she is considering the benefits of joining Britain and France, is negotiating a trade agreement with Germany. Hungary owes all she has today to Signor Mussolini's championing of her cause and more recently to Herr Hitler's support in the matter of Ruthenia. It is obvious in the face of all these problems that Russia should insist on a conference between the main parties to a future alliance, before pledging her support and the immediate danger of Herr Hitler acting at once does not remove any of the difficulties in the way of "encirclement." Mr. Neville Chamberlain is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

being compelled by the force of circumstance to do exactly what he wished to avoid last September, unite with Russia. Then at least the issue was clear. A stand on the Czech question would have really meant a stand for democracy. Now the allies will be weak and the cause but a negative one.

Not the least of the difficulties which a British Premier has to face in any possible war in Europe, is that of carrying the Dominions with him. Mrs. Vera Micheles Dean in her analysis of the "Munich Accord" in a Foreign Policy Report remarks that in the opinion of Mr. Chamberlain, the Sudeten issue was not sufficiently clear-cut to justify war in the eyes of the British people, "least of all in the Dominions, which at the 1937 Imperial Conference had urged Britain to conciliate potential aggressors in Europe. The Prime Minister believed that, in case war could not be averted, he would stand a much better chance of obtaining the aid of the Dominions if he could demonstrate that all possibilities of conciliation had been exhausted." The Dominions have once again expressed their opinion on the crisis that confronts the Empire. The least the Dominions could do was to declare their willingness to help Britain if she was in trouble. They have all done this but they have been careful to restrict their support to defence of Britain. It is but natural that the various Dominions with the vast differences in their ability to defend themselves, should express their limited responsibility differently. Canada which is in the fortunate position of having the United States to fall back upon if Britain ceases to be a world power, has roundly declared her indifference to any war for trade or prestige in a remote corner of the world; South Africa which is in difficulties with Germany on a question of admitting German immigrants, still does not consider the crisis urgent enough to call for an expression of policy; Australia is prepared to "consult" with Britain on questions relating to the international situation; New Zealand with her offer of being wherever Britain is, stands far ahead of the other Dominions but New Zealand did this too last September and of her subsequent attitude *Round Table* writes, "It is safe to say that when the time came, no Government in the Commonwealth was more loath to plunge its people into war."

Outside the Dominions and the immediately threatened States of Europe, the United States of America is the one country whose support France and Britain would strain every effort to obtain. But despite President Roosevelt's own strong opposition to Fascism and his deep sympathy with Britain and France, there is little chance of America coming into a European war. The non-Fascist nations of Europe are negotiating a statement of policy in the event of future German aggression. The two significant factors of this move are the implied condonation of not only Czech annexation but even of the taking over of Memel last Wednesday from Lithuania and the exclusion of the United States of America from the names of the negotiating parties. We believe that the greatest service the United States can render to Europe today is to keep her hands off completely. The attitude of rendering moral and economic support is an untenable one and it will not be long before American soldiers are found where American money and American sympathy have gone before. Fascism and Communism in the U. S. A. have only a reflected meaning. If she enters into a European war she must inevitably lay herself open to the warring ideologies of Europe. If she keeps out, she takes the one chance of maintaining sanity in a distracted world. We do not minimise the difficulties of resisting propagandists on both sides which a nation determined to keep out of war, will have to overcome. Already the rival parties have started the war of words, with exaggerations on the one side and denials on the other. The broadcasting stations of the democracies and of Moscow, and those of Berlin and Rome, give a variety of reports of events, incidents and policies. The United States of America is peculiarly open to propaganda from all sides.

For obvious reasons, the position of India in the event of war is peculiarly unhappy. Without any voice in Britain's policy, she will be the first member of the Empire to be rushed into war. We do not consider the Indian princes who, of course, will pledge themselves to support Britain but not through any love of democracy. The attempts to represent Indian opinion as violently anti-Nazi and, therefore, in favour of action against Germany are plausible but misconceived. The only point on which Indian opinion can be roused, is the Nazi policy of racialism. It would be useless to deny the fact that most of Europe's troubles today are due to the appeal which Nazi theories of race distinctions have to the European mind. It is true that Lord Halifax and Mr. Chamberlain make a special point of Hitler's heinous crime of taking over a people who are not German in any way. That, however, is obviously meant for Westesn ears. It is itself founded on the tacit feeling that what is good enough for Asia and Africa is not proper in Europe. For in brief, the main grievance against Fascist Nazi leaders is that they are introducing into Europe standards which had hitherto been confined to the dealings of Europeans with Asiatics. That is a good reason for Europeans to fight in Europe against Germany and Italy. But it is no flaming banner to attract India to enter the contest. The revelations of European diplomacy in the past few months are in themselves a complete argument for indifference to the squabbles of Europe. We have no doubt that in the event of war India, placed as she is, will be dragged into it whether she likes it or not. We do not favour the policy put forward at various times of making Britain's difficulties our opportunities, because not only does it lower

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

national character but exposes the country as well to the worst alien exploiters. The instance of Palestine and Czechoslovakia should be sufficient warning to us. But at the same time that does not mean that by being pushed into a war to pull Britain's chestnuts out of the fire, India will be fulfilling her high destiny.

KENYA HIGHLANDS: THE ISSUES INVOLVED.

(By P. A. Mehta)

The promulgation of the Order-in-Council defining the areas of the Highlands and creating the Highlands Board has caused the deepest disappointment in the hearts of all Indians. It seems to have created a feeling of despair among Indians in Kenya for which there is little justification. There is also a tendency to put all the blame on the Government of India. It is, therefore, necessary to take stock of the situation and to see if, after all, the position is as hopeless as we are led to believe. Is the Government of India solely to be blamed for the present situation or should the blame be apportioned between the Government and the Indian leaders in Kenya? A dispassionate analysis may help to cure the weaknesses in our own ranks.

During the first quarter of this century, a vicious administrative practice had been formed by the Government of Kenya by which Indians were effectively excluded from acquiring lands in the Highlands of Kenya for any purpose. There was, however, no statutory sanction behind this practice. Owing to the organized agitation of the European settlers, the Carter Commission recommended that an Order-in-Council should be promulgated defining the European Highlands. The report also contained a definition of "the privileged position" occupied by the Europeans in this area. This definition went far beyond the actual administrative practice. It was expected that this definition would be embodied in the Order-in-Council recommended by the Carter Commission and there is not the slightest doubt that such a course would have meant much more than the legalizing of past practice.

At this time Indian political agitation in Kenya was at its lowest. There was complete disunity among the Indian leaders and the annual session of the East African Congress had not been held for the number of years. Even in 1935 when an effort was made to revive public enthusiasm at a special session of the Congress in Nairobi, it failed miserably. Few political meetings, in the experience of the writer, have evoked so little enthusiasm. It was at such a sad period of inaction and political degradation in Kenya that the Government of India put up a fight for the repudiation of the definition of 'privileged position' given to the Carter Commission. But it became definite at the end of 1937 that an Order-in-Council was about to be promulgated. A session of the Congress held in Nairobi in December 1937 awoke to its sense of duty and, after a lapse of many years, a united front was presented at the Congress. With dramatic rapidity it was decided to send a delegation to India to combat the promulgation of the Order-in-Council. The Delegation met with complete support from the Government of India, and it had the moral backing of the Indian National Congress and of India. The communique issued by the Government of India recently is correct in saying that "they have done whatever was constitutionally possible." As Mr. Shams-U-Deen who led the East African Delegation, observed in a letter (February 27th 1939) to the *Kenya Daily Mail*, "It is quite apparent that through the representation made by the Government of India the Order-in-Council has to a great extent been whittled down and a good bit of the racial sting has been taken out of it....."

Firstly, the Order-in-Council does not contain the obnoxious definition of "privileged position" of Europeans in the Highlands. For that reason it is almost without a backbone. Secondly, it merely defines the area of the Highlands. The settlers in Kenya have protested most vigorously against this vague definition. They have demanded the insertion of the words 'White' or 'European' Highlands. As the Order-in-Council stands, Indians may *legally* have the same rights as Europeans in the Highlands. That this achievement is due to the representations of the Government of India is apparent from what the Attorney-General said on behalf of the Government of Kenya in his speech in the Legislative Council on the 29th April 1938 on a motion brought by the representatives of the European settlers. He said that some people appeared to think that it was an easy matter to get Orders-in-Council through. But these Orders had to be scrutinized not only by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and by the authorities in Kenya but by various other Secretaries of State concerned who might not always see eye to eye as regards the wording. Col. Kirkwood supporting the motion said that it was "intentional and wilful that no mention had been made of Europeans or White Highlands."

Other significant recommendations of the Carter Commission have been rejected. Considering everything, it must be said that it might have been worse. Of course, I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that the proposed Order-in-Council goes beyond the past practice, particularly as it establishes the Highlands Board and even gives a legal flavour to the practice but, as I have already pointed out, it does not legalize the administrative practice as it was feared it would do. This achievement should have given some confidence to Indian leaders in Kenya and should put a new spirit in them to fight more bravely till the battle was won. Instead the executive of the East African Indian Congress has recently acted in a manner which can not be easily condoned. In October 1938, the leaders of the British settlers were most anxious to get the co-operation of the Congress Executive to the Tanganyika League. That was a time when the Executive could at least have given its co-operation, subject to certain concessions by the European leaders (who were all in the Tanganyika League) particularly on the Highlands question. Instead the Executive not merely meekly and unconditionally worked for the settlers' immediate object but even went so far as to declare itself in favour of the administration of Tanganyika, "*under the British flag.*" This resolution was not merely the neglecting of a golden opportunity to advance the Indian cause but an abject surrender of the self-respect of Indians in Kenya for which there is no parallel in the history of Kenya. The course which the Executive should have pursued was to have pressed for international control of Tanganyika if it was at all necessary to take up any attitude at the time. It is gratifying to find that the recent open session of the Congress has omitted the words "under the British flag" but this amendment came too late. The unconditional support given by tho Congress Executive to the Tanganyika League not only served the purpose of the League but, as observed by Mr. S. T. Thakore, Deputy President of the Congress, "attempts were made to use the influence derived from the joining of hands with European community on the question

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the retention of Tanganyika, to bring about closer union between the East African Territories."

When, therefore, the efforts of the Congress should have been vigorously directed against the promulgation of the Highlands Order-in-Council, the time and energies of the office-bearers and the leaders were wasted in helping the European settlers in keeping Tanganyika "under the British flag." The conference convened early this month at Nairobi has passed a resolution calling upon the Congress Executive to withdraw its support to the Tanganyika League and thus impliedly censured its colossal blunder in having helped the British settlers. This is like shutting the stable door after the steed has been stolen!

There is another feature of politics in Kenya at present which deserves condemnation. There appears to be great disunity among Indian leaders in Kenya even in face of the great wrong done to Indian interests. The *Colonial Times*, the only Indian paper in Nairobi, the present headquarters of the Congress, in its editorial notes of February 25, 1939 writes:

> The publication of the Order-in Council regarding Kenya Highlands appears to have thrown the Congress circles into utter panic, for there is no other justification for the insane and precipitate actions of the Secretary and deputy President of the Congress during the last few days. Panic has taken the place of cool judgment among the Congress leaders, and the exhibition of their nervousness and childish threats in interviews with the European Press, in whose columns prominent space is devoted to these effusions, must fill the hearts of Indians with shame and sorrow.

On the other hand, the *Kenya Daily Mail* of Mombasa in an editorial (March 1, 1939) under the heading "Appeal to Nairobi" criticizing in unecessarily strong language the leaders who are opposed to policy of the Congress executive, says:

> In their personal jealousies and personal differences with the present Congress Executive, they are acting in a most senseless and foolish manner and in trying to belittle the efforts of the Executive to register the strongest possible protest against the Highlands Order-in Council which they vehemently condemn, they are becoming instruments in the hands of the opponents of the Indian community.

Surely this disgraceful state of things should come to an end immediately. I have worked with men in both these camps and have found them capable of rendering great services to the community. It is not necessary to say where the blame lies. What is imperative is that they should patch up their differences and fight the common enemy instead of fighting among themselves. If not, they will have to blame themselves rather than the Government of India for worse discrimination and harsher laws against Indians in Kenya. If this is how Indian leaders in Kenya keep the "honour of India," it is time an Agent was appointed by the Government of India to represent India in East Africa.

The immediate problem is not merely to demand the repeal of the present Order-in-Council but of the unjust "administrative practice" on which it is based. It is not enough to combat a *legal* bar when there is an *actual* bar against Indians in Kenya. All energies should now be devoted to the abolition of this "administrative practice." To fight against the statutory recognition of an unjust practice is to fight for a shadow. So long as the practice continues, it is no satisfaction to feel that it is not embodied in any Statute. If you can abolish the practice you can equally repeal an Order-in Council. Indians in India should, therefore, now cease to bother about the legalizing of the present position but should try every method and fight on every front to get rid of the obnoxious administrative practice. The limitations of the Government of India are well known but that is no reason for abandoning all hope. India has a national Government at the centre. The Government of India have done much in the past and should be made to do much more in the future. The danger at the moment lies not in the weakness of the Government of India but in the leaders in Kenya themselves.

THE KENYA HIGHLANDS

The text of the Kenya (Highlands) Order-in-Council, 1939, is as follows:—

Whereas it is expedient to define the boundaries of the area in the Colony of Kenya known as the Highlands, and to make other provision in respect thereof:

Now, therefore, His Majesty, in pursuance of the powers vested in him by the British Settlements Act, 1887, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, is pleased, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, as follows:—

1. This Order may be cited as the Kenya (Highlands) Order-in-Council, 1939.

2. (1) In this Order unless the context otherwise requires—

"Colony" means the Colony of Kenya;

"Crown Lands Ordinance" means the Crown Lands Ordinance (Chapter 140 of the Revised Edition of the Laws of Kenya) as amended by the Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance, 1929, the Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance, 1934, and the Crown Lands (Amendment) Ordinance, 1938;

"Gazette" means the Official Gazette of the Colony;

"Governor" meas the Governor and Commander-in Chief for the time being of the Colony and includes every person for the time being administering the Government thereof.

(2) In this Order references to the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, 1938, and the Crown Lands Ordinance shall include any Ordinance which may hereafter be enacted to amend or replace the same; provided that such Ordinance shall have been reserved for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon and His Majesty's assent shall have been given thereto.

(3) The Interpretation Act, 1889, shall apply to the intepretation of this Order as it applies for the interpretation of an Act of Parliament.

3. (1) The Highlands of Kenya shall consist of the areas of land the boundaries of which are set out in the Seventh Schedule to the Crown Lands Ordinance.

(2) Except as provided in the Native Lands Trust Ordinance, 1938, and the Crown Lands Ordinance, the boundaries of the Highlands shall not be altered.

4. (1) There shall be established in the Colony a board which shall be known as the Highlands Board.

(2) The Highlands Board shall consist of the following persons—

(*a*) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of Chief Secretary, who shall be President of the Board;

(*b*) the person for the time being lawfully discharging the functions of Commissioner for Lands and Settlement, who shall be Vice-President;

(*c*) four persons, not holding office in the public service of the Colony, appointed from time to time by a majority of the European Elected Members of the Legislative Council of the Colony present and voting at a meeting of the European Elected Members convened for the purpose;

(*d*) a person nominated from time to time by the Governor;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(3) (*a*) The names of the persons from time to time appointed in accordance with paragraph (*c*) of sub-section (2) of this section shall be submitted to the Governor who shall cause notice thereof to be published in the Gazette.

(*b*) Such persons need not themselves be European Elected Members of the Legislative Council.

(*c*) The appointment of such persons shall not be affected by any dissolution of the Legislative Council and the persons who are members of the Board at the time of the dissolution by virtue of such appointment shall continue to be members of the Board until the first session of the new legislative Council or until new members are appointed by the European Elected Members, whichever shall first happen.

(4) The Board shall not be disqualified from acting by reason of any vacancy or vacancies among the member.

(5) Four members of the Board shall form a quorum, and the Board may regulate its proceedings as it thinks fit.

5. It shall be the function of the Board—

(*a*) to protect the interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands in the land situate in the Highlands and in particular to make representations to the Governor when, in the opinion of the Board anything in relation to the administration, management, development or control of the land in the Highlands is not in the best interests of the inhabitants of the Highlands.

(*b*) to give or withhold its consent in all matters in which its consent is required by any Ordinance for the time being in force in the Colony;

(*c*) to advise the Governor in all matters relating to the disposition of land within the Highlands; and the Governor shall consult the Board in all such matters as are referred to in paragraph (*c*).

6. This Order shall come into operation on a day to be appointed by the Governor by Proclamation published in the Gazette.

VIOLENT NON-VIOLENCE.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Cacutta.)

I look vacant at the question when my mother asks, "What sort of non-violence is this to take undue advantage of one's great influence in the country to coerce a Prince into a course of action of vital and permanent significance to himself, to his family and to his State within a few days by starting a fast unto death in the Prince's territory?"

Of his first experiments in satyagraha it might be urged that Gandhiji was still young, immature in judgment, and jumping on impulses and floating ideas; and, therefore, some allowance could be made in judging his violent conduct towards the feelings and sentiments of others while upholding his own. But his Rajkot fast, undertaken in ripe old age, has left little ground for pleading for any such allowance. Possibly, Gandhiji's point of view is that he goes by his convictions and, perhaps, also by some divine inspiration. But all thinkers, preachers and reformers, and even political agitators have similar arguments, though they may not be realising and accessing the divinity of their inspirations. The point is only whether the methods they adopt in propagating their ideas and convictions and in winning over people to them are violent or non-violent. And in judging whether the methods are violent or non-violent, very clear thinking is necessary as regards where the demarcating line between violence and non-violence may lie. To make the mere use of physical force the criterion is to misjudge and misunderstand the whole thing; for violence committed through such force can even be much less severe than that committed without it. A son going astray causes severer violence to his mother's feelings than if he were in a moment of wild rage to give her a blow. A devoted wife would much prefer to receive occasional blows from her husband, addicted to drinking, to her husband sending her a decent maintenance and himself misbehaving with other women. The illustrations may easily be multiplied, and they may even be otherwise. A son or a husband charmed and influenced by the oratory of a missionary, may turn Christian and in his imbibed missionary enthusiasm he may resort to fast as a means to convert those of his family members who are much attached to him. In this case he conceives his object to be very noble and even beneficial to them. Those of them like his mother or wife, who cannot bear him fasting, are forced to do anything to prevent him from fasting and torturing himself. But does that not amount to violence of a cruder and severer type than, what Gandhiji would call, the use of physical force? For our ways and methods to be truly non-violent it is certainly not enough to avoid physical force but also to scrupulously avoid doing violence to one's feelings and sentiments.

Gandhiji misunderstands the *Ahimsa* idea if he were to think that—whatever the source and nature of his inspiration may be—he can disregard the reaction of his acts and doings on others' feelings, only if his intentions are noble. It is possible to have *Ahimsa* in one's own thought and act, but *Ahimsa* being a relative thing, one has also to see that in the course of such thought and act no *Himsa* or violence is done on the body as also on the mind of others. A non-violent *Satyagrahi* is to inspire and create conviction in the minds of others in his own ideas and beliefs by demonstrating their goodness in his own life and in the field where he works. And, therefore, there can no shortcut for him as that to be had by undertaking a fast at the door of non-believers.

Gandhiji's Rajkot fast was, therefore, unbefitting a non-violent satyagrahi, but was rather an impulsive act of crude violence. His act became all the more violent because he was conscious that the place he held in the mass-mind in the country and also in the country's politics would have a hopelessly irresistable influence on the Rajkot Chief whose hands would thereby be forced. Under such extreme violent methods it is not possible for any noble instincts to generate and develop in anybody's mind, as Gandhiji said they would, in the young Thakore Saheb's heart. Gandhiji forced the issue and violently forced the young man's hands. Effigies were burnt, the country was indignant, the Paramount Power intervened, and of course it was humanly unbearable to have an old man starving at the door. What more violence could conceivably have been committed towards a youngman in a helpless condition? If he had wrongly acted, if he had plighted his word, well, it was for satyagrahis to continue in their absolutely non-violent efforts to provoke repentence in him by unmutteringly offering themselves before his wrath. That slow but sure process, Gandhiji interrupted by descending on the scene and undertaking the fast. And thereby he has set a bad example that vitiates some of the essentials which he has himself been preaching under his non-violence doctrine.

A CORRECTION.

In last week's *Reformer*, page 459, towards the conclusion of Mr. P. A. Mehta's article on "East African Congress and The Tanganyika League" there is a reference to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's visit to Tanganyika. As printed it reads, "Now we hear of the forthcoming visit of Mr. *A.B.* Patel to save the territory for the British... .." It should have read, "Now we hear of the forthcoming visit of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel ....." The mistake is the more regrettable since there is a Mr. *A. B. Patel*, an East African Indian leader, in Kenya.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

RAJKOT AND SATYAGRAHA.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I should have written to you long since in connection with the Rajkot trouble but somehow or other I have not been able to do so. Meantime, let me tell you that I have been in full agreement with you in regard to all that you have written in connection with it: as a matter of fact, this is just what I have been thinking about the affair all the while, and I have been wondering how you being so far from the spot should have got such an insight into the affair. As you said once, it has been a sordid affair, entirely so, and there has been very little to choose between the two parties so far as the method of fighting this battle is concerned. In my humble way I tried to act as a truce-maker without placing myself in the lime-light, but the people or rather their leaders were adamant in their stand. I was in close touch with Sir Patrick Cadell, but the popular leaders were bent upon sending him away. Later on the people, however, realized fully the great mistake they made in behaving towards him in the way they did.

As for *Satya* and *Ahimsa* the less said about them the better. In the first phase of the fight, the State was more Ahimsata than the people, and the people were fully bent upon *paralysing* the State altogether. In the second stage, the State *terrorised* the people and it did this effectively. As a matter of fact, it had no other way to get out of the trouble. I am afraid there is nothing else that could be done against mass lawlessness and extreme coercion to the extent of even paralysing the entire life of the State. Under these circumstances, both the State and the Parishad fully matched one another.

The pity of it, however, was that Mahatma Gandhi did not take a middle course as he should have done. Everything would have been easily settled here on the spot. As you have said, he went even beyond the agreement in his demands and the fast was nothing but coercion of a pretty bad kind.

I am afraid the end is not yet. There will be some hitch, perhaps more than one, even now. At the same time, let us hope that things may be better.

Rajkot, March 14, 1939. } Yours etc., REALIST.

THE WORKER IN INDUSTRY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

With reference to your comments on my evidence before the textile Labour Inquiry Committee, I am not against giving the worker an increase in his wage if that would enable him to use his discretion how to spend it. But he is so surrounded with difficult social and industrial conditions that he is not in a position to use the money to his benefit. He has very little choice in the spending of it. I do not even remotely suggest that the workman is instinctively for wasting or misusing his wages. What I want to drive home is that he is caught in a vicious net of bad living and working conditions which leave him no choice but to waste and misuse his money. It is true that progress of man lies through making mistakes and suffering the consequences. But the tragic irony of it all is that bad living and working conditions are depriving the workman exactly of this right, this privilege, this essential of human progress. It is to restore to him this birthright that I keep harping on the theme of first improving his living and working condition before doing anything else. If he is to have a sporting chance to work for his uplift, he must first be drawn out from the vicious circle of bad living and working conditions. If he is ever to assert his manhood, if he is to command higher wages and not have to go begging for them, his living and working conditions must be such as befit essential human needs. You cannot build a castle on a foundation of sand. You cannot have efficiency and character through bad living and working conditions. There must be a solid foundation to build any permanent structure over it, and the only permanent safeguard that can ensure a higher wage for the workman (coupled with a privilege to do what he may like with it), lies through proper living and working conditions.

Bombay, March 22, 1939. } Yours etc., H. P. DASTUR.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND FASCISM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Once more I want to register my friendly disagreement with you, this time in relation to your remarks in *The Reformer* for January 14th upon President Roosevelt's expression of American opinion upon German and Italian policy. If I may judge by all the information I can get hold of, the people of America very heartily welcomed and applauded his expressions. Certainly he has a most unusual ability in understanding the feelings of his fellow countrymen. And not only did the great majority of us agree with what he said, but also felt that it was most appropriate and fitting that he should say it. To attribute this expression and feeling to a national "inferiority complex" seems to me ill-informed. Conceivably it might be charged by some to a *superiority* complex: but to make it a token of inferiority feeling passes understanding. It was an expression by our chief magistrate of the almost universal American indignation at two things which go beyond merely national and international matters because they go deep down into our common human nature and to the common interests of all mankind. I refer to the steady attack by the Fascist powers—both in act and in speech—upon the fundamental principles of self-government, of human rights, of the possibility of governmental self-criticism, of public opinion, freedom of speech and of the press, and of education as distinguished from propaganda. And secondly the President's words expressed the feeling of horror which all Americans entertain at the utterly inhuman attitude of the Fascist governments toward the Jews.

I earnestly hope (for the sake of my high opinion of your judgment) that you will not even be tempted to reply by reminding me that Great Britain has frequently in the past acted against the interests of liberty and the rights of man, or that every year a number of negroes are lynched in our American Southern States. Of course these things are true and no one, so far as I am aware, denies them. We Americans deplore these things, and so far as our own people are responsible for them we feel deep humiliation. But for that reason must our mouths be for ever closed in protest against cruelty, injustice, inhumanity? Or because democratic nations have done ill in the past, must all nations be permitted to do ill without protest through all the future? Is there to be no possibility of progress? And do

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

1939]

we not all belong to one human race? And are national laws so important that they ought to make impossible all voicing of human sentiments and of universal moral laws? Surely the great founders and saints of our religions were not so meticullous. And surely if moral protest has ever been appropriate in the world's history, the deeds of the Fascist governments in our days call for it.

Yours etc.,
Williamstown, Mass. } JAMES B. PRATT.
February 14, 1939.

From *No-Frontier News* edited by Mr. Devere Allen we take the following entirely different American estimate of President Roosevelt's policy :-

When President Roosevelt announced he will defend the non-Fascist countries by every method short of war, even to arming them from here, he resorted to a euphemism. For there are methods short of war which nevertheless lead toward war; and with uncanny precision he has chosen these.

His policy stands as incredibly irresponsible. He ignored the Neutrality Act by breaking a pledge given to the House Committee on Foreign Relations that an undeclared war, like that in China, would not be exempt. After aiding Japan for a year, he put pressure on the aircraft firms not to sell to Japan. At the same time he refused to lift the embargo on Republican Spain, and when critics said our 1921 treaty with Germany should prevent arms shipments to Hitler, his Administration took the view that, while Germany was not permitted to buy munitions here, we were permitted to sell them there. Though we largely built the German air fleet, he arranged secretly to let France buy $. 60,000,000 in aircraft here, the deal becoming known only through the crash of a test flight. And then, while Chamberlain and Daladier were throwing Spanish democracy to the wolves and collaborating with Fascism the President fixed our defense line in western Europe!

His policy stands revealed as incredibly irresponsible. Mr. Roosevelt's programme—so far as it has any consistency at all—is much more certain to promote war than it is to promote defence. No peaceful programme will do any good if we must allow a powerful Chief Executive, with virtually unchecked power, to follow a method, from 3,000 miles away, closer to war than the very democratic Powers—with whom we appear to have consummated a secret military alliance—are willing to do themselves.

NATIONAL DRESS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your issue dated the 4th inst., Mr. Ganguli of Calcutta lays stress on, among others, national dress. Now, Sir, this National Dress is something I have never been able to understand. What have the advocates of National Dress in mind? Is it the Mahomedan dress? Is it the Hindu—if so, which variety? Is it the Parsee? Is it the European? Do we have Hindu India in mind only when we speak of these national things? It appears to me that if it is a Hindu speaking of some thing he deems national, he has the Hindu community in mind. In the same way do others have their eyes fixed on their own traditions when they speak of national habits of thought, dress, etc. India has never been a nation in the sense that it has had unity of thought, habit, action, manners, speech, etc.

Will Mr. Ganguli point out to me how I should dress if I wish to adopt the 'National Dress?' Is it to be the Bengal variety? Will this be acceptable to Mahomedans? Will Christians and Europeans adopt it?

When we speak of national things, let us remember that even in the political sphere we are far from being national—we are even politically not a nation. In other respects, we are still less so.

I have been since the days of Mrs. Besant when the first stress on national dress began to be laid, wondering what this National Dress may be; but I still have not found one.

I have been suggesting to my friends privately that chudida pyjamas, shirt, short coat with a stand-up collar, and a sunhat for the head would probably be a good National Dress. If there is any piece of dress we need to make our own from the paraphernalia of the European dress, *it is, I think, the sunhat.* What does Mr. Ganguli say about this?

Khar, } Yours etc.,
11th March, 1939. } VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

MR. KHAREGHAT ON PARSIS AND PROHIBITION.*

I have been asked to express my opinion about prohibition solely from the points of view of the Parsi religion and I proceed to do so. Wine is required for Parsi religious cremonies, and I have no hesitation in saying that to prohibit its use for that purpose will be a serious interference with the religious practices and feelings of the great majority of Parsis. I am now 74 years old and from my childhood I have seen wine being used in ceremonies like Afringan and Satum. I believe I will be confirmed by all practising priests. In this connection I would quote the following from Haug's Essays edited by West (3rd Edition of 1884) pages 408 and 409: Haug and West are well-known authorities on the subject. In describing the Afringan ceremony it is said:

"At all the great festivals, and on solemn occasion the Darum ceremony is followed by the Afringan, but on other occasions the Afringan can be celebrated alone. Like the Darum ceremony it is performed in honour of some angel or deceased person.

"A tray containing wine and fruit is placed before the fire and flowers are laid to the left of the tray.....Afterwards the fruit is eaten and the wine drunk in the same manner as the Darum is eaten."

I may state that this Afringan ceremony is performed daily and in many cases several times in all places of worship like Daremehrs and Atash Behram also in a good many private dwellings.

That this practice is very old will be apparent from the statement in the Zarthusht-Nama written in 1278 A. D., that our revered Prophet Zoroaster performed the Darum ceremony in the Court of King Gustasp with four articles. viz., wine, perfumes, milk and pomegranate, and the four persons who partook each of these consecrated articles became endowed with miraculous powers. (See Eastwick's translation of the Zarthusht-Nama in Wilson's Parsi Religion—page 511). Whether one believes in the miracle or not, this passage certainly proves that nearly seven hundred years ago wine was considered a necessary ingredient of the Darum ceremony.

The reasons of this use in such ceremonies seems to be that what was considered good for the living was also considered a fit offering to celestial beings including the spirits of the dead, and there is not the least doubt that wine temperately used was considered a good thing in the Parsi religion; for this purpose I would only quote a few authorities.

Bombay Chronicle, 27th February 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

First I would refer to the Dina-i-Mino Khirad ('Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom') Chapter XVI a very well-known authority on our religion, a translation of which is included in the Sacred Books of the East Vol. xxiv. Sections 20 to 63 of this Chapter deal with the use of wine. Intemperate use of it is strictly condemned but its temperate use is praised in these words (Section 37—48).

"37. Because, from the moderate drinking of wine thus much benefit happens to him; (38) since it digests the food, (39) kindles the vital fire, (40) increases the understanding and intellect, semen and blood, (41) removes vexation, (42) and inflames the complexion, (43) it causes recollection of things forgotten, (44) and goodness takes a place in the mind, (45) it likewise increases the sight of the eye, the hearing of the ear, and the speaking of the tongue, (46) and work which is necessary to do and expedite, becomes more progressive, (47) he also sleeps pleasantly in the sleeping place, and rises light, (48) And on account of these contingencies good repute for the body, righteousness for the soul, and also the approbation of the good come upon him."

Chapter LI of the Datistanek-i-Dinik (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XVIII) is practically to the same effect.

Further in the Afrin-i-Gahambar recited on the occasion of the Gahambar festivals, in the part dealing with the sixth Gahambar it is stated that a person who takes part in the performance of a Gahambar acquires as much merit as one who has offered warm bread and good wine (Mai-e-Khub) to good men.

Similarly in the Vendiad Chapter XIV, Section 17 one of the good acts to be done as a penance for a particular sin is, "He shall treat twice nine goodly men to their fill of meat, bread, strong drink, and wine." (Darmesteter's translation in the Sacred Books of the East. Vol. IV). This passage is in one of the oldest of our Sacred Books in the Avesta language, and proves clearly enough that from the oldest times wine was not only not forbidden but its use recommended, of course in a temperate mannsr.

This is entirely in accordance with the practical spirit of our religion, which condemns extremes of all kinds, prescribes moderation and self-control in food, drink, exercise, thought, speech and action.

M. P. KHAREGHAT.

DEPRESSED CLASSES IN MYSORE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The completion of electric grid is one activity—the reclamation of millions of acres through irrigation is another activity. Planned construction of wells—there is a public well in every village to-day—is a third activity. But along with these is another—the reclamation of human beings into happy and useful citizens of a prosperous State.

The work of elevating the Harijans is carried on with the precision and purpose of an industrial undertaking. What Government have actually achieved may not be much. But by its open work of Harijan uplift Government have released a new spirit among the people. Like maternity benefit and child welfare movement, the Harijan uplift movement has entered into the inner soul of the people. Village Panchayets, Municipalities and other local self-governing units have spontaneously come forward to change their attitude towards these people. Without their sympathetic co-operation, several problems such as supply of drinking water, sites for construction of buildings, lights, latrines and other public conveniences will not admit of easy solution.

Looking back to the time two decades ago, when the Government of Mysore took upon themselves the work of elevating the submerged classes, one must feel surprised that in spite of social drawbacks, conservative ideas and ultra-orthodox traditions prevalent in the rural areas, so much progress has been achieved.

Mention has often been made about the various measures taken for the uplift of the depressed classes who form 14 per cent of the total population of Mysore. The one planned purpose is to train them to look at life as something valuable and as their own instead of being born hirelings. While, in such a campaign, education comes uppermost, the State strive to place the economic factor uppermost.

Reference has been made to the grant of lands either free or at concession rates to Harijans.

To enable Harijans to put up decent dwelling houses, the Government of Mysore have ordered the grant of timber and bamboos up to Rs. 15 per head calculated on the existing seigniorage rates, be made. All public wells and tanks have been thrown open for the use of the depressed classes, and construction of drinking water wells in the Adikarnataka hamlets and localities has become an ordinary feature of administration.

Another measure intended to act as a lever to raise them is the systematic organisation of Harijan Co-operative Societies and financing them; grant of bonus to Secretaries of such societies in the initial stages, supply of account books free, supply of home savings boxes free and supply of agricultural implements to members of depressed class societies at half cost.

Large areas of land have been granted to the Harijans, the acreage granted ranging from two to three thousand acres per annum. Funds have also been provided to them for bringing the lands under cultivation by means of *taccavi* loans and through co-operative societies specialy organised for the purpose. Government have financed such societies to the extent of over Rs. 60,000. Adikarnataka Societies specially for the benefit of the Adikarnataka Weavers have been formed in the Mandya and Malavalli Taluks. The Cobblers Society at Malavalli has been of immense benefit to the members and it has been obtaining the special concession of the supply of sandals to the Stores Purchases Committee. The Apex Bank has financed several Adikarnataka Societies for the benefit of their members.

Detailed description has already been given of the special education facilities available for Harijans such as grant of scholarships to the students of the depressed classes; establishment of primary schools exclusively for their benefit in important depressed class centres; Boarding Homes for their benefit and the establishment of Institutes on the lines of the Central Adikarnataka Institute for imparting industrial and vocational training along with general education; grant of books and slates, free in deserving cases; exemption from payment of school fees and examination fees; the scheme of grant-in-aid hostels; the throwing open all public schools to the depressed classes; provision for vocational education along with the three R's wherever possible; and providing clothing to the pupils of the depressed classes with a view to inculcating in them habits of cleanliness.

And to-day the number of pupils under instruction is over 23,000. Out of these, about 3,600 are girls and over fifty per cent are in the ordinary general schools and the remaining in the 500 special schools opened for their exclusive benefit. The Harijan Hostels and Boarding Homes numbered 25 with a strength of 963 pupils.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer*.

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District ...).
Dhulia (District ...).
Dondaicha (District ...).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon („ „).
Satara (District ...).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District ...).
Kalol (District ...).

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Surat.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,800

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer ... are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the the custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

卐

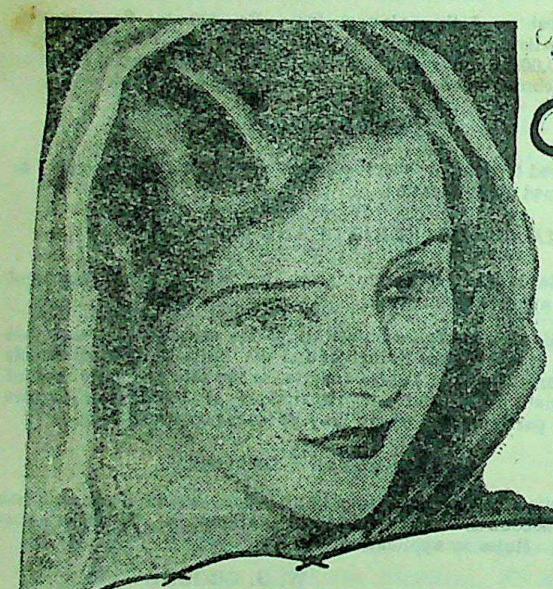
Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin, Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate

2-26 Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy leather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN
S. NATARAJAN

Office :—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

VOL. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 18, 1939. No. 29

"It will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

Sequel to Munich.
Decline of Prague.
Democracy and Sovereignty.
Sunday Prohibition Programme.
Workers' Uplift.
Wage Increase and Higher Standards.
Britain's East African.
Mr. Andrews' Misconception.
The Dilemma of the Princes.
South-African Segregation Bill.
Congress Polity.
Congress After Tripuri.
Problems of the Industrial Worker.
The East African Congress and the Tanganyika League.
Segregation of Indians in South Africa.

NOTES.

Sequel to Munich :—Even after the heavy sacrifices of Munich, Czechoslovakia was to be denied an independent existence. Germany, Poland and Hungary detached territory from the Republic after Munich. A declaration of solidarity between Czechs and Slovaks was secured after a large measure of autonomy was granted to Slovakia. The Slovak Government leant heavily on Germany and its measures were practically dictated by Berlin. Early this month Slovakia declared herself completely independent of the Prague Government and there were coups and counter coups. It was a feature of the disturbances that the Slovak leader was in constant communication with Herr Hitler. President Hacha of the Czecho-Slovak Republic sought German intercession and a prolonged interview with Herr Hitler concluded on Wednesday with the inclusion of Bohemia and Moravia in the German Reich as a measure of pacification. On Thursday Slovakia also became a "province" of Germany. Ruthenia declared her independence and was promptly taken over by Hungary. It is now a question whether Herr Hitler will fight for Ruthenia now or agitate from within Hungary. The Powers which guaranteed the territorial integrity of the Czech Republic, what was left of it after Munich, are faced with a problem: They are in danger of being involved in a war over an even smaller issue than the old one which they thought was worth while to defend and if, as Mr. Chamberlain said at the time, the Czechs and Germans were people of whom Britain and France knew nothing, the peoples now involved are even less known abroad, as they were all Czechs to us.

Collapse of Prague :—Mr. Chamberlain remarks that the guarantee does not come into operation [illegible] when the Czech State has fallen to pieces by [illegible]. Mr. Chamberlain in the House of Commons expressed his astonishment at these developments and declared pathetically that none of the four Munich powers had this result in mind. What he had expected, no doubt, was that Germany would control the Prague Government from outside. That would have allowed Mr. Chamberlain to preserve his policy of "non-intervention." But the outright annexation of this non-German piece of European territory has left the British Premier shorn of all prestige. All that he can think of now is to establish that he is not guilty of complicity in this matter and to stop the balance of the £ 10,000,000 loan to the Czech Government—even here two-thirds has already been drawn. The rapid dissolution of Czechoslovakia has a grave lesson which we hope will not be lost on those who welcomed the Munich Peace as a reasonable agreement. The Munich terms were forced on the Czechs, not so much by Germany as by Britain and France. In doing so they weakened the authority of the Prague Government. Is it surprising that with a central authority broken in prestige, in influence and even in morale, the nationalities have decided to detach themselves from the Republic? The Prague Government might have surmounted the problems it faced within the State, even after Munich. But Germany would not allow it. And there was nothing to restrain Germany. One wonders as one reads the news of the broken Republic, whether after all it would not have been better for Czechoslovakia to have fought the first encroachment, alone if necessary, than to have submitted to the disastrous persuasions of Britain and France.

Democracy and Sovereignty :—In an article in the *Observer* (London) Lord Lothian attempts an answer to the question why democracy has fallen on evil days. He defines democracy as being in essence government not by rulers but by principle and law. He writes:

> Fundamentally it is unity created by constitutional law which ensures liberty and responsibility—political, economic and religious—to the individual, allows him to develop his own manhood or womanhood and seek to remould the community by free initiative, including the right to make mistakes, and which establishes the moral virtues, such as justice, mercy, honesty, and not the power of the State or the privilege of a class, as the guiding motive of public life.

Lord Lothian understands by democracy something which ordinary people call religion. It will be noticed that in his definition there is no reference to the machinery of government which, to most people, is the essence of democracy. The franchise, represen-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tative institutions, responsibility to the legislature, bulk more largely in their eyes than government by principle or the advancement of opportunities of self-development and freedom for the individual. Lincoln's phrase "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" is interpreted to mean government by majority among European communities, and, where Europeans and non-Europeans live together, of the non-Europeans by the Europeans. The failure of democracy in Lord Lothian's opinion is due to its association with national sovereignty. "The root of our troubles," he says, "is that the democracies have not yet realised that it is their own passionate attachment to national sovereignty which is the main cause of that most fatal of all social diseases, anarchy, whose evil consequences, have been immensely intensified for all of us by the conquest of time and space." He evidently believes that this attachment to national sovereignty is not inherent in democracy and is capable of being separated and flung out of it. As a matter of historical fact, democracies have been more selfish, narrow-minded and more subject to race and colour prejudice than Empires. Proof of this is abundant in the British self-governing Dominions, in the United States of America and even in Great Britain. A democracy can not weld different nationalities into one whole as Empires have often done. Democracy can succeed only in homogeneous communities. Lord Lothian and the author of "Union Now" want the "fifteen democracies of the North Atlantic" to be united for five common purposes—defence, citizenship, currency, a customs-free economy and communications. Union for these five purposes means practically union for all purposes. In the first place, what are the fifteen democracies surrounding the North Atlantic? We can count only nine including the Scandinavian countries. In the next place, the sacrifices involved in merging themselves virtually in one common sovereignty will not, from the point of view of the individual citizen, be much less than that exacted by a totalitarian polity. The idea of a world Empire is more within range of probability than that of a world Republic or world Democracy.

Bombay Prohibition Programme:—The *Times of India* on Tuesday came out with a long and circumstantial narration of the difficulties of Prohibition enforcement and announced that the Government had resolved to postpone it till November at the least. The purpose in publishing the report is obvious. Tuesday was a dull day after the hectic reporting of the Congress session. Here was an obvious opportunity to put a little wet propaganda across the public. But propaganda for liquor has little chance of success in any Indian province. So it is generally camouflaged and other interests are dragged in. In the present report itself, there is every attempt to stir up communal passions to serve its ends. But that is only to be expected from the formidable interests gathered round the liquor traffic. What we find beyond understanding is the failure of the Bombay Government to issue a prompt contradiction. There is no lack of insinuation in the *Times* report that in drawing up its plans, the Bombay Government did not know what exactly it was doing. This form of attack is peculiarly mischievous. If it is to be countered, that can only be by a vigorous rebuttal of the specific charges in the story. Instead, there are reports in other newspapers to the effect that the whole thing is a canard and that "it is not necessary to issue a denial." That these denials are based on "high official authority" is not sufficient. What we would have liked is a statement from the Minister in Charge finally settling this propaganda. In the Bombay Assembly on Wednesday, the Prime Minister denied the report in general terms. The lack of publicity for the measures already undertaken adds to the uncertainty of the situation. Undisciplined agitation can only bring on more drastic action. The *Times of India*, it is noteworthy, concedes that even those in the traffic accept eventual Prohibition. That is an insurmountable fact which no ingenuity can explain away. It is hard to see, moreover, why if smuggling and illicit distillation is felt to be even more evil than drinking, a section of the press should so enthusiastically publish articles with illustrations on how liquor is smuggled. It would be a mistake to think, however, that the *Times of India* is representative of opinion in the European community. Responsible European leaders have expressed their sympathy with the cause of Prohibition.

Workers' Uplift:—We publish large excerpts from the interesting statement of his views on the improvement of the conditions of workers, which Dr. H. P. Dastur who occupies an important position in the social service staff of the firm of Tatas, presented to the Textile Enquiry Committee. Broadly speaking, Dr. Dastur is against additions in the shape of increased wages or allowances of cash payments to workers. Speaking from his experience, he says that they are often wasted or misused. The maternity benefits given to the pregnant woman are diverted by her husband for his own enjoyment and the woman herself derives no benefit from them. In the course of a conversation, Dr. Dastur went so far as to suggest that maternity benefits operated as an inducement to too frequent pregnancy. He praised the foresight of the Bombay Labour Commissioner who refused to hand over an amount paid as compensation for injury in an accident to the claimant, and insisted on her investing the sum in land in her native village. Additions to wages often find their way to the drink shops. Prohibition will close this avenue of extravagance but there will be a hundred other ways in which the money will be wasted.

Wage Increase and Higher Standards:—Dr. Dastur recommends that, instead of payments in cash, workers must be provided with

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

more and better amenities of life. There is much to be said for this view. But we doubt this idea of withholding cash from the workers will work satisfactorily. The paternal system which he favours will deprive the workers of opportunities of learning to live a better life the only way in which this is done, by making mistakes and suffering the consequences. After all, how is the industrial worker different in this respect from non-industrial workers? To our mind, the drawbacks pointed out by Dr. Dastur are inevitable in all attempts to improve the condition of one section of the community without reference to others. The millworker is the creature of his environment as much as the clerk or the chauffeur. Dr. Dastur lays stress on the co-operation of the State, the employer and the worker. When we speak of the State we forget that it is not an abstraction but a group of human beings with much the same virtues and vices as the rest of the community to which they belong. The employer is often the example which his worker tries to imitate. We are afraid that progress must come only by letting people make their own mistakes. To deprive them of the opportunity of making mistakes by providing a fool-proof road straight to Heaven, even were it possible, would be futile.

Indians in East Africa:—We publish this week an article by Mr. P. A. Mehta on the struggle for power between the mandates system and the colonial system in East Africa. There is ample evidence to show that in East Africa itself, opinion among Indians is veering round to a realisation of the colossal blunder committed by leaders of the East African Indian Congress in associating with the Tanganyika League. The *Kenya Daily Mail* which was somehow persuaded to lend its support to the Tanganyika League, has at long last realised its mistake. The two factors which have led to this disillusionment, are the refusal of the Kenya Administration to associate Indians with its defence plans and the publication of the Order-in-Council relating to the Kenya Highlands, neither of which, it must be remembered, has anything to do with the rights of Indians in Tanganyika. In the first week of March a Conference was held at Nairobi and adopted two resolutions. The *East African Standard* of March 6, records the resolutions as follows:

> I. (a) This Conference of Kenya Indians convened by the Executive Committee of the East African Indian National Congress, resolves that a Kenya Highlands League be organised with the object of obtaining the position of reserving the Highlands for Europeans by all necessary but peaceful means and with membership open to all inhabitants of East Africa—Africans, Arabs, Indians, Europeans, etc.
>
> (b) Further resolved that the Hon. Mr. A. B. Patel is hereby authorised with full powers to take all necessary steps to organise the Kenya Highlands League.
>
> II. In view of the Imperial Government having legalised the administrative practice of reserving the Highlands for Europeans by promulgation of the Order-in-Council, thus giving preference to Germans over British Indians in acquiring lands in the Kenya Highlands, this Conference of Kenya Indians recommends that the Executive Committee of the East African Indian Congress should withdraw its membership from the Tanganyika League and the Indian community should cease all co-operation with it.

Mr. Andrews' Misconception:—No Englishman has sought to befriend India in the present century more whole-heartedly than Mr. C. F. Andrews. He has done so in an understanding way and has, therefore, applied himself to gather information from many quarters not generally accessible to outsiders. Yet with all his earnestness and assiduity he has sometimes missed his way. In his book "Rise and Growth of the Congress" (George Allen and Unwin, price 7s 6d) Mr. Andrews indulges in criticism of the moderate Indian attitude to political reform. As an instance of the "short-sightedness of Congress leaders (original)" Mr. Andrews quotes from the presidential address of Sir Surendranath Banerjee in 1895 at the Poona session, the following passage:

> I was not aware that any responsible Congressman had ever asked for representative institutions for one woman or for the masses of our people. We should be satisfied if we obtain representative institutions of modified character for the educated community who, by reason of their culture and enlightenment, their assimilation of English ideas, and their familiarity with English methods of government, might be presumed to be qualified for such a boon.

This no doubt sounds tepid today when Congress leaders profess complete Independence as their goal, but in 1895 only a madman would have thought of demanding independence. Czecho-Slovakia's fate is even today a warning against grasping more than you can hold. As for women's suffrage, the number of women who could have exercised the franchise fifty years ago could have been counted on the fingers of one hand. It would have been obviously absurd to have demanded manhood suffrage when even men of high education and administrative experience, had no vote at any election. Mr. Andrews also criticises the "pathetic trust of Indian leaders in British justice and fairplay," forgetting that Dadabhai Naoroji whom he admires highly, exhorted his countrymen not to lose faith in it, even though, as he confessed, he had himself experienced bitter disappointment and had reason to be completely disillusioned. Mr. Andrews of late years has resolutely looked at India through the eyes of Messrs. Gandhi and Tagore, in spite of the wide gulf that yawns between their views of the world In his struggle to reconcile these two extremes Mr. Andrews has lost his grip on Indian realities. In his survey of the movements which moulded the shape of Indian nationalism, he completely ignores Ranade, the master-mind behind nearly all activities in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and the National Social Conference of which he was General Secretary and the moving spirit to the day of his death!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, March 18, 1939.

THE DILEMMA OF THE PRINCES.

The Indian National Congress closed its session at Tripuri on Sunday. The Chamber of Princes met in New Delhi on Monday under the Presidentship of the Viceroy. Lord Linlithgow's address to the Chamber reflected the change which has been gradually coming over the attitude of the British Government towards Indian States. Lord Winterton's declaration in the House of Commons two years ago that the British Government would not stand in the way of constitutional reform in the States was the first indication of this change. This was somewhat qualified by a subsequent statement in the same place but recently the Secretary of State for India and his representative in the House of Commons spoke rather in the strain of Lord Winterton's statement than of the subsequent modification. Lord Linlithgow's address to the Princes on Monday must, therefore, be regarded as the latest stage of the British Government's shifting policy towards the Indian States. Lord Linlithgow is not the first Viceroy who admonished the Princes to improve the standards of their administration. Lord Curzon in the beginning of this century did so in sharp and stinging terms. Lord Irwin ten years ago did likewise in gentler tones. But unfortunately Lord Curzon's successor undid the effects of Curzon's admonition and lulled the Princes by promising to leave them alone. Lord Irwin's advice was similarly neutralised by the easy-going patronage of Lord Willingdon who concentrated his whole available strength in suppressing the Congress movement in British India. The backwardness of the majority of the States in administration is directly due to the Paramount Power's playing fast and loose with them. Neither Lord Curzon nor Lord Irwin nor Lord Linlithgow acknowledged this fact. If the Paramount Power had followed a consistent policy in its relations with the States, many of the States would have worked up to more efficient standards of administration and those which did not or could not do so, would have ceased to exist. For the first time in the history of those relations, Lord Linlithgow suggested to the Princes that only by adapting the form of their rule to conditions in British India could they improve their administration. Previous Viceroys have invariably insisted on the personal responsibility of rulers. Lord Linlithgow also pointed out that personal rule meant close personal touch with the people, but His Excellency implied that this was not the main line on which improvements in States' administration can be best accomplished at present. The Viceroy declared that the Princes alone had the right to decide what form of Government would be most suited to the conditions in their States. The Princes' spokeman clutched at this declaration like a drowning man clutching at any straw that happened to float his way. As a matter of fact, however, the Princes have only a Hobson's choice in the matter. The Congress is pressing them to adopt "responsible Government" which is conspicuous by its utter absence in its own constitution and, however good an administrator may be, it can not in resisting that demand rely on the support of the Crown Representative who in his capacity of Governor-General is desperately anxious to bring the Federation into being as soon as possible.

The Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the Jam Saheb of Jamnagar, was a pathetic figure. His predecessor on the Jamnagar gadi had called down upon himself a severe rebuke from the then Governor-General Lord Willingdon, for presuming to express his fears about the effects of the Federal scheme on the future of the States. It was probably he who told Sir Patrick Cadell, who repeated it in an address at the East India Association in London, that the States would not survive twenty years after the introduction of Federation. The present Jam Saheb was more tactful and Lord Linlithgow is not an irritable old man to lose his temper at an honest difference of opinion. The Chancellor pointed out the difficulties caused by the intervention of outside politicians and implied, without much warrant from experience, that the Princes, if left to themselves, would accomplish wonders in the way of improving the administration. Many of the Princes are no doubt feeling that it would have been well for them if they had not started this hare of Federation at the first Round Table Conference. They did so in the belief that they were conferring a great favour on the people and Government of British India by enabling the latter to confer responsible government at the centre. They never expected that they will have to change their form of Government and, indeed, they did all they could to ensure that their position in their States would remain more secure than under the present system. And until about two years ago they were encouraged and supported in their complacency by the British Government. The Winterton declaration came on them like a bolt from the blue. The subsequent pronouncements, the declaration of Gandhiji that he went to Rajkot as an "ally" of the British Government, and the Viceroy's intervention with the offer of mediation by the Chief Justice of India, have shaken them out of their complacency. They do not know where they stand. The feeling of bewilderment is reflected in the Chancellor's address to the Viceroy. Several of the Princes would be glad to have nothing to do with Federation. But they can not at this stage back out of it. Lord Linlithgow's attitude was the same as those of his predecessor: "No compulsion about you must." A Federation brought about under the present conditions and in the present temper of the Princes and of the Congress which controls seven Provincial Governments, is bound to be attended

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with constant friction. The Princes, at least much of them as are not fully aware of the implications of the political situation as it has developed, might be allowed to take their own time to decide whether or not they should come into the Federation and when they should come in if they decide to do so. In fact, as we have suggested before, for the present Federation might be confined to the British Indian provinces. If the bigger and better governed States wish to join immediately they may do so. But the majority of the States, represented by His Highness the Jam Saheb, may be excused from having to make up their mind in the next six or twelve months. The Jam Saheb said that the Princes are ready to carry out administrative reforms but they do not see the necessity of constitutional reforms. Administrative reforms without constitutional reforms have no guarantee of permanence. What a good ruler adopts may be rejected by his successor. In fact, there is the same danger in responsible government unless it is surrounded by conditions which prevent it from degenerating into a party dog-fight.

Constitutional reform there must be, but there are very good reasons why it need not be "responsible government" in the sense that the Ministers are responsible to the Legislature and liable to be dismissed from office by an adverse vote in it. This feature of the British system is seen to be found even in such a perfect democracy like the Swiss Federation. The Federal Councillors are not responsible in the Parliamentary sense of the term and do not resign when their measures are rejected. "It is in fact a general maxim of public life in Switzerland," observes Lowell, "that an official gives his advice, and, like a lawyer or an architect, he does not feel obliged to throw up his position because his advice is rejected." The President of the United States is as irresponsible during his term of office as a King his Ministers being responsible to him and not to Congress. Constitutional reform in the States must conform to their special requirements. We published in the *Reformer* of March 4, a draft by a distinguished Indian administrator, which might serve as a pattern for the States to model their constitutions on.

SOUTH AFRICAN SEGREGATION BILL.

The Durban correspondent of the *Hindu* writes in a message dated the 12th March that the news published on the previous day that the Segregation Bill will probably not be passed during the session of the Union Parliament was greeted with great relief by the South African Indian community. The message went on to say that the Secretary of the Indian Congress, Mr. Kajee, stated that if the news was correct, he felt that the situation was more hopeful than it had been for some time. Mr. Kajee added that they were not, however, relaxing their vigilance in holding protest meetings at various places in Natal. We trust that the Bill has been postponed indefinitely. The dignity, moderation and careful presentment of facts, which characterise the representations of the South African Indian organisations, can not but carry conviction to any one who is not fanatically prejudiced against Indians. We publish today excerpts from the representation of the South African Indian Congress to the Minister of the Interior. It is a model of what such representations should be. The Natal Indian Congress held its first Conference in December and we have before us an admirably got up copy of its proceedings. Prominent among its contents is a letter from Mr. Stuttaford, Minister of the Interior, in which he conveys his good wishes for the success of the Conference adding that its proceedings will be of considerable value to his Department, "provided they are expressed with moderation and that the Congress appreciates that other interests must also be considered in regard to some of the motions to be debated." That tried friend of Indians, Mr. Jan Hofmeyr sent his warm greetings and hoped that the Conference will stimulate the sense of unity among Indians in Natal and promote their social and educational advancement. The Conference was opened by the Agent-General for the Government of India, Mr. B. Rama Rau, in a business-like speech in which he reviewed the position of Indians in South Africa balancing the gains won and the losses suffered in a perfectly objective manner. He was followed by Mr. Duncan Burnside, M. P., who pleaded strongly for fairplay to Indians :

> A great figure in history once said that if you wanted to keep a man in the gutter you must stay there with him yourself and the force of that dictum can be seen clearly in South Africa, where the continued depression of non-European living standards has been the chief cause of the remarkable and tragic spread of poor whiteism throughout South Africa in the last 20 years or so. In a highly productive world it is foolish to think we can carry on satisfactorily with a low consuming power. With a deplorably low standard of living, forced upon them in the main by the European community, the Indian is a low consumer. He can be developed into a real live economic asset by having his consuming power considerably increased, which is the same thing as saying by having his standard of living raised.

Mr. Burnside said that he found generally that the economic case for the Indian community roused in most thoughtful people a considerable amount of sympathy and he was more than ever convinced that, if the difficulties of Indians were brought continually to the notice of the European section of the population, a great deal of very useful assistance would be rendered to them.

The attitude of the Indian community as voiced in the South African Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Conference, is typical of the self-restraint and moderation exhibited by it in dealing with problems keenly affecting its deepest sentiments. This is stated as follows in one of the papers presented at the Conference on ownership of land by Indians :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Facts prove that whilst the Indian community is categorically opposed to any scheme or policy of racial segregation, and this principle was vindicated when the Asiatic Bill was withdrawn in 1936 and the Cape Town Agreement entered into between the Indian and Union Governments, the Indian community in practice has respected the susceptibilities of the European community. Expansion, which must in the nature of things take place, has been into areas contiguous to those occupied by members of the Indian community for a considerable number of years. In Durban after a stay of over 75 years, there are not more than twelve Indian properties in what are known as select European areas, and some of these Indian settled on the Berea when it was virgin bush. The sooner the bogey of penetration is exploded the better will it be for all concerned.

The Indians are self-respecting people who do not thrust themselves where they are not welcome. Few Indians feel honoured by living among Europeans though they keenly resent being subjected to a legal prohibition to them. The Natal Indian Congress has arrived at a working agreement with the Natal Municipal Administration, whereby individual Indians are deterred from purchasing residential sites in European areas, and the Conference recorded its opinion that this arrangement has worked most satisfactorily.

CONGRESS POLITY.

The proceedings of the Tripuri Congress were remarkable for the appreciative references to Signor Mussolini, Herr Hitler and Mr. Stalin by more than one important Congress leader. The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Seth Govind Das set the example in his inaugural address welcoming the delegates. Without any '*if*' or '*but*' he compared Gandhiji to these Dictators. He said:

> Our Congress organisation can be compared with the Fascist Party of Italy, the Nazi Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Russia; although they have embraced violence and we are wedded to the creed of non-violence. All the inhabitants of Italy are not Fascists, the entire German public is not Nazi, neither are all Russians Communists; yet almost all Italians, Germans and Russians have faith in their respective parties. Every Indian is not a four-anna member of the Congress, yet all Indians are with the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi occupies the same position among Congressmen as that held by the leadership of Mussolini among Fascists, Hitler among Nazis, and Stalin among Communists.

Seth Govind Das may not know that Fascism, Nazism and Stalinism are founded in opposition to Democracy which the Congress professes. But this can not be said of Mr. Aney or Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant. Mr. Aney is the leader of the Congress Democratic Party. Praise from him is praise indeed. He told the Congress:

> The country had to place implicit confidence in its leader. However much Herr Hitler, Sgr. Mussolini and M. Lenin might be considered dictators, it could not but be admitted that they had raised the status of their countries in the eyes of the world.

Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant is the Prime Minister of the United Provinces, responsible to the Legislature of his Province. His defence and eulogy of the Dictators was thorough-going:

> Wherever nations had progressed it was under the leadership of one man. Germany had relied on Herr Hitler. Whether they agreed with Herr Hitler's methods or not there was no gainsaying the fact that Germany had progressed under Herr Hitler. Similarly Italy had risen because of Sgr. Mussolini and Lenin raised the Russia of to-day.

Mr. Meherally:—President, I must object as a Socialist to Pandit Pant putting Lenin, Mussolini and Hitler in the same group. (Laughter.)

Pandit Pant continued that he disliked many things that Herr Hitler and Sgr. Mussolini did, but despite their many faults their respective peoples loved them.

General Franco also should be added to the galaxy. The President-elect of the Congress, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose whom Seth Govind Das was welcoming, had very recently repudiated the imputation of the *Statesman* that he (Mr. Bose) favoured Fascist ideology. But he has openly stated more than once his conviction that India should cultivate the friendship of all countries without reference to the form of their government. He may not agree with the Chairman of the Reception Committee that Gandhiji's position in relation to the Congress was identical with that of the Italian and German Dictators. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru hates Fascism and Nazism and he denounces in the Congress the Democracies for not having made war on both. He could not have relished the tribute paid to them by Mr. Aney and Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant. What Gandhiji himself thinks of the express and implied comparison of him with Stalin, Hitler and Mussolini, must for the present be a matter of speculation. Stalin has publicly declared that he has no great opinion of Gandhiji and the Mahatma of him. Mussolini believes in the use of force as a sacred duty of a leader and that is an integral part of the Fascist creed. To say as Pandit Pant did, that he admires Fascism but disapproves of its methods is like saying that one wants to go to Heaven but does not wish to die. An authoritative statement of the Nazi creed is contained in "Germany Speaks", a symposium by representative leaders, published recently with the imprimatur of Herr Hitler. There are several things in it which are in advance of other political ideologies. For instance, the term "nation," Dr. Arthur Gutt says in his exposition of Nazi population policy, "should not be solely applied to those persons who are contemporary to one another at any given moment, but also to all their ancestors and descendants. It is essential, therefore, to remember that the nation implies the element of timelessness, as this circumstance has an important bearing upon all the efforts made to preserve the national health, and the numerical strength of the nation." Readers of the *Reformer* are aware that we have always given due weight to the achievements of the Fascist, Nazi and Soviet regimes. If there were not essential elements of truth in them, they would not have done in a few short years what they have to raise the condition of their respective peoples. Even a consistent antagonist of dictatorships like Mr. H. N. Brailsford writes in the current *New Statesman* in high appreciation of the great work of reclaiming the Libyan desert which has been accomplished by the Fascist regime. It will be foolish to reject out of political prejudice the lessons which the new ideologies have forced to the front in our days. Absolute obedience to the Party leader is, no doubt, enforced both in the Fascist and the Nazi regimes, but that is their weak and not their strong point and the one on which they are sure to founder.

Dr. Herman Finer in his "Theory and Practice of Modern Government" observes:

> Genius systems like Bismarck's, Mussolini's and Lenin's, kill any but their original incumbents, or are themselves destroyed by the world of average men who demand a machine which shall be continuously manageable by them and their average successors. Bismarck's successors broke under the strain and finally the system was lowered to the stature of ordinary shoulders. Was there not more in Bismarck's sayings

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'Were it all to come over again, I would be republican and democrat,' than mere resentment at his dismissal?

Gandhiji is not cut out for a Bismarck, Mussolini or Lenin. Far from it. Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, the Madras Prime Minister, eschewed these foreign parallels and fell back upon the homely one, which every peasant at the plough understands in India, of Avatar. In effect, he paraphrased the *Gita* verse in his exhortation to Congressmen to sail in Gandhiji's boat which will surely lead them to the shore of Swaraj,

Tameva svaranam gachcha sarva bhavena, Bharata

Tatprasadat param santim sthanam prapsyasi sasvatham.

"Take refuge in Him with all thy heart, O Bharata, by His grace shalt thou attain supreme peace, the eternal abode." The Tripuri Congress has made it clear that we have to deal with the Gandhian ideology as a religious cult and not as a political system. Implicit faith, the surrender of body, mind and possessions, are what are demanded of the devotee. Those who can not honestly accept these conditions have no place in it. Mr. Subhas Bose, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. Aney, with different religious outlooks, were defeated by the faithful. But "the genius system" can not last. Their time will come.

CONGRESS AFTER TRIPURI.

The Congress session at Tripuri was clouded by the illness of its President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose. In other circumstances, there is no doubt that Mr. Bose would have stayed out of the Congress and another President would have led the proceedings. But the differences which had arisen between him and the Working Committee, prevented this commonsense method of meeting a difficulty. Mr. Bose remained at Tripuri for the full session and, though he was unable to attend most of the meetings in person, he was available for consultation or negotiation at every stage. In the absence of the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the senior-most ex-President of the Congress, himself a rival candidate for this year's Presidentship before he withdrew on grounds of health, acted as Chairman.

The Congress session this year is remarkable for the few resolutions adopted in the open session. The most important of these was the "rightist" resolution which sought a vote of confidence in Gandhiji and an endorsement of the policy of the old Working Committee. At first sight the election of the President and the adoption of the "rightist" resolution taken in combination, appear to be a vindication of democratic principles. The Congress Party asserted itself in electing its President, regardless of the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon it to choose another man. Having done so, it followed it up by forcing on him the policy of the opposition. The Party, it would appear from this, had established its independence. But first appearances are often deceptive. A close examination reveals a different interpretation of the many forces that brought about this result.

From the first it was obvious that the "rightists" had changed their tactics. In his immediate reaction to Mr. Bose's election, Gandhiji had outlined the attitude of himself and his supporters. They would leave the field free for Mr. Bose's men without obstructing their work but co-operating as far as it was possible. Between that attitude and the Tripuri resolution there was a world of difference. In the month that intervened, the "rightists" had discovered the weakness of the parties which supported Mr. Bose. And the Rajkot interlude had strengthened their hands. When they came before the All India Congress Committee at Tripuri, they determined to refuse support unless their policies were first affirmed. Mr. Bose was to be bound down to accept a Working Committee nominated by Gandhiji. It is significant that whether in the Indian States or in British India, the "right" Congress leaders had evolved a technique to which they strictly adhered. At Rajkot the ruler was to be forced into acceptance of a reforms committee nominated by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. At Tripuri faced with a more determined opposition, Gandhiji himself entered the field and Mr. Bose was compelled to accept the nominations of Gandhiji. Popular leader or autocratic prince, both have to be reduced to the position of constitutional head to a "right-wing" cabinet. The thought must have often passed through the minds of Mr Bose's friends that, but for the grace of God, the Thakore Saheb's invidious position might have been occupied by their indomitable leader. There is, however, a difference. In the States the Congress right wing is fighting a power in authority and the whole technique of Congress politics is that of an opposition party. In British India the right wing is in power in the Congress and in the eight provinces. As such it forms a vested interest and it has to face an opposition which has all the advantages of irresponsibility. Today large sections of the left are afraid to cut loose from the parent body but that fear cannot last. The significance of Tripuri is not so much the majority that endorsed the resolution of confidence in Gandhiji but the not insignificant minority that opposed it. With the Congress Socialists standing neutral, it is difficult to imagine so much resistance to the right wing.

Mr. Bose after Tripuri occupies a position analogous to that of an American President who is in opposition to his Congress. He continues in office. Partly perhaps with a view to end this position of stalemate at an early date, the Subjects Committee has altered the date of the annual session to December. A resolution was adopted in the open session, rather hurriedly we think, fixing the next session in Bihar, the earlier resolution leaving the decision to the All India Congress Committee being waived aside. How smoothly the new arrangement will function, will depend on Gandhiji who has to suggest the names of the Working Committee. The words "in accordance with the wishes of Gandhiji" leave a wide latitude. They can also be interpreted in a narrow sense. We have no doubt that a more generous attitude will prevail in the case of the Congress President than was finally adopted with the Thakore of Rajkot. The dislocation caused by disobedience of Gandhiji's mandate in the election of the President, will no doubt carry its warning to the provincial committees and the next presidential election will find a more subservient electorate. Surely the right wing and its distinguished leader will be able to devise a method of marking time for the next eight months!

We do not understand what exactly the Congress majority meant in endorsing the leadership of Gandhiji and the past policy of the Working Committee. We would like a clear exposition of the position by some one who can speak with authority. In the years that have passed since Gandhiji assumed leadership of the Congress, there have been many policies in regard to British India, to the States, to foreign countries, to British Imperialism, even to the new constitution. From opposition to law courts to litigation on wills; from boycott of legislatures to office acceptance; from non-intervention in the States to active participation in agitation; from relentless opposition to Imperialism to alliance; we have passed through the whole gamut of political emotion. Even at Tripuri the States resolution, despite the protestations of its framers, marked a departure from the Haripura policy adopted only last

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

year. Take the day-to-day policy of the Congress, say in Rajkot where the incidents are fresh enough. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel tells the public one day that the Thakore Saheb is acting unaccountably in dispensing with the services of an experienced administrator like Sir Patrick Cadell; and again three days afterwards, that Sir Patrick should know better than to hang on after he has been dismissed. Again, as regards the reforms committee, Sardar Vallabhbhai in a letter accepts the Thakore's rejection of certain names as unsuitable; then Gandniji insists on all the Sardar's nominations being accepted, and on one of the rejected men being made president of the Committee; and then again he gives it up on the intervention of the Viceroy. If this is what the Congress wants, it is not policy but the complete lack of it. Democracy is not, we may point out, a system of election; it means or should mean fundamentally that the public has the choice between clear-cut issues. By that test, the Congress fails to couform to any known system. It is nearest to autocracy. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant extolled the virtues of benevolent autocracy. Everyone can say what an autocracy is. But whether a system is benevolent or not, depends on which side the observer finds himself on. That there are many who find the Congress as now managed intolerable, is proved by those who voted against the "Rightist" resolution and even by the very fact that such a resolution was thought to be necessary for rhe first time in the history of the Congress.

PROBLEMS OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER

(By Dr. H. P. Dastur)

I lay stress on improving living and working conditions. This is the only way I see for an amicable settlement of capital-labour trouble, for it is the only way that can benefit all concerned—the workman, the owner, the industry and the State—and such a reform must go by this axiom if it is to succeed as a permanent measure. For such a success, the State, the owner and the workman have to work in complete co-operation. Broadly speaking, improvement of living conditions should be primarily the concern of the State, but the owner must be there to help the State with full-blooded co-operation. Improvement of working conditions should be the responsibility of the owner, but the State should back him up with all its organised machinery. To give concrete examples. It is for the State to tackle the problem of nutrition. The State must make available for industrial districts proper sorts of food, and undertake intensive organization for increasing the quantity of milk produced, improving its quality and bringing it within easy reach of the industrial worker. This is bound to take some time. But at present a whole lot of useful buttermilk is going waste in the country. The State can begin tackling this problem by transporting such buttermilk at cheap rates into industrial districts. That done, the employer must co-operate by distributing such foods through his canteens and his creches, and by organising a noon-day lunch of the right sort for the workers.

Education is another item the State must tackle. Primary education should be compulsory and the employer can help the State by converting his creches and canteens and dispensary into centres of anti-natal and post-natal clinics, kindergarten and Montessori classes, and sanitary instruction.

Any attempt by the owner to improve working conditions will require medical examinations of his workmen. Such examinations are bound to pick up every now and then workmen suffering from tuber-culosis and similar other disabling diseases. Such workmen are working not from any love for their work, but because they have only two alternatives before them—to die of the disease or to die of disease—plus starvation. They naturally prefer the first. If the owner discharges them, (and that is the only thing he can and must do) it is bound to cause trouble all round, unless the municipality and the State co-operate with him and enable the owner to refer such cases to a proper hospital or institute where the workman should obtain, at the least, appreciably better comforts and facilities than anything he can get at his own home. Such a co-operation between State and owner would benefit all concerned. The workman will get the attention he badly needs, the owner will replace an inefficient worker with an efficient one which will mean better production for the industry, and over such policy the State will find that year after year it has less and less of such diseased workmen to take care of at public expense. There is a whole lot of avoidable illness which can be removed this way, and then alone will it be possible to evolve a workable scheme of sickness insurance for the worker. More than that, it is only then that the State, the owner and the workman can and will be ready and willing to pay their share towards the working of the insurance scheme.

But what part should the workman play in such a reform? I have been doing some work in indus-trial medicine for the Tata Hydro-Electric Company. I have come to certain conclusions as to how this work should be done. Sir Thomas Legge, a physician, senior medical inspector of factories of England, and medical adviser to the Trades Union Congress, has done a huge amount of work in this line. In 1934 he published a book on industrial maladies. Therein he enunciates a few axioms which should be adopted if industrial medicine is to show one hundred per cent success. What little experience I have in the same line goes to confirm the truth of those axioms. The one on which he lays most stress is "unless and until the employer has done everything—and everything means a good deal—the workman can do next to nothing to protect himself, although he is naturally willing enough to do his share." The second axiom is, "If you can bring an influence to bear external to the workman (*i. e.* one over which he has no control), you will be successful, and if you cannot or do not, you will never be wholly successful." To give concrete examples, it is a question of anti-malarial measures, it is no use asking the workman to use a mosquito-net and take quinine. Even to supply him with these things would be useless. The thing to do is to provide him with mosquito-proof houses and destroy all breeding places of the mosquito from around his mile area of his quarters. If it is a question of causing lung diseases, it is no use asking him to use a respirator. The work-room should be rendered dust free. If it is glare damaging his eyes, every-thing should be done first to remove the source of the glare before asking him to wear goggles. If any work is causing eye-strain, some research work should be first undertaken to study the position, nature, intensity, colour, etc., of the light supplied to the workman before asking him to use glasses.

I am doing some amount of work in the line of accident compensation. In the case of one woman I had to certify one hundred per cent disability. The award came to near Rs. 1,500/-. The Commissioner of Compensation refused to pay her cash, but told her to go to her village and buy a plot of land, and then approach him through village authorities for payment of the price of the land. This was a move in the right direction. Had he paid her cash, she

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would have been robbed of all the money within one year, leaving her a beggar and a drag on society. The same will happen to the textile worker if all that is done for him is to pay him a little higher wage.

This industry is at present paying maternity allowance. This helps nobody, not even the woman who receives the allowance. In a great majority of cases it is grabbed by the husband to do what he may like with it, but despite the allowance, the woman lives the same life, eats the same food, works or does not work in the same way as she did when she had no allowance. The allowance in no way helps her to improve her efficiency, enrich her motherhood, or better her progeny. I do assert that the one and most important and urgent thing to do is to take all care of the pregnant woman, and the nursing mother. My methods, however, differ. I would collect every rupee that is now paid as maternity allowance, and as much more as I can possibly draw out from the State and the owner, for one can never be doing enough in this line. A mother is a national asset, the one main source of national wealth and energy. I would turn all the money into pure milk, and make sure that every ounce of it goes into her stomach, by distributing it through a place I can control. The creche would come handy. Cash payment of maternity allowance is a drag which a sorely tried industry can ill afford. But if the allowance was given as suggested above, it would benefit all concerned. The woman will get the one chance she urgently needs for improving her efficiency and her progeny. The owner will lay a solid lasting foundation for obtaining an efficient workman in future, the State will get a better citizen, and the industry will profit through better co-operation that will follow between the workman and the owner.

The creche as managed at present is another drag on the industry, for it is run on lines of charity and not of industrial medicine. Its main activity seems to centre round giving its inmates milk of doubtful quality and perhaps a bath. This sort of expense brings no return to the owner or benefit to the industry. But a creche to be really useful and beneficial to all concerned should be a centre or anti-natal and post-natal clinic for the pregnant woman and nursing mother, a centre of education for the children on Kindergarten and Montessori line, and a centre for extensive propaganda for all on subjects like nutrition, prohibition of drink, sanitation, etc. It should be in charge of a person trained in welfare work on lines of industrial medicine and in modern systems of education. Such a creche would of course require all the co-operation that the State can give the owner before it can develop to its full height. Such, and such a creche alone, can be of any use to all concerned. Money spent on such a creche would in time return to the industry with compound interest. That seems to be the experience of all those who have worked a creche on these lines in Europe and America.

It is sometimes said that the administrative cost of welfare work would be prohibitive for an industry like the Bombay Textile Industry. I do not know. Perhaps that may be so when such work is done through outside agencies, or when they are run on lines of charity and not of industrial medicine. In a way, the name 'welfare work' itself is a misnomer. 'Efficiency-drive' work would be a better name. But the Tata Hydro-Electric works, is run by an honorary committee drawn from the staff of the Company. Their administrative cost is negligible, and they do not merely dole out money to applicants. They follow each applicant's activity at home and at work and give help only after satisfying themselves that the same will go towards his uplift. It is, however, quite true that the major part of work in Industrial medicine calls for a heavy initial expense, and sometimes even the running expense is a formidable item. In one camp of the Tata Hydro-Electric Company, we are spending every year over Rs. 2,000/- on anti-larval work only, and all that for a population of only 300, all told. Yet the authorities are satisfied that this is money well spent, and it seems to be the experience of all those who are doing a large amount of work in Industrial medicine in Europe and America that it is a sound investment for every industry to undertake.

It may also be argued that the Bombay Textile worker is full of distrust against the owner and is not likely to take kindly to such activities, and he becomes all the more suspicious when the owner tells him that he proposes to do anything for his welfare. The best way to disarm him of his suspicions is to start work in Industrial medicine on a broad basis in co-operation with the State, no matter what the difficulties may be in the beginning. It is the experience of all those who have worked in this line that the benefit that such work can distribute all round, soon tempts everybody concerned to come running to offer his full co-operation.

The urgent need of the hour seems to be an inquiry as to how the State and the owner should co-operate with each other in order to increase the efficiency of the industrial worker. When the two between them have played their part fully, the workman will have an irresistible case for an increase in his wage, the industry will be in a strong position to afford it, and the owner will gladly pay it, for, by then, he will fully realise that to do so is to adopt one sole way of increasing still further the workman's efficiency, and the industry's profits.

II.

A living wage standard is one that would secure such living and working conditions as would enable the workman to keep fit mentally, morally and physically, and to do his work efficiently. Such a wage will have to be paid partly in kind and partly in coin. To give the workman only a little more money, leaving all his other living and working conditions where they are at present would enable the employer to cry out with enough justification that he cannot afford it, and tempt the workman too with some justification to ask for still more. If by living wage is meant only a little more money for the workman, it will not help efficiency in any way. The rotter amongst the workmen will only spend more on drink, litigation, useless injections, still more useless patent medicines, bad food, etc., and his efficiency will degenerate all the more. The steady and sober amongst the men will save the extra money in order to take a longer holiday than that he is used to in order to get out of his trying living and working conditions; or he will send a little more money to his village, but he will just do nothing to improve his efficiency unless the State and the employer come out to help him in the right way. But if by living wage is meant improving his living and working conditions that would certainly improve his efficiency and that without adding a pie to his wages. Prohibition, proper residential quarters with enough air, light and water, wholesome food, etc., would improve his living conditions to a great extent. Occupational diseases are causing inefficiency, and they are preventible. Bad conditions of air, light, humidity, etc., are other sources of inefficiency. The workman has certainly a case for higher wages. But higher wages can improve his efficiency only if he is set going on correct lines of living and working conditions. This is also the only way in which the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

employer can afford to pay higher wages. Bad living and working conditions lead to a progressive mental, moral and physical deterioration and all round inefficiency which higher wages by themselves cannot remove.

If one is after improving the living and working conditions of the workman, there will be no need to fix the composition of a standard family. But if one is only after finding out how much money the workman should be paid, a group of four, man, wife and two children, may prove a workable standard.

As for housing, if the idea is to find out how much rent he has to pay for a sanitary quarter and count that in the computation of a living or minimum wage, it is not going to answer. Supposing he is spending at present Rs. 2/- on rent and it is found that at least Rs. 5/- are necessary to obtain for him a suitable quarter, and Rs. 3/- extra are added to his wages on account of housing, he will still continue to live in the same place, and use the extra three Rupees in any way except for improving his efficiency or health. His sanitary sense is not at all developed. The thing to do is to set about earnestly developing this sense in him through education, and, till that happens, the State and the employer should take it upon themselves to house him in the proper way. The useful and helpful thing to do is to carry to his doors proper clothing and fuel through a co-operative society in the mills or near his house; failing that, the State should intervene to put down all exploitation, especially of the poorer workman by the merchants. House-lighting should be provided for him by the employer or the State until such time as a proper sanitary sense is developed in him.

Transport: The workman generally prefers to stay even in a dirty hovel near the mills rather than live in a better place far away from the mills. This is chiefly to save time and partly to save expense. If the workman is given a sanitary dwelling-place near he mills, the question of transport will not arise.

Holiday: A fortnight's holiday every year with pay would make for efficiency. At present inordinate absenteeism is one of the troubles of the owner. A holiday with pay may help the owner indirectly also if it were made conditional on a certain amount of regular work during the year.

Expenditure on medical relief: This should be borne purely by the State and the employer, or a sickness insurance scheme should be worked out where the workman pays a small sum as an insurance against sickness and something like a panel system now in vogue in European countries may be adopted.

Insurance, interest on and repayment of debt' social and ceremonial expenditure these items can be worked through a co operative bank, preferably in charge of the Millowners' Association in the same way as the insurance business of the mill is run by them.

Human needs and rights of a workman are the same all over. To that extent the provisions would not differ from centre to centre. But prices of food and cloth are likely to be different from centre to centre. There would be some variation on that account.

If it is a question of improving the workman's living and working conditions, it will probably be found that with improvements in such conditions it will not be necessary for his wife to go to work, and it will be best for all concerned to let her mind her home and children. If she must work, I would rather she engaged herself in some cottage industry at home. She goes to work generally because the family in the present state of living and working conditions cannot make both ends meet. But if it is only a question of paying a little more or less in wages, leaving everything elsewhere it is, wages of other members of the family should be taken into account.

I am in favour of establishing a minimum standard of living and working conditions which the employer must fulfil before he can start a mill. When that is done a minimum wage would find its natural level without any trouble and to the satisfaction of both sides, for that would add to the efficiency of the workman and progress of the industry. But if the only idea is to find out how much money he should be paid as a minimum wage, leaving everything else where it is, it is not going to lead anywhere. On the contrary, that will make confusion more confounded for without adding anything to his efficiency it will only wet his appetite for asking more and more from an employer and an industry which can afford less and less.

The minimum wage must be based on the principle of helping him to improve and keep his efficiency at a high level by keeping himself fit mentally, morally and physically.

A research department under control of the State which should be constantly working to find out what reaction the worker's efficiency has on the machine he is working and *vice-versa*.

To prevent the minimum wage from becoming the maximum, Profit-sharing should be introduced.

The first charge on the finances of the industry to set it going should be for up-to-date machinery, proper living and working conditions for the workmen and administrative charges. Once it begins to make profit the first charge on the profit should be a certain fixed interest on capital investment. Any profit over and above that should be divided into four suitable parts, one part for capital invested, one for the workman, one for such indirect welfare measures as are suggested here, and one for renovation of machinery and other unforeseen expenses.

A very great majority live in single room tenements. A great majority of these rooms give lodging to more than one family. It should be compulsory on the employer to provide housing accommodation for his workers, and the State should see that they are of the right sort.

THE EAST AFRICAN CONGRESS AND THE TANGANYIKA LEAGUE.

(By P. A. Mehta.)

It seems clear that one of the main objects of the visit of His Highness the Aga Khan to Ganda and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel was to induce the Congress to support the demands of Europeans in East Africa with regard to Tanganyika. It is also probable that Mr. Patel may go to East Africa for that purpose. But though Mr. Patel has not contradicted the Press reports of his talks with H.H. the Aga Khan, he has shown restraint in not making any rash statement on the question of Tanganyika. It would be tragic for Indian interests in East Africa if the Congress were to support the claims of the Tanganyika League which has been formed in East Africa to oppose the return of Tanganyika to Germany. Indians in East Africa are divided on this question. Indians here should not express any opinion without studying the problem in the light of East African history.

After the abandoning of Czechoslovakia by France and Britain in 1938, the Europeans in Kenya felt nervous about the security of Tanganyika. The leaders of the Settlers who had worked in the past to bring about the elimination of Indians from Kenya,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

formed the Tanganyika League with the object of organizing public opinion against the return of Tanganyika to Germany. Lord Francis Scot, the leader of the settlers, became president of the League and Major Cavendish-Bentick its moving spirit. The main support of the League came from Englishmen in Kenya. It may seem surprising that the Europeans, particularly the settlers of Kenya, should have exerted themselves so violently against the transfer of Tanganyika. Therein lies the key to the understanding of the whole question.

The settlers in Kenya have not been able to put into operation all their ideas of oppressing and exploiting the natives of Kenya and of driving out or disabling the Indians in Kenya, because Kenya is a Crown Colony and unofficial Europeans are in a minority in the Legislative Council. They have, therefore, been agitating for self-government which means government of 3 million Africans and 40 thousand Indians by about 18 thousand White men. Informed opinion in England has been emphatic in the view that such a betrayal of the trust reposed by millions of Africans in the British nation cannot take place in the present circumstances. The analogy of South Africa does not help because South Africa is a vast country with a large European population. The Settlers in Kenya have, therefore, been directing all their efforts to bring about a federation of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. With such a combination, an East African Dominion would emerge and any demand made by it for self-government would undoubtedly succeed. Tanganyika had at first been resisting such overtures from Kenya but the most unwilling maiden would succumb to organised courtship and recently the European Chamber of Commerce of Tanganyika favoured such a union of the territories. Without Tanganyika there can be no East African Dominion and Kenya would remain under the influence of the Colonial Office and, through it, be governed by opinion in Britain.

One technical objection to such a union is that Tanganyika is a Mandated Territory. It cannot be federated without the consent of the other League Powers but such consent can readily be secured. The Tanganyika League, taking advantage of the German scare, demands that Tanganyika should come under the British flag and be British Territory in name as it is in fact. The return of Tanganyika to Germany would frustrate the fondest dreams of the settlers of creating an East African Dominion, like South Africa. It would defeat their fixed purpose of destroying Indian interests in East Africa. The White Highlands cannot be legally reserved for Europeans only, so long as the affairs of Kenya are controlled by Parliament. That is the main reason why the Tanganyika League is wholly dominated by Kenya politicians.

The issue clearly is whether Indians in East Africa as a whole would suffer more by a union of the East African Territories than by the return of Tanganyika to its old masters. It is very doubtful if Indians in Tanganyika would be treated like the Jews if the territory were to go to Hitler. But taking the worst possibility only about 20,000 Indians would suffer, whereas about 80,000 Indians would lose their rights in any federation of East Africa. The question is to be decided in a far-sighted way. The long view is in the end the right view.

The organizers of the Tanganyika League were advised to invite Indians to join forces with them to avert the danger of the loss of Tanganyika. They approached the East African Indian National Congress. The latter passed a resolution advocating the principle of self-determination when the natives of Tanganyika became ready for it and in the meanwhile supported the continuation of the mandate. But the European settlers would have none of this. So the Congress meekly passed another resolution advocating the administration of Tanganyika under the British Flag. The Indian National Congress stands for severing the British connection in India whereas the East African Congress recommended the inclusion of a mandated territory under the British flag. There was no greater triumph for European settlers than this. Indians in Tanganyika were not impressed by this spineless action of the Congress. Attempts were made to get a similar resolution passed in Dar-es-salaam, but public opinion was so much against any co operation with the Tanganyika League that the resolution had to be dropped and the Secretary of the Indian Association resigned. The Congress must have felt very small after this defeat. But the co-operation not only continues but now we hear of the forthcoming visit of Mr. A. B. Patel to save the territory for the British. No one thought of inviting him when the Highlands Order-in-Council was proposed in Kenya. Let us hope that Mr. Patel will not co-operate with the European settlers unless they guarantee the elementary rights of Indians in East Africa. When Tanganyika was under German rule, Indians were allowed to stay in German hotels. In Kenya they cannot stay in any hotel. In Tanganyika under the Mandate, British race prejudice is gaining and once it becomes a British Colony, there will be nothing left for Indians save protests and deputations. The first thing to do in East Africa is not to save Tanganyika from the Aryan Germans but to save Indians from the Kenya Settlers.

SEGREGATION OF INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.*

The present demand by certain Europeans for the segregation of the Indian community is no new development in the party politics of this country. A similar agitation which had been raised in the country in an intense form during the years 1918 and 1920 resulted in the appointment of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission in 1920. This Commission toured throughout the whole Union and heard evidence from local authorities, members of Parliament and European organisations, including the White South Africa League which had been formed specially to tender evidence before the Commission and press the request for segregation. This impartial and judicial Commission found that the allegations made against Indians were baseless and in paragraph 224 of their Report, strongly condemned the policy of segregation.

The Union Government in 1924 introduced the Class Areas Bill which sought to segregate Indians within specified areas. This Bill was not proceeded with due to the resignation of the then Government, but a similar Bill known as the "Areas Reservation Bill" was introduced by the Union Government in 1926. Both these measures evoked intense indignation and bitterness in the minds of the Indians both in South Africa and in India. The 1926 Bill led to the visit to this country of a deputation from the Government of India headed by the late Sir George Paddison, and including as its members Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikari and Sir (then Syed) Raza Ali.

This deputation, after collecting data, submitted evidence to the Select Committee to which the Bill had been referred by Parliament.

The South African Indian Congress gave no evidence before the Select Committee, as its

* Representation of the South African Indian Congress to the Minister of the Interior.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

objection was to the fundamental principle underlying the Bill and therefore felt that no purpose would be served by tendering evidence on the details. The strong case made out by the deputation of the Government of India against the principle of the Asiatic Reservation Bill resulted in a Round Table Conference between the Government of India and the Government of the Union of South Africa in Cape Town in 1927. The deliberation of the Conference culminated in the first Cape Town Agreement. On the conclusion of this Agreement the Areas Reservation Bill was withdrawn, the Union Government resolving not to proceed with it.

We strongly submit that the arguments urged against the Asiatic Reservation Bill of 1926 are equally applicable to the Scheme now under consideration. Under the present Scheme action is not to be initiated by any regulative body or local authorities but the application of its provisions would have the same results and would definitely lead to segregation. Indians, especially in the rural towns, where they form a relatively small minority compared to the European residents, would be at the mercy of their European competitors in trade, and of Europeans whose outlook is strongly influenced by colour prejudice. The 75% vote required for the introduction of the servitude clause against coloured occupation would easily be forthcoming, and this would entail the economic ruin and national degradation of the Indian community.

If it is the intention to *remove or reduce* the causes of racial friction, we submit that the Scheme will have just the *contrary* effect. Instead of *diminishing racial friction* it will definitely *accentuate it* and lead to bitterness between the two sections of the South African people. It will be open to any irresponsible person, actuated by the venom of race prejudice and race hatred, to organise and initiate a move to obtain the requisite 75% votes necessary to enable the insertion of a servitude in the title deeds prohibiting Indian occupation of land within that area. Every such move to exercise the powers of local option will be attended with intensive racial propaganda which will inflame passions and stimulate racial bitterness in the area.

This will recur at frequent intervals in different areas throughout the Union and will create ill-feeling where none exists at present, or has existed in the past. We urge, therefore, that the measure proposed, will assist in *fostering* just what the Government are attempting to prevent, and that far from *improving* the relations between Indians and Europeans, it will *disturb* the present goodwill and friendly relations which exist between them in the vast majority of places in the Union.

Transvaal. The first intimation of your scheme was conveyed to us through your statement to the Ratepayers' Association deputation which interviewed you on December 7th, last year. We presume, therefore, that the scheme under consideration is intended to meet the demands of the Conference convened by the Pretoria Ratepayers' Association, and the request made by the Transvaal Municipal Association. We emphasis that the allegation made by the Pretoria Ratepayers' Asscciation and the Transvaal Municipal Association in respect of penetration by Indians into European areas, is baseless and untrue, and has not been supported by evidence. In refuting the allegation we desire to say that Indian traders are confined within predominstetntly Indian areas, and that there is a very small percentage outside of such areas. Fourther more, only a very small percentage of the total Indian population in Prêtoria is resident outside of predominantly Indian areas.

Natal. We now come to deal with the position of Indians in Natal. Emigration of Indians into Natal commenced in 1860 through insistent demands by White Colonies for the supply of labour on Sugar plantations and for agricultural developments. This emigration was temporarily stopped between 1866 and 1874, when it was resumed on further representation made by the then Lieutenant Governor of Natal to the Secretary of State for Colonies. From the period of their entry into Natal in 1860 Indians developed Sugar, Tea and Mining industries and served on the Railways. The Natal Government gave a solemn undertaking that these Indians would be treated with consideration during their term of indenture and thereafter; and that they would be encouraged to settle in the Province and every facility would be given them to secure their permanent settlement in Natal. To induce them to remain in the country, Indian immigrants were granted free gift of land in lieu of a free return passage to India. The value of Indian labour and, the prosperity it contributed to the country generally, was recorded by the 1907 Commission.

In Natal the bulk of the Indian population is essentially agricultural in character. The rural population of Indians in Natal is estimated by the last census to be 70,218. Of the total acreage of 11,299,260 in the Province of Natal the ownership of land by Indians in the rural areas is computed to be between 100,000 and 125,000 acres, being less than one acre in every 100 acres. In neither the urban nor rural areas of Natal has there been any penetration of Indians into European areas; the normal increase in the Indian population has necessitated expansion, but such expansion has been confined to areas contiguous to those occupied by Indians.

General Considerations. The Boroughs and Townships Ordinances of Natal give powerse to local authorities to prevent Indian purchase of unalienated land. The private Townships Ordinance empowers the township owner to prevent Indian residence in new townships. The Townships Ordinance of the Transvaal prevents Indian occupation of land in new European townships. So far as trade is concerned, the arbitrary operation of the licensing laws has relegated Indian traders to Indian areas. We have consistently protested against the disabilities entailed by the operation of these ordinances and the harsh application of the licensing laws, and sought their repeal. The imposition of fresh disabilities by means of the Scheme now under consideration will involve the ruination and humiliation of the Indian community inasmuch as its provisions will disturb existing lawful occupation of land by Indians.

We have, in the preceding paragraphs, proved that there is no necessity for any disabling legislation of the nature.

The Round Table Conference between the Government of India and the Union of South Africa culminated in the Cape Town agreement and marked a new era in the relationship between India and South Africa. The Indian, who had been deemed an alien, was now acknowledged by the Union Government as a part of the permanent population of this country. The "Uplift" Clause of the Cape Town Agreement indicated in no uncertain terms the policy which the Union Government proposed to follow in the conduct of Indian affairs.

Finally, we wish to point out that more than 85% of the South African Indians were born in this country, but have, as yet, no representation in the Legislatures of the Union. Under the circumstances, it should be the special concern of the Government to see that the interests of this voiceless section are adequately protected.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(Established-December, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

Head Office:—Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, Kt., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

London Agents:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

New York Agents:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

Paris Agents:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

Berlin Agents:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS :

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol („ „).

DIRECTORS:

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL :—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA.
Managing Director

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1827)

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Porbandar, Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,
Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
7-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS, Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel, Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 11, 1939. No. 28

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

CONTENTS.

End of the Rajkot Fast.
Was it Necessary?
The Moral Issue.
A Magic Change.
Communalism in Indian States.
Anglo-Indian Attitude to Indian States.
The Congress in Session.
Indians in Africa.
The Tripuri Congress.
The Rajkot Fast.
The Gita: A Critique.
Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani.
The Salvation Army Supports Prohibition.
Discipline and the Congress.
Hindu Marriage and Stridhana—II.
A Primrose Path to Freedom.
The Problem of the States.

NOTES.

End of the Rajkot Fast :—Whatever one may think of fasting as a method of solving social and political deadlocks and whatever one may think of its application to the Rajkot case, all will be glad that Gandhiji broke his fast on Tuesday. During the four days and half of its duration, Gandhiji's strength appreciably waned, and its continuance even for a few days longer would have been attended with grave risk to his life. According to Gandhiji's own avowal, it is due entirely to the Viceroy that this calamity was averted. Gandhiji, too, has contributed to the happy result by not standing out for the terms of his ultimatum to the Thakore Sahib. The Thakore Sahib, too, has acted wisely in consenting to the points in dispute, in the correspondence between himself and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, being referred to the adjudication of the Chief Justice of India. The Sardar's consent may be presumed from the acceptance of the condition by Gandhiji who has taken the conduct of the Rajkot affair where the Sardar left it. We are glad of this result not only because it puts an end to what had degenerated into a personal squabble between the Thakore Sahib and Sardar Patel, but also, and even more, because it has created an atmosphere of genuine friendliness and goodwill in which the question of constitutional reform in British India and the States can be advanced further. Lord Linlithgow's handling of this very delicate situation has been so satisfactory as to induce Gandhiji to forego his much-desired visit to the Congress now in session at Tripura, in order that he might meet the Viceroy at the first opportunity when he is fit to travel to Delhi. Evidently he feels that there is more important work to be done at Delhi than in Tripura. This, we believe, is the first session of the Congress which Gandhiji has chosen to be conducted by his co-adjutors without his personal guidance since it adopted the creed of non-cooperation. In view of the differences which have arisen over the election of Mr. Subhas Bose to the Presidentship, and the resignation of the majority of members of the Working Committee, Gandhiji's presence and services as conciliator will be much missed at Tripura. The article on the Rajkot fast on another page was written two days before its sudden end.

Was It Necessary?—One can not help asking oneself whether the result of all the commotion caused by the fast, could not have been achieved by less sensational and spectacular means, involving less emotional excitement to the public and less personal distress to individuals. To answer this question it is necessary to assess what exactly the result has been. It is simply that a difference of opinion between the Thakore Sahib of Rajkot and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as to the significance of an agreement between them, should be settled by reference to a third party who has no personal interest in the matter. How is it that this obvious expedient did not occur to the Thakore Sahib, to the Sardar or even to Gandhiji? Of the first two, it is possible that each was so sure of his own interpretation that he could not think it possible for any other interpretation to be placed on the agreement. But what of Gandhiji? He accepted the Sardar's interpretation as the only one that could be put upon the documents and assumed that the Thakore Sahib's interpretation was out of the question. He actually proposed in his ultimatum additional onerous terms which the Viceroy has quietly waived. The Viceroy laid his finger on this gap in the controversy as far as it had proceeded and Gandhiji and the Thakore Sahib at once realised that they had been sailing round and round it in an unaccountable way. Without the Viceroy's intervention, it might not have been possible to get the Chief Justice of India to undertake the arbitration. But the question is not a very erudite one and any man of open mind and sound commonsense can decide between the two interpretations as well as the most distinguished lawyer in the country. In fact, the question is not one of law so much as of commonsense. As far as is known the Thakore's notification was not framed by lawyers. Proclamations by rulers are not to be construed in accordance with the General Clauses Act. They must be understood in the light of administrative possibilities. Neither should the powers and limitations of the ruler concerned be left out of calculation. W-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

come back to the question with which we started, Could not the result actually obtained have been secured without setting the country agog about the fate of Gandhiji? We believe it could and should have been. The Indian public is not educated. The great majority of the people are steeped in illiteracy and superstition. The method of fast, is calculated to aggravate this deficiency.

The Moral Issue:—Most puzzling was the solemn moral issue that was made out of this crassly political business. Of course, you can make a moral issue out of anything. Kaikeyi made a moral issue out of the promise to disinherit Rama which her husband, Dasaratha, had given her in a moment of infatuation. The question here is what the form of government or administration would be which would bring most contentment and intellectual and moral progress to the people of Rajkot. To devise a scheme, a committee is to be appointed. How was this committee to be composed? The Sardar wanted seven men of the Praja Mandal party in a committee of twelve. In practice, these seven men will contribute to the common stock only a single set of ideas: they will vote as one man whether they think like one or not. We see proof of this in the Legislative Assemblies, in the Legislative Councils, in the Congress itself. The good party man has voluntarily to have his brain sterilised. It will be the same whether you have seven members of the Praja Parishad or decree that the vote of one member of the Parishad shall count as seven. An English king in the eighteenth century saved his Government from defeat in the House of Lords by ordering that the vote of a fat peer should count as sixteen, the number needed to make up a majority. If there was a real moral issue, the Chief Justice of India can not annul, alter or otherwise modify it one way or another. The acceptance of adjudication by the Chief Justice is a tacit admission that there is no moral principle involved in the matter on which he is required to adjudicate. It is important to get our minds clear on the point because we yield to none in our faith in the supremacy of the moral law as binding equally on rulers and subjects. The thrusting of the moral issue to the front without adequate cause and putting it aside when the exigencies of a controversy no longer demand it, definitely works for the debasement of the moral currency and the consequent lowering of the moral tone of public life. It is, therefore, best as far as possible to avoid raising a moral issue in political disputes. The only working hypothesis on which public life can be maintained at a tolerable level is that all parties and persons concerned are equally honest and equally fallible. Lord Linlithgow has dealt with the question, as his Excellency has to deal with hundreds of others, as a purely administrative transaction.

A Magic Change:—Whatever else the Rajkot episode might or might not have done, it has changed as if by magic the political situation in a most vital respect. It has undone the effects of a decade's tirade against British Imperialism in a single day. The cool-headed—someone once spoke of him as cold-blooded—Prime Minister of Madras told an Associated Press correspondent at Tripuri that Lord Linlithgow has earned the gratitude of the millions of India. His Excellency has won the admiration of thousands who take an intelligent interest in politics. And he has done this without visible effort. It all seems to have come so naturally, spontaneously. If he and his advisers in Great Britain and India had set themselves to discover a method of making British Imperialism popular in this country after the daily diatribes of some of the most popular leaders, they could not have hit upon one a hundredth as efficacious as the sequel to Gandhiji's fast. The representative of British Imperialism today is the most popular man in the country. He has saved the life of Gandhiji. Gandhiji has been lavish in his praise, not only in praise of him but of Englishmen generally. We suggest that the personal popularity of the Viceroy should bring about a considerably modified attitude on the part of our leaders towards his views on Federation. To be plain, the prospects of Federation coming, perhaps with a few modifications, at an early date, has been considerably accelerated by the Rajkot interlude. There are no compartments in the public mind. On the one hand, the Princes have been thoroughly frightened by the possibilities of a fast undertaken by some popular figure bent on bringing about a constitutional or unconstitutional change in their administration. The present state of the Congress does not preclude the possibility of the Princes winning influential adherents in that body. On the other hand, the Indian public is greatly impressed by the fact that the British Viceroy alone had the intuition to save Gandhiji's life by no more effort than a stroke of his pen, while all India was wringing its hands and praying that Gandhiji might not suffer from the consequences of his self-imposed ordeal. It will naturally feel that it is safer far to entrust its destinies to him and those whom he represents, than to those who are apt to be paralysed by any unusual occurrence.

Communalism in Indian States:—In a statement issued immediately after his breaking the Rajkot fast, Gandhiji thought it necessary to give the following assurance to Muslims in Rajkot:—

> I had no hesitation in telling them without any argument that their special interests would be safeguarded, that if they wanted separate electorates in Rajkot with reservation of seats I would see to it that they got them.....It is necessary for me to say this in order to ease their minds and to ease the minds of Mussulmans throughout India.

We draw the attention of those who are smug in their complacent belief that the States have only good things to learn from British Indian

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

politicians, to this deliberate insinuation of communal electorates into the Indian States by the most outstanding Congress personality who himself resisted them at the Round Table Conference. When it is remembered that the States at the London Conferences staunchly resisted all efforts to bring in separate electorates into their Central representation it seems all the more objectionable for popular leaders in British India to force upon them what they have been ever ready to denounce in British India itself as the worst aspect of communalism and the first impediment to national unity. The Muslim League which opposes Federation primarily because of the States' refusal to give one third representation to Muslims, must be grateful to Gandhiji for playing their game so readily.

Anglo-Indian Attitude to Indian States:—Taking their cue from Congress leaders some non-official Anglo-Indians have constituted themselves censors of Indian States. The European representative in the Madras Legislative Assembly recently indulged without any apparent cause on an unseemly attack on the neighbouring State of Mysore. He does not approve of the policy of the State actively concerning itself with the development of industries. He would apparently wish the natural resources of the State to be left to be exploited by foreign financiers. That this is nowhere allowed nowadays, that *laissez faire* is dead and buried several fathoms deep in the land of its birth, and that the industrial policy of the Mysore State has come to be regarded as a model to be followed in British India, seem to be facts beyond the range of Mr. Langley's vision. We can characterise only as outrageous his thinly veiled attack on Sir M. Visvesvaraya whose services to Mysore and India have won recognition even from those politically not in the same camp as himself. We wonder that the Speaker did not pull up Mr. Langley for his unbecoming conduct in attacking a man who was not thereto defend himself. So far from losing large sums of money for the people by his schemes, as Mr. Langley alleged, Sir M. Visvesvaraya has spent large sums of his own in travel and in the study and preparation of his schemes; and not one of them has entailed any loss to the public.

The Congress in Session:—Supported by a requisition signed by 160 members, Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant sought permission in the All India Congress Committee to move a resolution which was in effect a vote of confidence in the old Working Committee and in the policies initiated by Gandhiji. The resolution went farther. It gave direction that President Bose should nominate the Working Committee under Gandhiji's supervision. The President disallowed the motion on the ground that it was not provided for in the Congress constitution and that such a step was unprecedented. After an adjournment for tea Mr. Bose allowed the resolution in the Subjects Committee which frames resolutions for the open session. Pandit Pant moved the resolution in a speech which contained many highlights but little argument to support the manoeuvre. Pandit Jawaharlal in his articles on the present position has clearly indicated the inadvisability of a system in which the President's choice of his cabinet is restricted. Often he says he was on the point of resigning. How can Pandit Pant seek to establish by resolution what has proved to be a bad convention? In pleading for the old members of the Working Committee, Pandit Pant paid a special tribute to Pandit Jawaharlal whom he prematurely designated as the successor of Gandhiji. He must, therefore, attach a special value to Pandit Nehru's opinion. We cannot see how Pandit Jawaharlal can accept the practice as adviseable. We trust that no extraneous considerations will induce Gandhiji's successor-designate to change his mind.

Indians in Africa:—Except in the mandated territory of Tanganiyika, the position of Indians in East and South Africa has been a source of constant anxiety to the people and Government of India. India has on every occasion exhibited her proverbial patience. In the recent agitation of Englishmen in Kenya to have Tanganiyika annexed outright to Great Britain, a section of the Indian community there even co-operated with them in the hope, no doubt, that they would thereby win the goodwill of their White fellow-subjects. All the reward which they have received is to have the long-pending proposal to legalise the practice of excluding Indians from the Highlands, finally adopted by an Order in Council. In South Africa the situation is even more serious. Despite Gandhiji's settlement and two Cape Town agreements, reinforced by goodwill deputations to India, and the presence on the spot of able Agents-General to the Government of India, scarcely a year passes without one proposal or another to lower the status and hamper the growth of Indians, most of them born South Africans, as a self-respecting community. The latest has passed the stage of proposal. In an interview a month ago, the Minister of the Interior told a deputation of the South African Indian Congress that his Government proposed to introduce at the earliest opportunity two Bills; one giving power to the local authorities to create "servitudes" against title deeds of properties in any given area where seventy-five per cent of the owners decide that area should be European; and the other Bill giving power to local authorities to set aside areas for different classes of trades within their boundaries. They are both flagrantly opposed to the assurance of the Union Government in the first Cape Town Agreement to regard Indians as an integral part of the population and to afford them the same facilities and opportunities as to Europeans to raise themselves in the social scale by education and economic advancement.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, March 11, 1939.

THE TRIPURI CONGRESS.

On the eve of the Tripuri session of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a series of articles to the *National Herald* of Lucknow, has laid bare the many divisions and differences of opinion that have grown up in recent years within the great political organisation. The public at last is in possession of facts which it so far vaguely suspected. That Pandit Jawaharlal found it difficult during his Presidentship to carry the Working Committee with him and that resignations on both sides were threatened frequently, were open secrets. What is new is the extraneous reasons which prevented the issues from becoming clear-cut. The moderating influence of Gandhiji held back the Working Committee. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's high sense of national duty and his interest in world politics kept him from the final breach. Obviously, however, such unity could not last. The introduction of provincial autonomy in British India provided a centre round which the conflict between the various sections of the Congress developed. The orthodox Congress group adopted parliamentary tactics and ministries were formed in the provinces where the Congress won majorities. Congress governments were greatly hindered in their constructive work both by the opposition of extremists to the very idea of office acceptance and by the insistence of older Congressmen on programmes evolved in the non-co-operation days. The selection of Mr. Subhas Chundra Bose for the presidentship of the Congress in 1938 at a crucial stage of Congress history was in some ways an unfortunate choice. It took the controversy over office acceptance into the inner circle of the Congress Party. In the two years of provincial autonomy the country was not allowed to settle down to an era of constructive peace. Not a month passed without some ministry somewhere threatening resignation. The weight of the Working Committee was thrown on the side of resisting presssure from "leftist" groups. The ministries, most of whom were formed out of men who thought with the leaders of the Working Committee, came to regard the interference of these extremists as unwholesome annoyances and took steps to consolidate their position.

The "rightists" realised their mistake too late. In their efforts to rectify the error, they sought to have elected to the presidentship a candidate who held views more in keeping with their own. But in doing so, tactics were adopted which put Mr. Bose in for a second term. The outlook changed immediately. The pressure to resign was now applied on the provincial ministries from a different quarter, from the "rightists." We cannot believe that the issues raised at Rajkot were considered large enough to create a crisis in eight Congress provinces. If the Congress Cabinets offered their resignations on Rajkot as Gandhiji had hoped at the very outset they would, it was solely because of the fast which magnified a local trouble into an all India affair. The Tripuri Congress has been saved, by the intervention of the Viceroy, from a situation which would have divested it of much of its importance. But it will meet this week-end in circumstances which are extremely unfavourable. In the brief month that has passed since his election, President Bose has had ample evidence to convince him that he plays a lone hand in Indian politics. Faced by the threatened desertion of the "rightists," all except one section of the "left" group have sought to moderate the President's zeal for a revolutionary programme. It is significant that the exception, led by Mr. M. N. Roy, has never been in touch with Indian affairs. President Bose as the head of the Congress must plan for the country as a whole, taking India conditions into consideration. The Indian mind is essentially a constructive one. Unless Mr. Bose is preparing for the wilderness, therefore, the programme which he will place before the Congress must necessarily be one which will appeal to the people. And in constructive planning he will have to draw largely on the experience of the older Congress workers who are now temporarily estranged from him. It must be borne in mind that Gandhiji has offered the fullest co-operation so long as the old Congress programme is substantially adhered to.

We believe that Tripuri offers a splendid opportunity for the Congress to initiate a new era. The "rightists" who had in the past grown obsessed by a feeling of security and power, find it difficult to adjust themselves to a diminution of authority. But discussions in the Committee meetings and open sessions must convince them that theirs is not a straight choice between complete control and non-co-operation. The ill health of President Bose who has shown indomitable courage in going to Tripuri in spite of his doctors, and the isolation in which he now finds himself, naturally impose upon the Congress veterans a greater need for sympathy and support. Gandhiji who, as Pandit Jawaharlal bears repeated testimony to in his writings, has so often proved a moderating influence, is unfortunately kept out of Tripuri by the Rajkot developments. The absence of his guidance necessitates greater caution on all groups. Press reports indicate that Pandit Jawaharlal has taken up the role of mediator between the old Working Committee and Mr. Bose. He is admirably fitted for the task with his ability to see both sides of a question and his remarkable lack of political dogmatism. He has, as far as it was possible, stood out of the dispute and by commands to a unique degree the confidence of all Congressmen. The patience with which he is going about the negotiations, is admirable and deserves every success. If out of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the haze of misunderstanding that has grown up in the past month, a real unity grows up within the Congress, the uncertainties of the period will have been made to serve their purpose. The National Congress stands today at the crossroads. Let us hope the choice will be wisely made.

The events that have grown out of Rajkot, have their lesson for Congressmen. It is obvious now that the days of unthinking opposition to the central government are over. Congress leaders have been frankly appreciative of the statesmanlike intervention of Lord Linlithgow in the dispute between the Thakore Sahib and Gandhiji. The good relations established between the highest British authority in this country and the unquestioned leader of the Congress open up a new field for co-operation. Mr. Subhas Bose's talk of delivering notices to quit within six months, a year or eighteen months to the British, always heroic appear fantastic in the light of recent events. If the Rajkot understanding is followed up to its logical conclusion, India should settle down to a period of constructive progress which she badly needs. The Prohibition programme, set on foot in several Congress provinces, depends, on the ministries being in a position to count on a long period of office. In the States, Gandhiji's remark that Rajkot does not constitute a precedent will have a salutary effect in restoring confidence. Gandhiji was emphatic in his insistence on the necessity for recognizing differences between State and State and on the wisdom of allowing the States to introduce reforms according to the needs of the people. If the Congress at Tripuri realises the great opportunity before it, there is no reason why all India should not look forward to a more hopeful future.

THE RAJKOT FAST.

When two persons are engaged in a dispute, if one of them pulls out a dagger and threatens to kill the other man if he does not accept the former's view, it will be duress. If the threatened man agreed with his adversary, the agreement will not be morally or legally binding on him. If the man with the dagger threatened to kill not his adversary but himself if the latter did not accept his view, it will still in reality be an act of coercion not morally binding on the other party. The latter can, of course, refuse to yield his point and let his opponent commit suicide, in which case no blame can attach to him. In other words, an acceptance obtained by threat of killing another or one's self, has no value as a logical conclusion to the dispute.

The case of the fast which Gandhiji started on Friday 3rd March at Rajkot, is one of this kind. The fast was said to have been intended to effect about a change of heart of the Thakore of Rajkot who, it was alleged, went back on his promise to the Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel regarding the nomination of members to a Committee. The Thakore Sahib disclaims the interpretation put on his understanding by the Sardar. Gandhiji's fast is a protest against the Thakore's disclaimer. It is the Thakore's contention that it would have been practically an act of abdication of his responsibilities as ruler to have agreed to terms as interpreted by the Sardar and Gandhiji. If nevertheless the Thakore did agree to them, the only rational explanation can be that he either did not understand them or had for the moment become oblivious of his position and responsibility as the ruler. There has been disagreement between the British Government and the Arab leaders over the significance of the Hussein-McMahon correspondence. It can not be got over by Mr. Malcolm McDonald or the Grand Mufti declaring an indefinite fast. Indeed it is difficult to see how a fast is relevant in such a context.

The fast, Gandhiji stated, was undertaken to bring about a change of heart in the Thakore whose father held Gandhiji in reverence as his Guru and whom Gandhiji regards as his own son. But Congress leaders and Ministers have joined in a chorus of appeal to the Viceroy as representative of the Paramount Power to compel the Thakore to accept the terms proposed by Gandhiji (which are far more rigorous than those of the agreement as interpreted by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel) and enable Gandhiji to break his fast. The Paramount Power has never claimed the right to require the rulers of Indian States to carry out an agreement which they may enter into with private individuals and that, too, in accordance with the interpretation put upon the terms of the agreement by the latter which the rulers concerned do not accept as correct. The case of Rajkot, it is urged, is a special one but it is not evident how it differs from other States. Since the assumption of the sovereignty of India by the British Crown, the Paramount Power has interfered only in the case of extreme and scandalous misgovernment in the States and, in several cases even of gross maladministration and personal misconduct of the rulers, the Paramount Power has abstained in spite of urgent representations to take action to have grievances remedied. More than that, the Government of India have had special laws passed to protect the Princes from criticism, in the teeth of strong opposition in and outside Legislature.

The urgent pressure sought to be put on the Viceroy to coerce the Rajkot ruler in a more or less personal matter, is strange as coming from a party which denounces British Imperialism in season and out of season, because it involves the Paramount Power arrogating to itself a right which it has hitherto disclaimed over the rulers of Indian States. The Viceroy can interfere as the Crown Representative to put a stop to misgovernment in Rajkot. That is clearly within his power and is distinctly his duty. There should first be an enquiry by a Commission unless the Thakore waives his right to have one and prefers to abdicate. As the Thakore has a son and heir living, he will no doubt succeed to the gadi and the Paramount Power may and, no doubt, will help him with its advice in redeeming the State from the effects of the regime of his father. If the Thakore abdicates, his agreement with the Sardar ceases to have force and there is a clean slate to write on. Gandhiji will have no excuse to continue his fast as the Thakore Sahib, the son of his friend, will be out of the picture and he is not bound to his successor by the same ties of personal responsibility. The history of Rajkot itself shows that good government is possible without the forms of responsible government on the British model. The father of the present Thakore was by general admission a great and good administrator. All that is needed is to improve the surroundings of the occupant of the gadi so as to rid it of the deleterious influences which have gathered round it on the demise of the late Thakore Sahib.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As to the fast as a means of effecting a change of heart in another who has done wrong, there is room for much scepticism. If a man can not be convinced by argument that he has done wrong, he is not likely to be converted by his friend starting a fast. At the most he may pretend to agree for fear that his friend may die of starvation. Gandhiji says that he has always found fasting efficacious and cites a few instances from his personal life. Two of these relate to matters of a private character of which outsiders have no knowledge. But his public fasts for Hindu Muslim Unity and the omission of the classification of Harijans as a separate community in the Communal Award, have not achieved their end. Hindus and Muslims are as disunited today as at the time of the famous fast. The Communal Award was no doubt modified but Harijans being registered separately, remains. It was surely no change of heart which dictated the modification by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. Gautama Buddha tried fasting as a means of enlightenment and miserably failed. He was grateful to the village matron, Sujata, who offered him milk and rice taking him to be a Sylvan god. He explained to her that he was only a man seeking the Truth and promised, if he ever found it to remember her who had rescued him from the jaws of death and thus enabled him to continue his search. The Bhagavad Gita also condemns self-torture as demoniacal and declares that moderation is essential in everything, sleep, food, work and relaxation, in those who seek to serve their fellowmen by first emancipating themselves from worldly vanity. Nowadays when everybody is starting a fast when he or she does not get her own way, the experience of Buddha and the precept of the Gita are of inestimable value.

THE GITA: A CRITIQUE.*

Of books on the Bhagavad Gita there is no end. Sankaracharya composed his famous commentary, perhaps, a thousand years ago. There were probably other commentaries before his but they have not come down to us. Sankara's example was followed by the founder of every important Hindu school of philosophy or religious sect. In our own time Telang, M. Rangacharya, and Lokamanya Tilak have contributed to the voluminous literature on the Gita. Gandhiji has not given the world a systematic exposition of his views on the Gita in the shape of a book. But he has, from time to time, published interpretations of passages and has indicated generally his venue of approach to its understanding. Rajagopalacharya has also published a small volume of selections from the Gita. The latest commentary on the Gita is by Mr. P. Narasimham of Madras. It is not so much a commentary as a critique as the author himself calls it. All the commentators before him, with the exception of Telang, treated the Gita as a religious gospel and a manual of devotion. Telang dealt with it from the standpoint of pure scholarship. Narasimham seems concerned to make out that the Gita is a rather over-rated book and that intrinsically there is little in it to merit the reverence in which it is held by Hindus and the high regard expressed for it by foreign scholars and thinkers. The author begins with the rather trite criticism that Sri Krishna could not have set about expounding an elaborate philosophy at the very nick of time when the first shot was about to be fired. "To one unbiassed by tradition," he remarks "the whole Gita episode would appear to be quite artificial." Ruskin in his study of the Greek myths in his "Queen of the Air" has explained the significance of this artificiality in the framing of great mythology. "A myth in its simplest definition," he observes, "is a story with a meaning attached to it, other than it seems to have at first; and the fact that it has such a meaning, is generally marked by some of its circumstances being extraordinary, or by the common use of the word, unnatural." Ruskin illustrates this by the Hercules story and adds: "In nearly every myth of importance, you have to discern these three structural parts—the root and the branches—the root in physical existence, sun or sky or cloud or sea; then the personal incarnation of that; becoming a trusted and companionable deity, with whom you may walk hand in hand, as a child with its brother or its sister; and, lastly, the moral significance of the image, which is in all the great myths eternally and beneficently true." The Gita seems to have been written specifically of the Gods. Does it not? The days are long past when mythology was believed to be the invention of a wicked and designing priesthood to keep the popular mind in subjection to itself. Mythology, it is now recognised, is the scaffolding on which was reared the great edifice of culture and civilisation. The ancient myth-makers had a profound insight into the mysteries of the sub-conscious and were masters of the art of conveying abstruse metaphysical truths in forms easily apprehended by the masses. "Truth embodied in a tale" can enter in at lowly doors which would be otherwise closed to it.

"The value of the Gita lies entirely in the Upanishadic quotations it contains," observes Narasimham. If this is to be taken literally, that the Gita contains only a few quotations taken directly from the Upanishads. If the observation is to be understood as implying that the subject matter of the Gita was borrowed from the Upanishads, where in the Upanishads is to be found the doctrine of the Avatar which is so fully developed in the Gita? Surely this is the central doctrine of the Gita. Mr. Narasimham acknowledges that the declaration in the Gita that the religion which it promulgates is universal, open to all castes and both sexes, marks it as a distinct departure from the old orthodoxy. That declaration flows directly as the consequence of the Avatar doctrine which supersedes the conventions of the sacrificial cult. Not only restrictions of caste and sex, but the whole scheme of sacrificial religion is swept aside with a single sweep. Worship is simplified to the offering of a leaf or flower with a devout heart. Even this is further simplified into the doing of one's duty, nothing else needed. Work is worship.

Mr. Narasimham suggests that the Gita was the work of more than one author and that it has been tampered with for sectarian purposes. Telang in his introduction to his English translation of the Gita, in the Sacred Books of the East series, has fully dealt with both these points. Telang comes with approval the opinion of Schlege and Lassen that we have the text of the Gita now almost exactly in the condition in which it was when it left the author. The author, not authors. Telang himself refers to the question of authorship but does not express a definite opinion on whether there was one or more authors; but he furnishes ample evidence to show that the diction as well as the ideology of the Gita have a distinctiveness and individuality which, if they are not the outcome of a single mind, certainly point to the collaboration of minds closely related to each other in time and thought. Telang assigns a date earlier than the third century B. C. for the composition of the Gita though it is

* Huxley Press. Copies can be had from Lalita Vilas, Book Depot Triplicane, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

impossible to say how much earlier. Jain and Buddhist teachings, with their emphasis on *ahimsa*, were very much in the air in India at the time. The difference between the Nirvana of Buddhism and the Brahma Nirvana of the Gita is not technical. Indeed, the *stitha pragnya*, or integrated mind, of the Gita has been held to point to Gautama Buddha. The attitude of Buddhism and the Gita to the Vedas and to caste is almost identical. Mr. Narasimham has missed the true clue to the significance of the Gita in Indian religious thought by ignoring its relation to Buddhist teachings. The Gita like other great Scriptures suggests lines of thought for those who come after to develop. Instead commentators have taken them to be dogmas and tried to read their own meanings into them. Mr. Narasimham has ventured to depart from convention and that must be counted to his credit.

HINDI, URDU, AND HINDUSTANI.

(By Kopargam Ramamurti, Aska.)

The three names, Hindi, Urdu, and Hindustani, are of late very much to the fore in the public eye. A good deal of acute sentiment, kindly as well as hostile, has also gathered round them ever since the Indian National Congress, more especially the Congress Ministry in Madras, undertook to advance the claims of Hindustani to become the *lingua franca* of India. But some even among the controversialists do not seem to have succeeded yet in making clear to themselves whether these three names stand for a single language, or for two, or for three distinct languages fundamentally different from one another, or for three differently coloured off-shoots of the same root language and whether such language is foreign or native to the Indian soil.

The question has become somewhat complicated and unhappy in South India, through the sudden uprising of an implacable Dravidian patriotism from the shoulders of the old non-Brahmin communalism which was allowed to rule the Madras Province for about fifteen years without serious opposition but was lately defeated at the polls by the nationalistic forces that had shunned office till then. To the fastidious Dravidian patriot of the present day, not only the long discredited Brahman but even the hitherto despised Sanskrit language are as gall and wormwood, both being regarded alike as the unholy instruments of Aryan imperialism, which enslaved the cultured children of the soil since Rama's time and robbed them of their most precious and ancient heritage of self-respect. Hindi, with its Devanagari alphabet and heavily sanscritised literature, which glorifies through every page of Tulsidas the destruction of the magnificient Dravidian civilisation of old that had attained its zenith under the enlightened rule of their mighty indigenous King Ravana, is thus more than double-dyed in their eyes with the hated colours of Aryanism which must be combated at any cost. The war-cry has, therefore, gone forth against the instruction of Hindi in the schools even on a lower footing than the Dravidian vernacular, and a declaration has also been circulated that "Hindusthani" is a mere invention of the Congress brain, having no recognisable existence in fact as the name of any human language. Urdu, of course, with its Semitic script and phraseology, is obviously a foreign language, to be favoured only by Muhammadans.

Subject to correction, however, the Congress view may perhaps be stated to be that there is, as a matter of fact, underlying the Hindi as well as the Urdu tongues, and giving a common substance and texture to both, a native language of India with a vocabulary and grammatical structure of its own and capable of functioning by itself. This basic tongue, together with such words, phrases and idioms, whether Sanscritic, Persian or Arabic, as have, by unquestioned and habitual use by Moslems as well as Hindus through many years, become part and parcel of both Hindi and Urdu alike, is what is to be officially recognised as 'Hindusthani' hereafter for national purposes, leaving each student and citizen free to implement it in writing with whatever script may appeal to his taste and sentiment, whether it be Devanagari or Persian, Arabic or Roman. To this end, it is said, Moslem scholars and Hindu scholars are to collaborate with equal voice to usher in a new dictionary of 'Hindusthani' acceptable to both communities. It is even reported that a Moslem Congressman, Moulvi Abdul Haq Saheb, has already produced one such dictionary, taking all the Urdu words found in the Benares Hindi Lexicon and all Hindi words found in the Osmania Lexicon of Hyderabad, and that Gandhiji has already recommended it to the Congress, suggesting also a mixed Board for further selection or coining of necessary words. (*Harijan* of 28th January 1939).

It does not, however, require a keen Congress mentality, or a profound scholarship in either language to grasp the outstanding fact that Hindi, as spoken and written by Hindus at the present day, is not merely Sanscritic but contains hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Persian and Arabic words in its composition. Similarly, the Urdu spoken and written by Indian Moslems is not made up entirely of Persian and Arabic words but possesses a substantial admixture of Sanscrit vocabulary and a grammatical framework of the same indigenous patent as that of Hindi. And whatever some of our Dravidian brothren near about Adam's Bridge may say out of sheer 'self-respect,' such of their kinsmen as are born and bred up in the northern districts of the Madras Province cannot so easily gulp the theory and acquire the conviction that 'Hindustani' is a modern political invention of the Gandhian era. It is, in fact, impossible for them to forget that long before any of them came to hear of the existence of any such names as Hindi, Urdu or Gandhi, they had already learnt at their mother's knee to identify as "Hindusthani" the forceful controversial utterances of the bearded Muhammadan gentry of one's neighbourhood and the frightful jargon of the bearded and mat-haired Hindu Sadhus who thrust themselves at every door demanding alms with impudent authority, as well as the spirited and entrancing melodies sung in unison along the streets by male and female wandering mendicants from Upper India.

There are fortunately more authentic and demonstrable proofs than one's own childhood experiences in favour of the existence of a quite recognisable and long recognised language known as 'Hindusthani' in this country. Munshi Mir Amman of Delhi, a learned Oriental scholar attached to the college at Fort William in Calcutta about 150 years ago, has left for us in his preface to the famous Bagh-O-Bahar, a prespicuous account of the Hindusthani which grew in Mahammadan times out of the native "Bhakha" of the ancient Hindu kingdom of Delhi that is still found spoken in its original purity and softness around Agra and Muttra and thereabouts. He first tells us how the high Government officials of his time, having imbibed a taste for science and learning, percieved that by acquiring "the Urdu tongue" they might converse with Hindusthanis and transact more perfectly the affairs of the country. He then narrates how the excellent

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and liberal gentleman Dr. John Gilchrist (who was the first to display the Hindusthani language correctly to his countrymen and to teach them to appreciate its merits and acquired its construction and took the trouble to prepare an Urdu-grammar himself for that purpose), very kindly commissioned him to put the Persian tale of the Four Fakirs into "the pure Hindusthani tongue" which is described in the same breath as "the tongue which the *Urdu* people, both Hindus and Musalmans, men and women, boys and girls, speak to each other." And he naively adds that he produced the *Hindusthani* version as desired by his patron "in the colloquial style of the *Urdu*."

It is thus clear that the terms "Hindustani" and "Urdu" were viewed and used by the old scholars of long ago as freely interchangeable both connoting the same thing, namely, the language of Hindusthan spoken by Hindus and Musalmans alike in and out of their homes including their women and children; all the people being equally known as Hindusthanis or "Urdu-ke-log," irrespective of their religion and race.

The venerable author Mir Amman, than whom there is no higher authority on the subject (as we are assured by his admiring contemporary, Lewis Ferdinand Smith, who was long resident at the Court of the then Nawab of Oudh in Lucknow before he joined the British Embassy to the Court of Persia), next proceeds to explain the name and history of the Urdu tongue as he heard it from his ancestors: During the various invasions of Mahamood Gazni and the comings and goings of successive Moslem rulers after him about a thousand years ago, the native language of the Old Delhi kingdom of the Hindus, which had been founded in the remotest antiquity, became a mixture of Hindu and Mahammadan tongues. From the subsequent coming and stay of the Mogal Amir Taimoor, the Bazar of his camp was settled in the City; for which reason, the Bazar of the City was called "Urdu" which originally meant a camp. In the time of his famous descendant, the Emperor Akbar, all tribes and castes of people from all the countries around, flocked to his Court; and though the tongue of each was different, yet by being assembled together they used to traffic and do business and converse with each other. From this mixture of tongues arose the Urdu, the language of the Bazar. When the Emperor Shah Jahan built the Fort and the Walls of the City and made the New City his capital, he named the Bazar of the New City the "Urdu-e-Mualla" or Great Bazar. From the time of Amir Taimoor until the reign of Alamgir II, the Urdu language received repeated polish till it was so refined that the language of no other City could be compared to it. And so it remained, but without appreciation for a long period after the Empire decayed; till at last the learned, acute and profound Dr. John Gilchrist from his own judgment, genius, labour and research, composed books of rules to acquire it. From this cause, the language of Hindusthan became general throughout the country and was polished anew.

As long as a century ago, the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, being "well aware how inefficiently their various employees in India must perform their duties without a knowledge of the language of the people" sent positive instructions to the Local Governments to the effect that all their junior officers, military and medical, must henceforth pass an examination in "Hindusthani." A G. O. dated 9th January 1837, which was incorporated later, in 1844, into the permanent General Orders on this subject, prescribed that the candidates shall be required to read and write the language correctly both in the Devnagari and the Persian characters; and further to make an intelligent and accurate written translation into Hindusthani, of an English passage in an easy narrative style; this translation to be written in a legible hand in both the Persian and Devanagari characters. Besides this, the Examiners were also enjoined not to grant a certificate of competency to any candidate without testing his proficiency in a colloquial knowledge of Hindusthani, "this being deemed an object of primary importance."

There may be room for honest difference of opinion as to the expediency of burdening the curriculum of young school-children, if it is already too heavy and unadjustable, with another compulsory language besides English and their mother tongue. But there can concievably be no excuse for acrimony and communal ill-feeling in respect of it, either between Hindus and Hindus or between Hindus and Mahammadans. Dr. Duncan Forbes, Professor of Oriental languages and Literature in King's College, London, who did yeomen service to India by implementing, with his helpful guide books and other publications in Hindi and Urdu and Roman, the enlightened governmental policy of the Court of Directors as above outlined, recommended "Hindusthani" to his countrymen whole-heartedly as "the most useful of all the languages spoken in our eastern Empire," and exhorted them untiringly to attain sufficient proficiency in this entirely foreign tongue "to converse in it with fluency and compose in it with accuracy," that their services may be more efficient and acceptable to the strangers whom they set out to govern. Surely, no Minister of an Indian Province can with justice be blamed, far less pursued with rancorous hatred, if, besides promoting the interests of the local vernaculars, he seeks also to imbue the rising generation of Indian children, now qualifying in the Schools for future citizenship and service to their own country, with the consciousness and a working knowledge of an all-India mother-tongue, and chooses for that high and natural destiny the well-tried, widely esteemed, elegant and powerful language of Hindusthan, the heart and seat of Indian Empire through all vicissitudes and under every race of rulers since Mahabharatic times!

THE SALVATION ARMY SUPPORTS PROHIBITION.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I read with keen interest your remarks in the *Reformer* of the Congress Government's efforts toward Prohibition, and have noticed the remarks about Europeans and their attitude towards the Drink Problem. May I respectfully point out to you that all Salvation Army Officers in all parts of the world, members and adherants must sign and promise not to taste or handle any intoxicated drink of any description? Apart from this all the Officers in the Salvation Army must be non-smokers. I mention this to make the position of the Salvation Army clear to you as to our attitude. We are, therefore, with the Congress Government in seeking to achieve success throughout the Presidency as far as Prohibition is concerned.

I may say I look forward to the *Social Reformer* coming each week, and read its contents with great interest.

Yours etc.,
STEPHEN J. SEAGER
Brigadier
Chief Secretary.

Bombay,
February 28, 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

DISCIPLINE AND THE CONGRESS.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

Varied criticisms are often levelled against the Congress. It is adopting methods of Fascism; it suffers from Muslimphobia and always extends a favoured-wife treatment towards that community, regardless of what injustice is done to others as a consequence; while condemning bureaucracy it is itself tending to be bureaucratic; and so on, and so forth. I shall not go into them, for opinions may naturally differ thereon. I shall, however, refer here to a principle of propriety and discipline ordinarily observed in all good organizations and administrations but which is at times given a go-by by the Congress, namely, the priniciple of not encouraging subordinates to defy and over-ride their immediate superiors and negotiate with higher authorities behind their back. A significant breach of this principle by the Congress occured rather recently, and as such breaches may occur again it is worth while recalling it.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sircar, the Finance Member of the Government of Bengal, not long ago paid some visits to the Congress leaders at Wardha and Bombay, presumably, as it was understood, for discussing the possibility of a Coalition Ministry in Bengal. I am not interested in the various speculations, that were set on foot in political circles by those visits at the time and that have not died yet, as to what card that gentleman of high ambition and piercing vision had in his mind to play. I am only concerned with the principle referred to above that was not observed by the Congress in his case.

Mr. Sircar was originally a leading member of the Bengal Congress, and he was elected to the Bengal Assembly on the Congress ticket. But after his election, he joined the Bengal Ministry discarding allegiance to the Congress and in spite of the latter's warning. A lengthy and open correspondence followed between him on the one side and Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose on the other, but it left the position and action of Mr. Sircar unexplained and unjustified. The matter naturally and logically ended in the Bengal Congress Committee taking disciplinary action against Mr. Sircar, who was debarred from membership in the Congress for a period of twenty years and was placed under other consequential disqualifications.

After such open defiance of the Congress it was scarcely supposed that Mr. Sircar would again negotiate with the Congress. Whether he did so because of an apprehension of the growing strength of the Congress, or because of an intelligent anticipation of a break-up of the present Bengal Ministry as a result of its increasing unpopularity, might well be left to speculation. What is to be considered is, that it was proper for the Congress leaders to let, and by so letting encourage, an open defier of a Provincial Executive ignore and go over the head of his provincial authority, to which he had been consciously guilty, and seek to cultivate important and meaningful contacts with superior authorities. Such encouragement involves an impor- tant principle of organisational discipline and propriety, and in the absence of Congress leaders making up their mind on it, it is bound to lead to disregarding of the authority of sub-organizations and dangerous damage of their prestige and influence. It would virtually mean that, when it suited the immediate interests of an ambitious man, he could with impunity defy the organisation to which he was subject and, after attaining his object and securing personal advantage and influence, he might, whenever he found it advantageous to turn back or whenever he thought that it was unprofitable or even dangerous to continue on his new track, approach superior bodies, as if he had done nothing and get reconciled to them at the back of those properly authorised to deal with him and control his activities. The position of branch organizations will in such way become impossible, and their authority reduced to impotency.

In the case of Mr. Sircar, therefore, one would have naturally expected the Congress leaders to have told him clearly and in a few words to go and square up his accounts with his Provincial Committee before raising side-issues like coalition ministry, release of political prisoners, etc., questions over which his Provincial Headquarters was as competent to deliberate.

It may be further noted here that the Congress High Command have taken a serious view of the indiscipline and of what may also be described as errors of judgment or as hasty and impulsive doings of Mr. Nariman and of Dr. Khare. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sircar's offence has been of a far more serious character. While the Bombay and Nagpur leaders did not, at any rate, go over to the other side, Mr. Sircar not only deserted his party after his election to the Assembly, but is said to have been chiefly instrumental in forming and stabilising the Bengal Ministry in open defiance of the Congress and in utter disregard of its warnings. Any indulgence or weakness shown by the High Command towards him would, therefore, amount to serious violation of the above-mentioned principle of not letting people over-ride their immediate superiors and negotiate matters over their heads, a principle necessarily observed in all good administrations and governments.

HINDU MARRIAGE AND STRIDHANA—II.

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar, Madras.)

With the disappearance of post-puberty marriage as a consequence of foreign hordes and armies conquering Indian states and carrying away the women of the conquered or marrying them and settling in the land, the Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paisacha forms also disappeared. And to this the Buddhist attraction of women to mutts and nunneries. The population was depleted of its women. Young girls of the ages of seven to twelve came to be hastily married and appropriated beforehand. A premium was thus given to the original principle of patria potestas of the father over the children. Brides came to be freely bought and sold, even as slaves of old and cattle and chattel, for huge sums of money.

Such brides were declared by sages of Aryan predilictions to be unfit to be associated in sacrifices to the Gods and Pitris or ancestors' *manes*. They could not be deemed wives but only slaves or concubines. The Asura form of marriage was tabooed as being but a sale of human flesh unknown to ages gone by. But sages of Dravidian or non-Aryan sympathies derided the Aryan and Vedic marriage in the Brahma and other approved forms and protested that a bride-purchase and bride-gifts stood on the same pedestal, as both equally dealt with her as if she were no sacred human being of free Aryan pretensions. It was argued that the Arsha-bride was taken in exchange for a couple of cloths or heads of cattle of smaller or greater value; and all the same it was only a sort of sale to the extent of their worth or value.

Necessarily, then, the law was re-stated that marriage was not complete immediately on the 'gift' or delivery of the bride with the pouring of water but only subsequently on the occasion of *pani-grahana* or clasping of hands, mantras, Saptapadi or seven-steps, homam, nuptials, pregnancy or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

birth of a child or two. So broad was the latitude given for remarriage of women, that sooner or later Yama finally fixed the irrevocable completion of marriage and of the transfer of the bride from the father's to her husband's gotra or family for all purposes of funerals, pollution, sraddha, etc., precisely at the point of time of "panigrahana," "Saptapadi," and "Seshahoma," all of which might be performed on the same or different days.

Now the quewtion arises whether, after emphasis had been so laid on the panigrahana-mantra and *homa* for the final and irrevocable step in completion of marriage, the so-called gift for gift's sake, or by way of reward or remuneration at sacrifices, or by way of inviolable stipulation of constant co-operation, or again gift as a token or farce of valuable consideration, in the four higher forms still maintained its original character of gift pure and simple, or grew into different shades of meaning.

All the four gifts cannot evidently be of the same kind. Before the disappearance of all of them except the first, after inter-caste marriages went out of vogue, it was clearly apprehended that 'gift' was not the right word to apply to all or to any of four higher forms also as well as of the rest as the patria potestas did not carry with it the unrestricted disposal of the daughter's person in marriage even as a son's in adoption; that both the son's and the daughter's disposals were only for purpose of Dharma or maintenance and spread of Aryan Law, and that adoption or marriage was only effected and completed by the Aryan or Vedic mantras and sacraments and none else. All roads only led to Rome. All the eight forms of marriage only led to a valid conclusion thereof on the occasion of observance of marriage mantra and homa. And 'gift' meant that of only 'custody in law' and not of dominion or ownership of the person of the girl or boy whether in marriage or adoption. The custody is that of a natural or legal guardian of the minor for purpose of care-taking, protection and education of the minor.

If the Rakshasa, Asura, Gandharva or Brahma instances of marriage persist at all now, they do so in mere form in the prior stages leading to the final conclusion thereof by means of sacramental or customary ceremonies. And the custody carries with it willing consent to its delivery or actual parting with, which is even now so essential in the case of minors, in any matter affecting them. Thus Dharmic or legal marriage has truly and rightly transcended the compartmental limits or limitations of the eight forms of the early times. The latter forms are now no part or factor of marriage and have been so ever since though not rightly understood by jurists and commentators or even by our British Courts.

Now what is the true nature of a Hindu Marriage? It is of a rather composite nature in a majority of cases, at least in South India, whether among Brahmins or non-Brahmins. Very poor parties who cannot afford it, may adopt the transcendent form merely and simply with or without a sense of social-reform and economy. But the rest of the people do spend a lot which, on a shrewd examination into details of expenditure, would show that the marriage gone through is of a composite type notwithstanding all talk to the contrary. The "nischitartham" or betrothal is never done without some money, jewels and costly cloths for the bride which reminds us of the ancient pariyam, parisam or bride-price in Asura. It has been renamed in several cases as "pal-coolie" or milk remuneration given to the bride's mother or father, if the mother is no more. The Gandharva form is discernible in the exchange of garlands and rings and joyous 'oonjal' or rocking together in the swing. The procession of the bridal pair almost at the conclusion of the marriage coupled with a presentation to the bridegroom of a gold or silver or other article as if in appreciation of a clever kidnapping of the bride, reminds us of the Rakshasa type of marriage. The sleeping together of the bridal pair for one to three nights near the sacred fire and tender shoots of the Palika-grains is perhaps in memory of the much maligned Paisacha kind. The gift of cloths with or without cows to the bride's parents on the heels of, and immediately after, delivery of the hands of the girl into those of the bridegroom cannot be anything short of imitation of the Arsha form. The recital of the famous verse from the Ramayana, "This Sita, my daughter is now your life-companion in all acts of Dharma. Receive her for your welfare; and take her hand in your own," is in essence of the Prajapatya marriage. The giving itself might look as if it were the gift of a slave or animal or other chattel. This is of Brahma character. And, lastly, the father asks the bridegroom to perform the pleasant function of the only Mantra Samskara for his dear daughter before the sacred fire, the only one allowed to women in general. And this Daiva element in the marriage function is soon followed as in all sacrifices by distribution of Dakshina or money to the Brahmins present on the occasion. Thus it is seen that the present-day marriage of a Hindu is wholly of a composite character embodying, in essential particulars or details of almost invariable procedure all the typical and distinguishing characteristics of every form of ancient marriages of Vedic and post-Vedic times.

In the light of the above discussion it would be clear that the so-called 'gift' did not mean gift of person of the girl, but at most only gift of its custody, if she be a minor, for purposes of care-taking, etc. Much less could it mean gift of all the jewels upon her person. They are primarily intended or presumed to be for her own personal decoration and temporary or permanent alienation in an urgent necessity. The husband could not lay his hand upon them even in days of yore without a reasonable expectation of restoring them to her after tiding over his distress demanding their pledge or sale. Such being the case, it is the intention of the girl's parents that should determine the devolution of Stridhana provided for her personal and peculiar purposes apart from her husband's. If she die leaving issue, then her daughters would be gladly allowed by her parents to take it; failing them or their female issue, their brothers, if any, would be prefered before her parents or brothers or sisters could think of taking the Stridhana. If none be available, then the husband has to come in and take it. But if the same be endowed upon her by her husband or his family-relations, then their reversion on failure of her issue should not be allowed to be affected by her parents' or brothers' or sisters' claims. This is the basis and reason of Stridhana succession even in olden times. And there is no reason why this should be departed from in these modern times when women's rights are improving all round at the hands of our legislatures, in their own and in their husband's property in divorce, and in remarriage. In other words a woman's stridhana endowed by parent or husband is mainly meant for herself and her issue; and on failure of both, whoever contributed towards it should get it back, as the object in view fails. It is preposterous for the husband to lay claim and knock away what was not meant for him in the least under cover of plea that his marriage was in the Brahma form. Similarly parents should not be allowed to lay hands upon what had been by him or his

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

family endowed upon his wife under cover of plea of Asura or other inferior form of marriage. All such tricks are being every day tried in and out of court in all cases of wife's death without issue. The so-called Brahma and Asura pleas must be ruled out as being out of tune with the times besides being false in law and fact. Both the pleas are at once untenable and absurd, if not nefarious, dishonest and despicable altogether. In poorer families a much better state of things exist, and honour and peace obtain and endure.

A PRIMROSE PATH TO FREEDOM.*

(By J. Chinna Durai, London.)

India's political conscience is keenly awake. In fact it has been so for some years now. The leaders of India have at various times adopted one method or another with a view to obtain their cherished object, namely, complete *Swaraj* for India. Civil disobedience, non-co-operation, strikes accompanied by violent speeches and press propaganda have all been tried one after another and all that they have so far achieved for India, is the attainment of a sort of constitution far short of Dominion Status with no prospect of any improvement in her political status for perhaps some years to come. In this article I propose to suggest a new method which if adopted will, in my opinion, result in India attaining complete independence in the near future without the exchange of a single shot.

I have watched Europe at close quarters for nearly fifteen years now. I have been in the thick of its social and political life, particularly in England, and I may say, without exaggeration, that the most salient feature in European life is Sport. No matter how deep the depression, and, however grave the crisis, Europe refuses to go in sack-cloth and ashes. Even if the end of the world is predicted for the morrow, the love of sport is so deeply ingrained in the Englishman, I could easily picture him going to his doom either dancing or with a tennis racket in his hand. If you will pick up any European newspaper at random, you would notice that sixty per cent of the news is about sports and the rest devoted to a thousand and one other matters in which politics occupy only a fraction of attention. Even during the grave crisis of last September the newspapers devoted more space to sports items than the crisis itself. In fact, the strength of a nation in Europe is judged not so much according to the amount of arms or armaments it possesses—for they all have got them in an equal measure—but according to its achievements in the World of Sports. For instance, the International Lawn Tennis Federation in Paris the various Lawn Tennis Associations of the world are entitled to the following number of votes: Australia, France, Germany, Great Britain and the United States of America—12 votes each: Canada, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Japan, New Zealand and South Africa—9 votes each: Belgium, Denmark, Netherlands, Poland and Switzerland—7 votes each: Argentine, Egypt, Finland, Greece, Hungary, India, Iceland, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Yugoslavia—5 votes each. The assignment of the votes, it will be observed, is regulated not according to the size of the various countries but according to the merits of their respective achievements in Lawn Tennis.

And this is where I come to my point. If India can at any time win the Davis Cup or produce a champion who might win the Singles Title at Wimbledon, the number of votes she would be entitled to will be raised to the same level as that of Britain or America. Once India's civic rights in the sporting world are equal to those of the strongest nations in the world, it would constitute the strongest argument for India's complete emancipation in the political world, for judged by the recognised European standards of strength, India would then be a strong nation and the absurdity of Britain holding down India politically on the ground of her unfitness would stand revealed in all its nakedness before the foremost nations of the world and Britain will be obliged to find other arguments for subjugating India which will not be easy, as it is now common ground that the political and intellectual sense of India is as good as that of any other nation. It is for this reason, I would strongly advocate that India develops her sports to such a state of excellence that all the nations of the world, whether they like it or not, will be obliged not only to look up to her with respect and admiration but also seek her guidance and leadership in a manner that will automatically proclaim to the world the ridiculousness of any country dominating over her and dictating to her eternally what she ought to do and what she ought not to do. Political speeches of Indian leaders, however logical and fiery they may be, and the rare flashes of the intellectual exhibitions of India's *Intelligentsia* in the field of arts and science, do not cut much ice in England as they are only put down as the barking of a dog that can never bite, or the mania of an ascetic in pursuit of a pet hobby. What is wanted to impress on the English mind the power and superiority of India is some practical achievements in open physical competitions with Europe and it is for this reason, while I appreciate the political services of Gokale, Gandhi and Nehru in the cause of India, I appreciate even more the sporting services rendered in raising the prestige of India in the eyes of the world by such stalwart sportsmen as Ranjit Singh Duleepsinghji the Nawab of Pataudi and the Polo, Hockey, Cricket and Davis Cup teams of India. In short, argue with an Englishman and you will find he has no patience to lisren to you; but beat him in sports and you will find his respect for you almost amounts to worship.

In conclusion, may I urge, seeing that efficiency in sports is so inter-linked with the ultimate welfare of India, that India participates in the Olmypic Game and the Davis Cup and other international matches regularly. The Indian Government should make it a point to help financially the All India Lawn Tennis Association, and the Polo, Cricket, Hockey and Football teams in every way they can with a view to finding new talents that will one day carry everything before them and help India to hoist her flag right in the heart of Europe. I can prophesy that if the progress of Indian tennis is maintained as it is now and if young players are afforded facilities to compete in Europe every year, India will in the course of five years be the envy and the talk of the world, for by them she would have won the much coveted Davis Cup. My prophecy is something to reckon because when F. J. Perry was quite an obscure player I told him most seriously that if he kept it up he would one day be the champion of the world, and lo and behold it happened. I was very struck with the performance of the Indian Davis Cup team last year and although they did not make great head way owing to lack of experience of the western conditions, I could see they have the necessary knack and stamina to

* Mr. Chinna Durai is Foreign Secretary of All India Lawn Tennis Association and Councillor of L. T. A.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

become world beaters, and in Ghaus Mohammed particularly India possesses a man who can be expected to spring the biggest surprise in Europe one of these days. I have dwelt on tennis at length because as the elected Foreign Secretary of the All India Lawn Tennis Association I am primarily concerned with tennis but my observations apply equally to field games, and Indian athletes must be sorted out with the financial aid of the Indian Government and trained systematically so that they can hold their own in the Olympic Games, that the world may look up to them as the finest specimen of India's manhood, whose body and soul will not tolerate any shackles in the shape of political serfdom. For a self-governing India—strength of character, strength of purpose, and stern discipline—the necessary attributes of a sound mind in a sound body are very essential and for this reason my final suggestion to the Indian Government is to introduce state-aided physical culture on a wide-scale all over India for both men and women (not confined to schools and colleges alone) which will be the prelude to the birth of a mighty India, which in full consciousness of her strength can go forward and take what she wants instead of always having to beg for what she wants.

Besides unity is strength and India's greatest obstacle to the achievement of such a unity among her various communities has always been her intricate racial, religious and communal difficulties. The predominant political party in India—the Congres—cherished the hope that the panacea for this evil consisted in making every citizen of Indian embrace its political faith. This hope, however, has failed to materialise, because in spite of the fact that Congress has been in power, political and racial differences still continue in an acute manner, often culminating in riots between Moslems and Hindus. The latest news is that even among the Congress party—at one time thought united to a man—a serious split has now occurred, which makes the already divided India, more divided. In these circumstances it seems to me that the one and only way to unify India is through the medium of Sports, which will inculcate in every Indian the spirit of give and take, tolerance, self-sacrifice and unselfishness—virtues in fact that will kill the distinction between a high caste and an untouchable and insure fairplay for all. My mind gees back to my college days in 1914 when I captained the Salem College Football XI which consisted of men drawn from various communities, professing different faiths in politics and religion. The team was made up of Mohammedans, Brahmins, Non-Brahmins, Untouchables and Christians and yet we pulled together in perfect unison, winning match after match as we went along. Sports alone—the greatest leveller of all beings—could have achieved that miracle and I therefore say with all sincerity that the salvation of India rests not with any particular political party but in the general adoption of healthy sports throughout the length and breadth of India whereby unity which leads to strength and strength which will ultimately lead to the moral, social and political uplift of India can be achieved.

THE PROBLEM OF THE STATES.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Your leader on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian States, the Viceroy's speech at Jaipur and Sir Shanmugham's defence of the Maharajahs, all give rise in me to the reflection that, if those who counted had paid more heed to the ideas adumbrated by me ten years ago, a great deal of the present confusion would have been avoided. There is scarcely a difficulty which is now agitating the public mind which was not foreseen in those articles.

I wish I could convince you that Self-Government for British India *only* could be (as I wrote) only a glorified form of local Self-Government, because Defence and Foreign Affairs would be necessarily separated, seeing that there is no political or ethical justification for putting the States under a Government of which they form no part; and hence the Treaties concerning Defence would work against giving real autonomy to India.

If this is admitted, the next idea is and was to *fit* the States for joining the Federation. I gave up majority government as voting would be communal, but advocated freedom being given to States to try experiments with elastic constitutions (precisely what the Viceroy says now) but, insisted on independence of the judiciary, and freedom of association and of speech being established at once. The point which all missed, was that Gandhiji had brought about a state of 'peaceful war' which justified under international law the revision or 'sublimation' of treaties for the greater good of the people. Instead of implementing this very sound notion, the States were permitted to spend a crore of rupees for getting legal opinion (lawyers must live) to prove the manifestly absurd proposition that the States are independent soveignties.

Even today, if peace is to accrue, the Viceroy in addition to advice, must insist on this being done. The number 600, however, is too large. Some method of reducing the number has to be thought of. It is no use simply condemning Pandit Nehru. It seems to me that there is not likely to be any second mutiny even if several of the tiny States are amalgamated with British India; and some are joined with other States, if that is possible. The new wine of democracy has spread even among the masses, and Princes are not now regarded as sacrosanct, any more than priests and Mahants.

They are, nevertheless, held in the highest regard, and their quality of non-communalism is a very great asset, which, as Sir Shanmugham says, could be made use of.

I am all in favour of giving more encouragement to the Panchayat idea in government in which minorities are persuaded and not coerced. I had developed this at great length in my articles. The only drawback is lack of *momentum*, which a Party would have, but when the Party is likely to be more Communal than national, lack of momentum seems the lesser evil.

I hope that the Tripuri Congress will not adopt the younger (or older ?) Bose's proposition of ultimatums and of treaty between Congress and the British Cabinet. That is the way to ruin, as Moslems and the Princes would fight against it.

A meeting between the Viceroy and a few leading Indians, the fewer the better but representing important sections of power politics seems desirable—but how to form a party for the realization of peaceful and progressive ideas for the consolidation of India, and its Defence in these most unsettled times, I have not the faintest notion of at present.

We have to recognize that the 'Liberal' notions under which we gret up are no longer in vogue, and must try to make the best use of the present temper of the people.

Yours etc.,
K. CHANDY

Kottayam.
March 3 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati	(District Poona).	Viramgam	(District Ahmedabad).
Islampur	(District Satara).	Dhulia	(District West Khandesh).
Karad	(„ „).	Dondaicha	(„ „).
Tasgaon	(„ „).	Nandurbar	(„ „).
Satara	(„ „).	Shirpur	(„ „).
Kirloskarwadi	(„ „).	Shahada	(„ „).
Shirala	(„ „).	Sakri	(„ „).
Koregaon	(„ „).	Sindkheda	(„ „).
Wai	(„ „).	Taloda	(„ „).
Kopergaon	(District Ahmednagar).	Malegaon	(„ „).
Shevgaon	(„ „).	Satara	(District Nasik).
Ahmednagar	(„ „).	Kalwan	(„ „).
Bhiwandi	(District Thana).	Dohad	(„ „).
Palghar	(„ „).	Kalol	(District Panch Mahals).
Kalyan	(„ „).		
Akluj	(District Sholapur).		

DIRECTORS

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer period are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balance not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad. Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol. Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S, C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Agents.

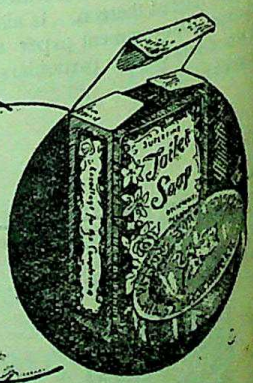
Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate

2-26 Bombay.



For **BEAUTY SEEKERS**

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy leather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort. Fortnightly.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY MARCH 4, 1939. No. 27

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will no excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

The Urban Tax.
Prohibition Problems.
Panis and Prohibition.
A Temperance Colony in Hyderabad.
Religious Education in School.
Confessions of Pandit Nehru.
Mr. Subhas Bose on Spain.
A Sad Mistake.
The Political Goal.
The War in Spain.
India and Responsible Government.
The Congress Presidential Election and After.
Hindu Marriage and Stridhana—I.
Rabindranath Tagore on his Work.
Thinking with Spinoza.
Fascism, Socialism, Communism and New Deal.
Province and Presidency.

NOTES.

The Urban Tax :—As a concession to the opposition voiced against his new taxation measures, Mr. A. B. Latthe announced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly a modification of the original plan. At a sacrifice of Rs. 17,10,000 the Finance Minister announced the changes he proposed in the tax on immoveable urban property. The original scale was a flat 10 per cent levied on property in Bombay City and suburbs and in Ahmedabad. We had suggested a graduated scale of taxation as more equitable. In the course of the debate Mr. Latthe explained the difficulties of grading the tax. The Central Government, he said, would claim the revenue as income tax if there were more than two or at most three divisions. Therefore, he proposed as the limit of concession a five per cent tax on property of the annual letting value of Rs. 2,000 and under, and the original 10 per cent on property above Rs. 2,000, for Bombay City. The rates in the suburbs and Ahmedabad would be adjusted accordingly after the peculiar conditions of these places had been examined by Government. The suburbs, it must be borne in mind, have by their distance from the city to bear the extra burden of transport charges. It is in the suburbs as well that co operative housing schemes have been developed in recent years, not only for the middle classes but for backward communities as well. Mr. A. M. K. Dehlavi in suggesting a limit of Rs. 3,000 for the city and Rs. 1,500 for the suburbs was doubtless arguing on the premise that suburban residents are the wealthier sections of the community. But the premise is out of date. It would be but fair if the same principle of modification is extended to the other areas as well as to Bombay City. Mr. Latthe's concessions, however, should, taken as a whole, satisfy reasonable objectors to his taxation scheme. The policy of Prohibition is to that extent ushered in under more favourable conditions.

Prohibition Problems :—There are two suggestions which we have to offer to smooth the path of Prohibition not only in this province but throughout the country. The danger to the cause is not, as has been mistakenly pointed out, that of bootlegging and illicit distillation. We believe that the difficulties of enforcing the law will be small in India compared to those experienced by Western countries. In this connection the veteran Prohibition worker, the Rev. J. F. Edwards, has in a telling article in the *Dnyanodaya* refuted the propagandist theory that lawlessness grew in the U. S. A. after the introduction of Prohibition. The people of this country are law-abiding by nature and the public feeling is in favour of Prohibition. These are important aids to the Government and but for them the Kher Ministry, we are sure, would not have risked the attempt at enforcement. What is more to be feared is an impression carefully fostered by anti-Prohibition agitators that the whole of the Congress organisation is not behind the policy. A Congress Government will find it difficult to meet the subtle and insinuating charge that it is prevented from putting its policy into effect by lack of support within its own party. It is important, therefore, that the party insist upon a pledge of abstinence, at the very least, to be taken by every Congressman and woman. We would go even further. Not only a pledge of abstinence but an added clause to further the cause of Prohibition. We had urged a year ago that such a pledge was necessary if the public were to rely on the sincerity of Congress Governments in regard to Prohibition. Now the question of sincerity is no longer in doubt. The need for strengthening the hands of provincial Governments in their enforcement of Prohibition calls for this measure. There ought to be no difficulty in doing so. The other suggestion relates to funds. The new taxation is meant to cover loss of revenue and to provide for preventive measures only. We would be glad to see a voluntary Prohibition Fund set on foot by the Government. There are many individuals who welcome the reform. They would like to feel that they can help in furthering the cause by some contribution to a fund of this nature. At the outset, we admit, the amount so collected will be small but, as people begin to appreciate and to benefit directly by the policy, they will be increasingly

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

willing to give. This money would be earmarked for constructive work—the provision of places of recreation and refreshment. It is essential in putting through a reform like Prohibition, that as many people as possible be brought into the scheme. When every one feels not so much that he has been taxed for Prohibition but that he has voluntarily assisted in bringing it about, the measure of success will be complete.

Parsis and Prohibition :—We can not think of a more misguided agitation than that which has been started to oppose Prohibition as detrimental to the Parsi community. The implied identification of Parsi interests with the drink traffic is not complimentary to the community nor is it true to facts. The Parsis owe their pre-eminence to their industry, enterprise, broad-minded philanthropy and well-ordered social and family life. These qualities will ensure their success under all conditions. That a number of them became associated in the past with the drink trade is due to the fact that their Hindu and Muslim fellow-countrymen were debarred by religious scruple from handling it. It does not follow, as one of the Parsi members asserted at the Municipal Corporation on Monday, that the Zoroastrian religion looked with more favour on the drink habit than other religions. It is true that there is no express prohibition of drink in the Zoroastrian scriptures as in the Koran or in the Code of Manu, but the whole trend of the teaching of the Persian Prophet with its constant insistence on purity of word, thought and deed, is patently opposed to indulgence in intoxicating drinks and drugs. The obvious explanation of the absence of specific prohibition is that the habit was not prevalent, not at any rate, to such an extent as to call for denunciation by the Prophet in his society and in his time. The evil had attained grievous dimensions in India and Arabia and therefore it had to be expressly denounced by Indian and Arabian law-givers. The great majority of middle class Parsis (and the Parsis are an almost exclusively middle class community) are abstainers from drink like middle class Hindus and Muslims. It is the very wealthy and the very poor who are addicted to the drink habit, the former to relieve their intellectual and spiritual ennui and the latter to forget momentarily the cruel hardships of poverty. Dr. H. P. Dastur's article in the *Bombay Chronicle* represents more truly educated Parsi opinion than the hysterical outbursts of those who profess to see the doom of the Parsis in the end of the liquor traffic. We are sure, on the contrary, that Prohibition will prove as beneficial to Parsis as to other communities and that its benefits will add considerably to the lustre of the great qualities which have placed this small community at the head of progress in education, industry and other spheres of national life. The pioneers in the Temperance as in other movements in India have been Parsis and it is a puerile fancy that the prosperity of the Parsis as a community is founded on the demoralisation caused by drink among their fellow countrymen of all communities. If there was even an iota of truth in this assumption, the Parsis would not have survived as a community all these centuries; they have not only survived but won the high esteem of their neighbours wherever they happen to be. Parsis, we are told, have been drinkers all along and that they are not the worse for it. We do not know. As we said, the great majority of Parsis today are practical abstainers. But even if it be true that they enjoy a constitutional immunity from the evil effects of the drink habit, it is among the great precepts of their ancient religion that piety consists pre-eminently in doing good to one's neighbours; and they should bear in mind St. Paul's saying: "If meat (liquor) make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."

A Temperance Colony in Hyderabad :—While the provinces under provincial autonomy are steadily pursuing a policy of Prohibition, in the Indian States as well there are signs that public opinion is beginning to stir in the same direction. In Hyderabad a Temperance Colony was opened recently when prominent State officials were present including Sir Akbar Hydari, the Prime Minister. The Central Temperance Committee had twenty different branches in the Nizam's Dominions and they conducted propaganda by means of publishing literature and organising lectures and by opening libraries. The Colony which was opened by Prince Moazzam Jah Bahadur at Dadirpura, Hyderabad, was constructed at a cost of Rs. 20,000 and is set up for the benefit of the poorer subjects of the State who solemnly pledge themselves to abstain from drink and drugs. The Committee in their address referred to the money spent by the labourers on drink in the State which they estimated must amount to five crores. The Temperance Committee are doing a great amount of spade-work and they are to be congratulated on the official sympathy they have won.

Religious Education in Schools :—In an address presented to Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, by the Muslim Educational Association of Mangalore, among the difficulties of the community in keeping pace with other communities in education mention was made of "the craze for insisting upon religious studies." This is the first instance that we have come across of a Muslim organisation complaining of this handicap. Sir Mirza, too, seems to have been taken aback, as he advised caution in pressing for reform in this matter. "The roots of religion," he said, "are delicate and should not be lightly bruised." As a matter of fact, however, there is very little of the root of religion in the teaching given in schools. There can not be. Religion is a thing to be lived and if the home surroundings of children do not instil in them the religious motive and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

not merely the routine of religious practice, the teaching of it from text-books by masters who are not themselves inspired by that motive, can only create disharmony between the home and the school, which is one of the most potent causes of the vitiating tendency usurping the place of character. Sir Mirza suggested that the members of the Association should make the people realise that learning does not consist nowadays of theology, and that the changing conditions required an equally assiduous pursuit of the secular branches of learning. While the Muslim leaders of Mangalore are finding religious teaching a grave handicap to the educational progress of their community, there are people in other parts of the country who want to introduce this handicap from which they are happily free, in schools in their locality. We profoundly believe that religion is indispensable to an integrated life, and equally profoundly believe that it can not be imparted by being taught as part of a school curriculum. The primary duty, in this matter rests with parents. No amount of schooling in the scriptures of the different religions will provide godless parents with godfearing children. Persons who are keen on religion being drilled into their children in schools, will do well to realise their own responsibilty in this direction. There is also the danger that cramming young minds with passages from the Gita, the Bible or the Koran, will create in them a permanent distaste for these scriptures which, even as literature, rank high among the world's classics.

Confessions of Pandit Nehru :—It was the *Pioneer*, if we remember rightly, that created a sensation by printing the first personal pronoun with the small 'i' in reporting one of Lord Curzon's speeches, with the explanation that it was obliged to do so as the capital 'I' in the printing-room had been exhausted in the first half of His Excellency's address. The story came to mind when reading Pandit Jawaharlal's rambling statement on his position *vis-a-vis* of Mr. Subhas Bose's re-election to preside over the Indian National Congress. After the almost cynically frank avowal by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and others of how Presidents were elected until Mr. Bose broke through the convention, the Pandit should have lost any illusion that he might have cherished about his own re-election for a second and a third time. As Lord Melbourne remarked when he accepted the Garter, "There's no disputed merit about it." The Pandit pathetically observes, "Often I have felt that I was a square peg in a round hole," and that "during the year of my office I have frequently been on the verge of resigning because I felt that I could serve the Congress better if I did not have the responsibilities of office." Nevertheless, he stuck on because he says he was firmly convinced that "in the dynamic and critical times we live in, we must present a united front and subordinate our individual opinion where these tend to impair that front." One has heard a similar reason assigned by persons who held high office and let things be done which went against the principles professed by them. Another stock reason, which the Pandit has mercifully not advanced is that if one resigned on the ground of principle, another who had never professed any principle would step into one's shoes. "How would that be better in the interests of the country?" Notwithstanding his feeling that he was a round man in a square hole, the Pandit stuck to his seat and he implies that he did something sacrificial in so doing. It was, to our mind, the plain duty of the Pandit to resign when he felt that he was a misfit in his office. He not only did violence to his own convictions but he let the public believe that he was pulling his weight in the movement on the lines he believed to be right. If every man who is entrusted with the responsibility of office, conceives his duty to be to preserve at all costs a semblance of unity in the face of the outside world, the movement must inevitably lose its vitality. A touch of fresh air is enough to topple it. If the Pandit and others had better realised their duty to serve the movement not merely with their bodily presence but with their mind and soul, the election of a candidate to the Presidentship who was not favoured by the seniors, would not have caused all this fuss. Where there is no real agreement, it is no good to pretend that there is.

Mr. Subhas Bose on Spain :—There are two news items which seem to have been brought out by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter to the Congress President regretting Mr. Bose's lack of definiteness in international and national politics. On Wednesday the Press published the news that a Chinese organization had sent its congratulations to Mr. Bose on his election as Congress President because he it was who had "organised the medical mission to China." The same newspapers carried the message which Mr. Bose had sent to Mr. Chamberlain before the British recognition of Franco but after the Congress Working Committee resignations, protesting against the step. "India has throughout given her sympathy and support to the Spanish Republican Government and considers the recognition as a violation of international law and morality," cabled Mr. Bose. We are surprised at this message of the Congress President who has held different views in the past. If now he commits India to Republican support we can only put it down to Mr. Bose's present and urgent need of friends within the Congress. Spain is dear to the heart of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Bose's cable is not likely to change the course of events in Europe. Hence this concession to the group Pandit Nehru is believed to influence in the Congress.

A Bad Mistake :—By an unaccountable freak of memory, due perhaps to the first news of Lord Brabourne's illness and operation being published on Monday, the day of his death was wrongly mentioned in our editorial note last week as Monday instead of Thursday.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, March 4, 1939.

THE POLITICAL GOAL.

In his presidential address to the National Congress held in Benares in 1905, Mr. Gokhale for the first time in the history of the movement prescribed a goal for Indian politics. He said :

> The goal of the Congress is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves, and that, in course of time, a form of government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the self-governing colonies of the British Empire. For better or for worse, our destinies are now linked with those of England, and the Congress freely recognises that whatever advance we seek must be within the empire itself. That advance, moreover, can only be gradual, as at each stage of the progress it may be necessary for us to pass through a brief course of apprenticeship before we are enabled to go to the next one; for it is a reasonable proposition that the sense of responsibility, required for the proper exercise of the political institutions of the West, can be acquired by an Eastern people through practical training and experiment only.

In a message to Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji put forward the same goal 'freedom and self-government like that of the colonies." The concluding sentence of his message has a special significance in view of the present attitude of Congress leaders to Indian States. Mr. Dadabhai wrote :

> *Self-government is the only remedy for India's woes and wrongs. For this purpose we must strengthen this Congress, our great body, representative of all India, to go on making every possible effort to accomplish this end, which is quite practicable, and has been already successfully carried out very far by British rulers themselves so far back as thirty-eight years ago, in the case of Mysore.*

The event of thirty-eight years ago to which Mr. Dadabhai referred, was the Rendition of Mysore to the Maharaja after it had been for fifty years under British control. It is clear that Mr. Dadabhai regarded self-government as synonymous with indigenous rule and that he had no pedantic theory as to the form of its constitution. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji presided over the Congress session in Calcutta next year. He devoted a great part of his address, which was read by Mr. Gokhale, to urging on the Indian people to agitate and never cease agitating for self-government. Self-government to him as to Gokhale was government of the country in the interests of the Indian people, by Indian agency within the British empire.

In many respects the most virile personality among Congress leaders was Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. He had definite convictions from which he never swerved. He did not believe in laying down a goal in politics. He concluded his powerful presidential address to the fifth Session of the Congress with the lines from Cardinal Newman's hymn :

I do not ask to see
The distant scene, one step enough for me.

The history of Indian politics during the last twenty years has shown that there is much wisdom in his attitude. To the statesman the goal is always the next step. If this is soundly judged and taken, those who come after him may be relied on to act their part in the same spirit. This is particularly the case when as in politics the goal is changing its shape every day and every year. Colonial self-government which Gokhale declared to be our goal, gave place to dominion status. Within the last few years the Westminister Statute has revolutionised the content of dominion status. Within the last few months and even weeks dominion status has undergone still further change. In India the Liberals adopted dominion status in the place of the colonial model and are still clinging to it. The Congress party has adopted complete Independence as its goal. The example of the Czechs and Arabs, lured by the shadow of Independence, to find themselves deprived of the substantial measure of it which they enjoyed under Austria and Turkey, should be a lesson to us. It should be the care of the social reformer and the statesman by cause not a whit more than the minimum of dislocation that is absolutely unavoidable in effecting innovations and replacements in an existing system. "The more violence, the less revolution," is a profound observation of Bart de Ligt whose untimely death is an irreparable loss to the cause of world peace. Violence is not merely abstention from physical force. Everything is violence which causes a violent reaction in those with whom we deal. Doing your utmost to rouse men's passions to a dangerous pitch by speech and writing and then crying out to them to be non-violent is a contradiction. It is the essence of violence. Ahimsa is primarily a subjective quality. Physical violence indeed may be ahimsa if not prompted by anger or hatred, as when you hold back a child from falling over the parapet wall in its eagerness to snatch the moon out of the heavens.

THE WAR IN SPAIN.

The Spanish civil war is fast drawing to a close. The period of intense fighting has given place after Barcelona to a period of international negotiation in the capitals of Europe. The Republican leaders in Paris and in Geneva have been trying hard to reorganise resistance or, failing that, and in some cases in despair, to obtain a reasonable peace. In their divided attempts the Republicans are faring badly. President Azana has resigned and the peace party is for the moment without office but not without influence. General Franco has been more fortunate. He is not the seeker of friendships abroad. As the dictators did in the early days of his struggle, today the democracies are presenting themselves to him as so many friends. Great Britain and France have been in unseemly haste to recognize General Franco. Mr. Chamberlain, it was reported recently, had

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

decided to recognize General Franco's Government if certain humanitarian conditions relating to treatment of prisoners and to reprisals were conceded. General Franco not only did not give any assurances but in a note expressed with sardonic humour his indignation at any attempt of a foreign power to impose terms on Spain. Only those guilty of "criminal" acts were to be punished. It is easy to see what acts will be considered "criminal" by a victorious party after a civil war. But the British Premier was apparently content with this.

On Monday in the House of Commons, Mr. Chamberlain announced that both France and Britain had decided to recognize General Franco's Government. He made it quite clear that this was the only reasonable course of action since the richest districts in Spain were now in General Franco's possession. The Premier, therefore, as a shrewd businessman, hastened to make friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness. There was more to come. On Tuesday provoked by Major Attlee's virulent speeches, Mr. Chamberlain asked whether any one could say what or where the Republican Government was. Not content with recognizing General Franco, Mr. Chamberlain belittled the Republican Government. It was indeed a greater victory for General Franco than any won at home. The repurcussions on European politics of recognition are tremendous. In Britain, grave disquiet is felt at this second international decision taken by the Government without the previous sanction of Parliament. Major Attlee gave expression to his dissatisfaction with the methods adopted and the irritation displayed both by him and by the Premier seem to show that Labour is at last preparing for organised opposition to the Government outside Parliament if necessary. The policy pursued by the Baldwin and Chamberlain Governments in recent years may well be a factor in bringing down the Parliamentary structure in Britain. The fear that the British Labour Party has always had of its own extreme element, is now overshadowed by the danger of rising Fascism.

At first sight, the peace of Europe seems more secure than it was before the recognition. The main cause of disagreement with Italy has been removed now that General Franco and the old Government have changed places. For now General Franco is the Government and, under international law, it is highly commendable for one Government to help another to put down rebels. On the other hand, by recognition Britain and more specially France have certain responsibilities towards General Franco's State which will not permit their receiving new refugees or even harbouring old ones. How the present position will be adjusted is not known. Neither Italy nor Germany, however, regard the latest developments as an improvement. The dictators feel that Anglo-French manouevres are aimed at preventing Germany and Italy from collecting their reward. Major Attlee in asking the Primier if he had any assurance that Spain would not join the Fascists, no doubt expressed it crudely but he gave expression to what many Britons feel is the only justification for recognition. Mr. Chamberlain must have had in mind the fact that General Franco would be better able to resist German-Italian demands on his gratitude if he had other friends as well beside him. It is gratifying to think of the carefully built up policy of Fascist intervention in Spain toppling down like a house of cards at the first breath of British diplomacy. The only blot in this happy scheme is the Spanish leader who, in a speech closely modelled on those of his dictator allies, expressed his public gratification at Britain's recognition but stood firm by his old friends. The position of France which has been persuaded to recognize General Franco from reasons of self-interest if not self-preservation, is rendered more precarious by the result. In their public utterances the dictators and General Franco as well, carefully avoid any reference to France. Reports of trade negotiations between Soviet Russia and Germany do not improve the French position. The Russians are apparently trying to pay back Western European democracies in their own coin. Just as France and Britain in their Munich and post-Munich policies were prepared to encourage German ambitions in the East if they were left alone, Russia is adopting like tactics to secure peace on the East. A wedge has been driven in between the democracies and the Soviet States. By that alone Germany has immeasurably improved her position in European politics.

For Spain herself, we do not think it makes much difference which side wins so long as she has peace even now. Writing last year, Senor Manuel Chaves Nogales, a leading Spanish liberal, who continued to edit a Republican paper under a Council of Workers after the outbreak of war, has summed up the position. "The final issue of the present struggle, he says, in his prologue to "And in the Distance a Lights" 'does not interest me very much. I do not care if the future dictator of Spain springs out of one or the other side of the trench.....One cannot for a moment believe that the old state of affairs will be restored; for it is not possible even to imagine that the politicians, whether monarchist or republican of pre-war times, will step back into their places again. These men are dead to public life.....Spain will be neither a fascist colony nor an advance post of communism; neither enslaved under a landed gentry or the dictatorship of the proletariat." It is well to bear this in mind. Whatever survives in Spain, democracy is dead—was dead long ago. It could hardly have been expected to survive the terrible cataclysm of the past thirty months.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIA AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

(By Politicus)

Responsible Government of the British type implies that

(*a*) a Ministry should be a Committee of the Legislature;

(*b*) at least two parties, one of which (the majority) is in power and the other (the minority) is in opposition;

(*c*) a Ministry should resign, the moment it ceases to command a majority in the Legislature.

Taking the first, a Ministry is not really a Committee in the sense that it is a replica of the entire House, it is only a replica of the majority party therein.

As regards parties, advocates of responsible Government always insist that, unless there is an effective opposition, we can not be sure of a reasonable standard of good government. It is implicit, therefore, that a Ministry representing the majority party successful at an election, is very likely to exploit power for furthering party interests and their conduct of the administration has to be under the vigilant scrutiny of an Opposition ever on the alert to expose the mistakes and mischiefs of the party in power and thereby slowly to convert itself into a majority, defeat the Ministry in office and seize power itself. The race for power thus pursued on narrow party lines is *prima facie* unhealthy from the public point of view—even in countries where parties, are divided on political issues,—*i. e.*, issues relating it may be, to the best methods of achieving the greatest good of the greatest number—especially as the motto of the opposition is 'to oppose, whatever the merits of the Government's proposal or policy may be.' The third feature again necessarily and further implies that the party in opposition which, for the time being, is in a minority in both the legislature and the country, can convert itself in due course into a majority and bid for a spell of power and that people, both in the legislature and in the country, are free to transfer their allegiance from one party to the other according as they feel persuaded for a particular period. This state of things is possible when persons are elected to the legislature on political issues; it is non-existent where legislatures are constituted on a communal basis.

As regards the third, it has to be remembered that Minstries should have reasonable stability,—*i. e.*, should be in office for a reasonable term—if they are to have a chance of doing good or even of giving the nation, whose destinies are for the time being in their hands, a sense of ordinary security. Where the conditions relating to the constitution of a legislature—where, *e. g.*, it consists of a number of communal and sub-communal groups each suspicious of the other—are such that reasonable stability is not likely to be attained, it is dangerous to good government to insist on this.

Self-government may be better than mere good government by, say, a foreign agency, but not at the expense entirely of good government, especially where it is possible to achieve such good government through your own agency.

Again, self-government (or any other kind of government for that matter) is not the mere possession or exercise of power. The task of every government is to exercise power fairly and impartially. Could a government drawn from a particular party altogether eliminate unfairness or partiality in day-to-day administration? The high traditions of public office in England and the development of parties therein on exclusively political issues have reduced unfairness and exploitation of power to the minimum, but even England is not altogether free from them.

Whether in British India or in an Indian State, the constituencies electing members to the Legislature are frankly communal. But a heroic attempt is being made in British India out of the legislatures constituted on communal lines:

(*i*) to group members so elected into political parties;

(*ii*) and, to draw the personnel of Ministries from such political parties but taking care to ensure communal representation even in doing so!

It accordingly happens, for instance, that the solitary Congress Muslim in the House goes into a Congress Ministry. Every other Muslim being, say, a Leaguer, the Muslim community as a whole feels that in the Cabinet it has no effective representation and the majority which supports the Ministry in the House is almost entirely Hindu. No wonder the Muslims are violently kicking against Congress Governments in the Provinces. This discontent is bound to grow and, in the process, embitter communal animosities further unless one of two things happens, *viz.*,

(1) communal electorates as well as candidatures are done away with.

(2) communal representation both in the Legislature and the Ministry is reckoned with as a permanent, not a transitional, factor, and the Ministers representing each community are the men who command the largest number of votes in that community.

Now as to (1), I would just say in passing that I do not think joint electorates with reservation of seats will mean any substantial improvement.

As to (2), the implication is that Ministers so chosen may not be of the same political views. It will, therefore, be necessary, while they are in office that they should to some extent behave like members of the permanent service and carry out the orders of authorities competent to issue them—in this case, the Legislature or the Ruler. And inside the Cabinet itself, the procedure should be on the lines of Council Government—differences being settled by the majority in the Council. Government by Council—manned in the earlier years entirely by service men and in later years by a combination of service and non-service men—has had a long and distinguished history behind it, and I rather think Council Governments manned entirely in due course by elected men—holding office for a definite term and not removable by a vote of the Legislature merely but removable at the pleasure of the appointing authority, *viz.*, the Ruler—should be able to give a better account of themselves on account of their intimate connection with the electorate.

In any case, the chances are remote of the success of a system which tries to constitute Ministries on political lines out of legislatures elected from communal constituencies.

II.

Of the three principal organs of Government—the legislature, the executive and the judiciary—the first is a deliberative body and is engaged in laying down broad lines of policy; the evil influence of party does not produce much mischief in a large body with such functions.

But the executive and judiciary are engaged in the application of law to and in the exercise of equitable discretion towards, individuals; and administration—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

whether executive or judicial—must be not merely legal but just also and, therefore, must be impartial and above party. It is now an axiom that, when a party man is appointed to a judicial office, he should shed all party considerations and deal out justice impartially; indeed this is expected of every man appointed to any office in the permanent service whatever his policies or community be. The principle underlying this code of correct conduct is obviously equally applicable to Ministerships. Ministers should do their administrative work on thoroughly non-party lines. If that should be the code of honour for every person appointed Minister, should he necessarily resign on the first adverse vote in the legislature?

The elimination of party from Ministries will tend in course of time to eliminate party voting in legislatures and opposition on mere party lines. Criticism and voting on the merits—and not engineered by caucuses will be more in keeping with the essential purpose of a deliberative assembly. Government by discussion necessarily involves that those who participate in a discussion, will feel themselves at liberty to arrive at a decision on the merits as a result of the discussion. Otherwise, it is a denial of freedom—a fundamental right on which every party man loudly insists.

An efficient executive must be united and have joint responsibility under the leadership of a Prime Minister. Responsibility should, therefore, be to one authority—I mean real responsibility, not merely nominal. Unity and joint responsibility are inconsistent with any form of diarchy in which some Ministers are responsible to one authority and others to another, or the same Minister is responsible to one for certain things and to another for others. A diarchic executive can never be independent or strong either.

In Indian States, there are different categories of executive action, *viz.*,

(a) those relating to Paramountcy—relations with the Paramount power, outside relations, etc.;

(b) administration of subjects as to which the State has federated;

(c) administration of what would be provincial subjects in British India;

(d) administration of what would be federal subjects in British India as to which the State has not federated or has federated only subject to reservations;

(e) subjects excluded or reserved from the control of the legislature by the Constitution.

It is obvious from this classification:

(i) that the responsibility of the executive cannot be to the State legislature in respect of (a), (b), and (e) at present;

and (ii), that, if the Ministers who will as a body administer all the subjects, have to be responsible to any single authority, it must be to the Ruler who in his turn will be accountable to outside authorities such as the Federation in the case of (b) and the Crown representative in the case of (a).

A fixed executive which holds office for a term and owes responsibility not to the legislature but to the nation directly as in the case of the United States, is also usually visualised as a non-parliamentary one. But it need not necessarily be so—cf. the Swiss system.

Similarly, the fixed executive in Indian States which will owe responsibility to the Ruler and not to the legislature should it be parliamentary or non-parliamentary, *i.e.*, should its members have seats in the legislature, and its Chief function as leader of the House? I think that the answer should be in the affirmative as this system will make for smooth relations between executive and legislature and ensure informed and trained guidance in the transaction of business. It need, however, not be parliamentary in the sense that the whole of its personnel should be drawn from a communal or other party having a majority in the House.

Is not a link—in the shape of one or more liason officers—desirable between a Minister, who owes his office not necessarily to membership or voting strength in the legislature, and the House with a majority of elected members? I should say again, Yes, for the following reasons:—

(*a*) They with their intimate touch with the electorate and co-representatives will place public opinion before the executive and interpret Government policy to the electorate and their colleagues.

(*b*) In the House, they will be useful in debate and in guiding voting.

(*c*) The device will satisfy to some extent the natural ambitions of elected members for office.

(*d*) In due course, the arrangement will throw up a band of men who will combine parliamentary gifts with some experience of the way in which a fixed irremovable executive should deal with parliamentary business without weakening executive efficiency or character — a band from which the Ruler may well choose some or all of his Ministers in the fullness of time.

It should, however, be insisted that these liason officers—whatever name may be given to them—are not intended as a half-way house to a parliamentary removable executive. They are intended, rather, as a permanent device for linking the executive with the legislature and promoting the smooth working of a fixed executive in relation to the legislature.

There are likely, it might be urged, to be possibilities of the undivided responsibility to the Ruler conflicting with due responsibility to the legislature. But this is reduced to a minimum, if not entirely, eliminated, by the constitution providing—in a fully developed and competent democracy—how the legislature can legally assert itself over a recalcitrant executive. An instance of this is that a President's veto in the United States can be overridden by both Houses of the legislature passing again the vetoed measure by a two-thirds majority. The Courts will enforce this constitutional provision.

In an Indian State, with a Ruler and the inhabitants in their present state of political development such a constitutional provision for overriding the Ruler's veto would be both premature and unwise.

Until the legislature and the executive have accumulated experience of functioning in their respective spheres in a spirit of active cooperation for the public good and without quarrelling on narrow party lines, the Ruler has to stand between the two, overriding the one or the other in cases of conflict between the two, judging each case on its merits.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FOR INDIAN STATES.

Outline of a Constitution.

I. *Legislature.*

(a) *Constitution*:—Single Chamber—Elective majority now—Fully elected in the fullness of time.

(b) *Powers.* (1) Normally the only authority for law-making. (At present power to be reserved to the Ruler for making all laws without reference to legislature, if necessary, but this should in due course fall into desuetude. But power to executive to issue ordinances to meet emergencies and for limited periods.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(ii) Assenting to appropriations and taxation proposals.

(iii) Guiding and controlling executive as to policy and administration.

(c) No parties—neither Ministerial nor Opposition—voting on merits not according to party whips.

II. *Executive*:

Fixed (*i. e.* irremovable for a term subject to pleasure of Ruler).

To have seats in legislature ex-officio.

Appointment on merits—not to be confined now to members of Legislature.

Responsibility to Ruler.

Should submit to and carry out decisions of legislature which by law are binding on them. In other matters,—*i. e.* where such decisions are not legally binding but are only recommendations, etc., within spheres in which legislature could make such recommendations—Ministers, if they disagree, should submit them for Ruler's decision.

If Ruler agrees with the legislature, Ministers must carry them out or resign. The procedure will indirectly enforce responsibility to the legislature where the Ruler is in agreement wtth it. Where he is not in such agreement, Ministers should be free to reject the recommendations and continue in office—conduct quite consistent with the responsibility which is owing to an authority outside the legislature, in this case the Ruler.

Responsible Government in this sense is not dissimilar in principle to what obtains in America. Only

(*a*) the outside authority there is the nation, here it is the Ruler;

(*b*) the executive known to the law there is a single individual, the President, here it is a group of individuals, the Council of Ministers;

(*c*) during the tenure of office of the President in the United States the outside authority, the nation, has no normal legal method of asserting itself between the executive and the legislature when they disagree or defy the each other, except when such disagreement or defiance can be adjudicated upon by the Supreme Court. Here provision will be made for the outside authority, the Ruler, to assert himself in every case of such disagreement for which the law does not provide another effective solution. (The violence to democracy in this latter case will arise only when, the Ruler's decision is in fact at variance with the probable will, *i. e.* the real interests of nation, whether that will is in favour of the executive or the legislature). Wherever the Ruler is a true interpreter of the nation's interests and will—and this should be normally assumed—this would be a better arrangement for enforcing responsibility to the nation.

III. *Judiciary*.

The Judiciary should be independent— *vis-a-vis* both the Executive and the Legislature.

THE CONGRESS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND AFTER.

(By J. M. Ganguli, Calcutta.)

In spite of the manifesto issued on the eve of the Presidential election by several leading members of the Congress explaining to the voters the non-importance of the President's position in the Congress, wherein he was more a figure-head than a governing force, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's election has assumed considerable significance. It has been discussed also widely in the country from various points of view—from the point of view of the country's attitude further stiffening against Federation, from that of its inclining more and more towards Leftism, from the point of view of indicating a growing tendency of revolt in the Congress against the so-called methods of Fascism in it, and so on. But the possible results of Mr. Bose's victory on the future cultural progress of the country have been little considered. In the rush and roar of political agitation and in the heat of polemics thereabout, it is not uncommon for leaders to neglect the cultural side of a national movement. But if that be the case now, following the election of Mr. Bose and the drift of the Congress towards Leftism, Mahatma Gandhi's efforts during the last two decades to direct Indian thought towards the native culture of the land will have gone to waste. Mahatmaji's influence in this respect has not yet gone deep enough among the educated people to prevent their relapse into crude imitation and adoption of Westernism, which they have been doing for the last few generations. Most of even the stalwart leaders, while adopting Indian ways and manners outwardly under stress of the prevalent national movement set on foot by Gandhiji, inwardly think un-Indian-wise. Whatever they may say, and however they may write or orate, their heart has been so completely swamped by Western civilization that it is difficult for them to come to surface and see anything inspiring in the apparent rusticity of their own native culture. Gandhiji's realization of this state of things was the best evidence of his possessing a far keener political insight than any of his contemporary and preceding leaders, and his most valuable contribution to the Indian cause has been his insistence, by precept and personal example, on people living and respecting their own national traditions, manners and institutions. National dress, national modes of address, national language, national education, national cottage industries, and so on, and even national and traditional, as opposed to western, conceptions of ethics and morality, Gandhiji placed on the forefront of politics, which he did not construe in the ordinary conventional manner as being unrelated to the above. Congress sittings be held in villages, delegates squatted on the ground not only for deliberations, but even for their meals, though many of them at their home would not think of it and would invariably sit at their dining-table in the right English style. A small matter, that,—many would no doubt say; but these simple things, these simple details of life often throw much light on how an individual's mind is working and on how keen he is to discard his own manners and customs and to adopt those of others instead.

Gandhiji's advent in Indian politics, when his educated countrymen were thus losing their heads and were being denationalised, brought about a turn in the tide, which would by all means be maintained and preserved. If the direction of the country's politics with the control of the Congress were to pass out of Gandhiji's influence and fall into the hands of Socialists and the so-called Leftists, India's future, cultural as well as political, could only be viewed with grave misgivings. There are, no doubt, capable and sincere people among them, but not many deep thinkers with long penetrating future vision. Fewer of them still are un-denationalised at heart. They think mostly in terms of the West, of Western ways, Western methods, Western policy, Western civilization, and would love to transplant them wholesale on the Indian soil. But nothing could be more suicidal and unfortunate for Indian nationalism than that. A nationalism that is sucked out of its nativity, that dismembers its hands and legs to put on borrowed ones instead, and that is unable to draw inspira-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from its own inherited culture and its great traditions, is as good as not living, and is certainly not, at any rate, capable of attaining proper stature. "But, look at Japan," they would report—though most thinkers and keen observers of the world would agree that the present denationalised civilization of Japan, in spite of its present passing material successes, is more to be denounced than praised, and has been more harmful than beneficial to the people of the land, if things are viewed from a high perspective. For an old country like India, with very precious traditions of its own, social, religious, and cultural, to imitate the soul-less, denationalised civilization of Japan, based blindly on the western model, would be calamitous in the extreme to the country itself, as well as to the world at large, to which true and unadulterated Indian culture and civilization have a valuable message to give.

It is such thoughts which generate misgivings in one's mind on account of the prospects of the present mass national movement going out of Gandhian influence, as a result of the Presidential election. Flushed with victory at the polls, some may think of forcing the pace of political freedom, and of drawing up a high-sounding and sensational political programme. But let them not forget that for all that the nation's cultural foundations must be strong and broad-based on native traditions that, from the scientific point of view, have much more evolutionary significance than impulsive, short-visioned people would care to give them.

I commend these considerations to the delegates to the Tripure Congress, who will be called upon to give a lead to the national movement, not in an atmosphere of calmness free from bias and prejudice, but in one surcharged with them and heated by passionate fury, partisanship, high-sounding rhetoric deceptive advocacy, prophetic sayings uttered with, theatrical posings and vote-capturing canvassing.

HINDU MARRIAGE AND STRIDHANA.—I.

(By R. V. V. Tatachariar, Madras.)

My object is to show that all the eight forms of Hindu marriage are now obsolete, and that a transcendent or composite type of it alone prevails today and that succession to Stridhana must accordingly vary its course.

Sir Henry Mayne has shown how in South India the Asura form prevails among the non-Brahmins and the Rakshasa form is formally gone through among certain warrior peoples of Central India. He says of the orthodox opinion handed down from the days of Commentaries that, barring the two instances, all other forms except the Brahma form have gone out of vogue, and the Brahma marriage is presumed in all cases to have been invariably performed. But it is submitted that this is wholly incorrect as will be seen on due and careful attention being given to the subject.

The original definition of 'Brahma' was that the Brahmin bridegroom must be invited to receive the hand of the bride in marriage; while the later one, consistent with the immemorial tradition among non-Brahmins, was that the bridegroom seeks and asks for the girl's hand. Secondly, a true 'gift' of a girl of any caste, including the Sudra or the fourth caste, could be made only to a Brahmin as said of all other gifts on all occasions. We do not hear of gifts being made to Brahmins of any other castes than the Brahmin. The Asura form was adopted in such cases, wherein the bride was received in exchange for a gift of cattle or cloth. The Daiva form was gone through when the girl was given to an officiating young priest at the close of any great sacrifice along with, or as part of, Dakshina or the customary fee due to him. The Prajapatya form was to be found where the man and wife, both being well versed in the theory and practice of Karmayoga, stipulated that nothing would be done by either without the other's company and co-operation. This too meant that a Brahmin bridegroom was involved.

It is not too much to say, therefore, that in every one of the four approved forms a Brahmin bridegroom only was concerned and that the term 'gift' of the girl was not always a gift in the true and precise sense of the term, but involved different shades of meaning—viz., reward, stipulation, token of consideration. Even in the Brahma form 'gift' implied different shades of meaning ranging from full ownership, through dominion, to mere custody or courtesy.

Originally, it meant actual bodily or corporal gift of the girl as any other object of gift and was attended by the significant pouring of water simultaneously from the hands of the giver into those of the taker, implying thereby that the girl never more reverted back to her parent's gotra (family) and their dominion or possession, even as the water did not get back to the giver's from the taker's hands.

The gift included all jewels on the person of the girl at the time, which on her death without issue went logically to the husband, and not to her parents. And the marriage itself was irrevocable and indissoluble by divorce, unlike the case of other forms of marriage. This aspect is, no doubt, observed by certain non-Brahmin communities also in the wake of Brahmins. But the original state of affairs among non-Brahmins is now being sought by the Legislature to be applied to Brahmins as well, in order to give relief to women in some extreme cases.

But, as the status and dignity of person of a wife, son and slave rose up gradually by reason of recognition of *stridhana*, partition of ancestral estate, and emancipation, the notion of gift and sale of girls and boys in marriage and adoption was becoming increasingly felt to be incongruous and disconcerting. Apastamba ruled that it was all wrong and took the trouble to explain away the 'hundred pieces of money' given to the bride's father seated in the carriage, by the bridegroom's party as either entirely optional with him or merely intended to bring about the relationship or bond of marriage in the eye of the law.

By this time the four inferior forms of marriage had come to be denounced and even penalised. But what was the fate of the girls who had been dealt with, unfortunately, in ways prohibited or penalised by law? The answer is twofold. After the prescribed *prayaschittam* or expiation of consequential sin, the victimised girls were, by Devala and other sages, declared pure again and fit for marriage with any decent and proper bridegroom and, where the society was not prepared for it, the violator was compelled to pay a heavy fine that looked like or amounted to a bride-price or *sulka*, and not at once to marry the victim under social pressure. He was also punished with the expenses of marriage and the loss of his right to her *stridhana* if she died without issue, even if the form formally gone through were of the Brahma or any other approved kind. In other words, the hard fact could not be altered by a hundred texts, as the maxim says.

But let us note the progress in history of what happens in a Brahma form of marriage. It is true

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that time was when a mere promise to offer a girl in marriage induced at once the transfer of dominion over her to the promissee, in the event of whose death pending marital ceremonies, his brother obtained her person for raising issue on her by Niyoga for the benefit of the deceased. If and when, the girl were given away to another family in breach of promise though after the promissee's death, it was held to amount to the heinous sin of untruth relating to person. For even the promissee husband could not by gift or sale part with his wife or dominion over her person. Similarly a girl bought in Asura form of marriage had to wed, on the death of the proposed bridegroom, his own brother provided that, in later epochs, the girl consented to the course.

The bride-price was either paid at once in a lump sum to the father of the girl or in easy instalments, the first being paid to him when he arrived with the girl in his carriage in front of the bridegroom's house. But the failure to pay the subsequent instalment neither entailed forfeiture of those paid already nor rendered the marriage void or voidable, especially after the customary marriage ceremonies were gone through. These payments, mostly the later part payments, gradually came to be returned to the girl by her father to serve as a sort of provision for her against a future accident or contingency or as part of other *stridhana* which naturally and necessarily devolved on her parents and their issue if she happened to die childless. But what became of the first part-payment made to her father? Perhaps he took it for himself or for the use of the girl. In such circumstances, the first payment, be it a hundred coins or a petty fraction thereof, easily disclosed and determined the true nature and form of the marriage and the line of future succession to her *stridhana* on her leaving no issue by the marriage.

When the first instalment ceased to be followed by the rest or when the law discountenanced the recovery of the rest it stood there merely for the purpose of distinguishing the type of marriage and discovering the true line of *stridhana* succession. The first or original payment might be a good figure or a paltry amount; but when it became altogether optional or nominal, it lost all its original sting of being the nefarious bride-price, and came to be treated as a mere formality or innocuous usage; but all the same it has been a very useful relic of the past in that it helps us to discover and decide as to which of the contending husband and parents of the deceased lady is really entitled in law to her *stridhana*.

There might be other ways and means of discovering whether a particular marriage followed the Brahma or Asura form; for instance, the invariable custom in the community or usage in the family, the so-called gift or rather, delivery of the custody, of the bride preceding or succeeding the *homam* if any, the observance or non-performance of the homam, the fasting or otherwise of the giver, taker and the bride; the number of days of marriage celebration, etc. The cumulative effect of all these particulars coupled with the observance of the relic of the bride-price and above all, the logic, reason, justice, and the source or origin of *stridhana*, whether it issued from the parents' or the husband's side—all these have to be taken into consideration in deciding the question of stridhana succession, whether it be among Brahmins or non-Brahmins.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE ON HIS WORK*

From the banks of the Padma I came to settle down in Santiniketan Ashrama, forty years ago, with the idea of starting work in education and village reform. My resources as well as practical experience were meagre; most of my life, from childhood, I had been immersed in literary activities.

My work in our zamindary in North Bengal had given me an intimate contact with the village life. With my own eyes I had seen how scarcity of water affected rural homes; I had observed the effects of disease and starvation on the emaciated population. Repeated events proved to me that apathy born of ignorance plunged men into utter misery and made them easy victims of betrayal. The anglicised urban gentry of that period, engaged in pursuing the reverse tide of progress, could hardly dream that the weight of helpless humanity would sooner sink our craft than make it advance.

A tornado of self-rebellion had come to our land shaking our political delusions. That was a time when even an uninitiated person like myself was made to accept presidentship of the provincial Congress. I got acquainted with many of the political leaders of the day. To some of them I pointed out that the drama of national self-expression could not be real if rural India were banished to the outer darkness behind the stage.

My suggestion was turned down in very unambiguous language. On that day I decided that a poet's dream alone could offer companionship to my project: there was, apparently, no place for it elsewhere.

Long before this I had started rural service with scanty means and a few companions. There had not been enough time for any history of that work to become recognisable. Let that be.

My agony did not merely show itself in my poems, it dragged the poet himself to the arduous field of work. What power could an indigent worker possess save in his vision of truth.

My aspiration did not claim any wide area for cultivation; it did seem possible, however, that a strip of land could be found for sowing seeds.

In the hard soil of Birbhum I started planting seeds. The promise of the seed lies secret in the ground beneath. Being invisible, its existence can be doubted; nobody can be blamed, at least, for affecting derision. I had the bad reputation, moreover, of being rich and, what is worse, of being a poet. Aggrieved, I wondered—where then are those competent persons who were neither rich nor poetic? But the period of obscurity is that of true preparation. For long years I did not attempt to bring my work before the public. Had I done so, my immature work would have merited neglect.

No clear-cut plan was ready in my mind when I began. Indefiniteness is perhaps natural to the initial stages of work launched by a poet. Creation, in all its forms, starts at the threshold of the unrevealed, from the sub-conscious it evolves towards the conscious. Construction, on the other hand, begins with a plan; any deviation is promptly corrected. Where living growth is concerned, I believe in natural unfoldment. My rural service has followed such a course; this takes time but the roots go deeper.

Though I had no definite plans, I had some general principles. Readers of my "Sadhana" period know that I repudiated political dependence in no uncertain terms. Fight for freedom would be absurd while hugging the

*Address at the Opening Ceremony of the Sriniketan Emporium in Calcutta on Dec. 8, 1938. Extracts from *Visva Bharati News*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tters of dependence. Not only in foreign rule, but ay in home affairs, the shame of slavery must lie equally heavy. Attempting to help villagers from outside would be, I knew, an unnatural procedure. People have to find faith in their own strength and in the organising of strength. That, for me, is an essential principle.

Creative joy, we must realise, is natural to man. This, again, is a principle for our workers to remember. Villagers do not merely exist to carry on agriculture, to fill their own stomachs merely and ours to repletion. Folk literature, folk arts, folk music, and folk dances have appeared in all lands in a wealth of spontaneous expression. Our village ponds have now gone dry and become polluted: the same applies to rural reservoirs of happiness. Consequently, the villagers have been driven away from man's supreme privilege—the creation of beauty—what is more, chronic illness has sapped their body and mind.

My aim has been to assist in bringing the flood-tide of life's joy to the arid villages, urging them towards diverse self-expression. Creative work is undertaken, not for mere affluence but for self-attainment. Permeation of this spirit would surely lead villages to new paths of self-preservation. Barbarians, bound in the coils of livelihood, unable to express their joy in life, offer the most lamentable spectacle of humiliation.

We have not ignored the problem of livelihood; but we have also recognised man's essential hunger for beauty. Assessing culture by economic standards I consider to be wholly unworthy; distributing human privileges according to the weight of ledger books is sordid commercialism. Financial difficulties have prevented me from fully applying my ideas but it also takes time to train up the minds of workers. My own time will be probably have ended before that happens, but I must leave my ideas explained.

I should like, before I conclude, to make an appeal. You are leaders in the field of politics. Once upon a time the kings offered their patronage in the production of national wealth. Such wealth was not merely in riches but is the creation of beauty. Not Kuber's treasury but the lotus of Lakshmi is its abode.

You are the symbols of our nationhood. My prayer at your door is laid not before that of the king, but of my Motherland. Accept from me, on behalf of the country, the fruits of my life efforts. In this work as in others I have met with much opposition from my countrymen. It has often taken the form of criticism that the temple of service raised by me will disappear with my life. If this is so, whose failure will it be, mine or yours? I appeal to you, therefore, examine if there is any truth in my work, whether sacrificial service has flowered it with wealth from within. If the results satisfy you, take upon yourself, with a gracious heart, the task of preserving this work, and of making it grow. Entering even through the portals of my death, may your own vitality give it perennial life.

THINKING WITH SPINOZA.

BERNHARD MOLLENHAUER in *Unity*:

"Great geniuses," says Emerson, "have the shortest biographies." The biography of Spinoza is short: he died at the age of forty-four, and his life was outwardly not spectacular. Yet in a way his life and strange Odyssey of the Jews. We little realize the deep inwardness, the vast endurance, the patience, the tragedy, and the loneliness of this man.

Benedict Spinoza was born in the Ghetto of Amsterdam, in 1632. While still a boy, he became aware of the contrast between the narrow schooling of the synagogue and the liberal culture around him. His interest in the new learning of Europe found no favour with his strict and cautious elders. His student days were hardly over before they asked him to recant certain of his views which had become known to them. Finding him unmoved by their promises and threats, they cut him off from his people, a severe sentence in those days. Spinoza accepted his ostracism and persecution with quiet resignation. He was too well-balanced to become an embittered radical, and managed to preserve his mental health under seemingly impossible conditions. He found all society for a time against him and heard no friendly voice except that of his Latin teacher, Van den Ende, who was himself under suspicion of heresy. And so Spinoza took refuge in the trade of lensmaking. Heine says, "All our modern philosophers, though often perhaps unconsciously, see through the glasses which Spinoza ground."

The philosophy of Spinoza has some points in common with contemporary Humanism. It stresses human values and banishes all things supernatural and occult. Spinoza's emphasis on the unity of God and Nature does not debase God but elevates nature. Three centuries of science have made it easier for us to grasp the God-idea of Spinoza. Perhaps the best introduction to the philosophy of Spinoza is his short treatise *On the Improvement of the Understanding*. It is his voyage of discovery, beginning with an account of his search for truth and the way to lasting happiness. We see here that Spinoza was no ascetic who scorned the refinements of the life and saw nothing but vanity in the ways of the world: his nature was too strong to need the stimulant of pessimism. There is no posing in his confession that he believed the exclusive pursuit of worldly pleasures and titles is vain and futile. It is the frankest confession in the world. He knew what it was to have a secure position in society and what it meant to walk on the outer wastes of spiritual darkness, poverty, and failure. More than once he refused tempting offers of gain and worldly recognition, because he loved his hard-won independence. He believed the pursuit of truth our greatest adventure, for to understand the world, to be in it and yet not of it, is to inwardly possess it. When a man see life from that point of view he can have no desire to exploit his fellowmen. He is more concerned with a new criterion of values, and finds happiness in service rather than in being served. Spinoza believed that all science should be inspired by an ideal of human freedom and the "intellectual love of God."

Discrimination between the real and the unreal, and the ideal of a human character more stable and perfect than our own, turn us in the direction of a higher level of experience. Yet the goal is far off. While we are endeavouring to bring the mind into the right path, we may lay down provisional rules of conduct. When setting out on his quest for truth as a young man, Spinoza made three rules for himself.

To speak in a manner comprehensible to the people, and to do for them all things that do not prevent us from attaining our ends.....

To enjoy only such pleasures as are necessary for the preservation of health.....

Finally, to seek only enough money.....as is necessary for the maintenance of our life and health, and to comply with such customs as are not opposed to what we seek.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Spinoza associated the degrees of knowledge and understanding with the several stages of moral progress. At the lowest stage of thought man is without any conception of natural law and is a creature of circumstance, swayed by superstitious fears. His knowledge is not above the level of hearsay evidence and opinions formed from chance observations, more often from fanciful traditions. Life is passed in a state of bondage to things little understood and often feared. We read in Homer how helpless were even kings before the play of wind and tide. They were often reading omens and seeking favours of the gods. Organized experience, scientific thought, taught man to seek in nature not a fairy realm of gods of wood and stream, but a world order with a rationality akin to mind. When he rose above myth and fancy, above a crude picture logic, to think in terms of law, cause and effect, the unseen relations of things and their properties became controlling interests. The individual is seen in the light of the universal. Insight into natural law brought man a measure of freedom unthought of before. But even in Spinoza's time the conception of natural law was not universally accepted. The ignorant still carried amulets, and a powerful priesthood thundered its anathemas against the youth who were giving renewing ideas of natural science that were lifting humanity out of superstition and stagnation. Galileo was forced to recant, and Bruno was burned at the stake. A whole century passed before the mission of Spinoza was understood.

For Spinoza there is no conflict between mind and nature, religion and natural law. The natural world without and the spiritual world within are not *hostile and intrinsically alien to one another, but co-operative expressions, of one reality.* The *infinite variety and change we see in nature are the* expression of divine law. Everything grows, or endures, according to the law of its own being. Nothing arises out of nothing or is the creature of chance.

Like our Puritan tradition, the medieval divine had put a gulf between spirit and matter, God and the world. They identified ethics not so much with rational conduct as with ceremonial observance and arbitary prohibitions. The blessed life was represented as impossible without Divine Grace, and even then it assumed the character of a forced conventional existence in a lost world. Like the great humanist Socrates, Spinoza identified virtue not with a strained attempt to observe arbitrary commands blindly, but with a recognition of the fact that the origin of moral law lies in the spiritual nature of man himself. "To act absolutely in conformity with virtue," says Spinoza, "is nothing but acting according to our own proper nature."

FASCISM, SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND THE NEW DEAL.

In veiw of the increasing interest in political slogans which has arisen in this country since the slection of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose to the Congress Presidentship, we reprint from *Time* the following terse and handy definitions:

C. F. Childs, investment dealers, in their January bulletin speak thus:—

Socialism means that if you have two cows, you give one to your neighbour.

Under *Communism*, you given both cows to the Government which gives you back some of the milk.

Under *Fascism*, you keep the cows but give the milk to the Government which sells some of it back to you.

And under *New Dealism*, you shoot one cow, milk the other and then pour the milk down the sink.

PROVINCE AND PRESIDENCY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your hurried note on the sad death of H. E. Lord Brabourne you say that within living memory there has been no instance of a Governor of a Province dying during his term of office in this country. May I be permitted to point out, Sir, that Sir Alexander Muddman lies buiried in Naini Tal? The then Senior Member of Council, the Nawab of Chhatari officiated for the first time as Governor and remained in this capacity till a fresh appointment was made.

26th February 1939. Khar. } Yours etc., VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

[*We wrote, "no instance of a Governor of a Presidency."—Ed. *I. S. R.*]

Gandhiji in Rajkot:—Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in a statement to the Press on Saturday February 25, anncunced that Gandhiji had decided to leave immediately for Rajkot to inquire into questions relating to the treatment of political prisoners in the State. Gandhiji's peace mission is progressing and press reports remark on the readiness with which all parties are working towards mutual understanding. A settlement of all points of difference between the Rajkot ruler and some leaders of the Indian National Congress is expected this week-end.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India

Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,

WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,

Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer*.

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulra Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, Manager.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe	...8 Shillings or equivalent	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY

4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol („ „).

DIRECTORS

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,10,50,000
London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms, rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897.)

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co., Agents,

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type, In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY FEBRUARY 25, 1939. No. 26

"It will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator.*

CONTENTS.

Lord Brabourne.
Constitutional Reform in States.
Nagpur Vice-Chancellor's Apologia.
Bande Mataram.
All-India Congress Split.
Arab Refugees in India.
Bharatiya Acrobatics.
Governor's Day.
University Inspection Committees.
Pandit Nehru on Indian States.
Prohibition for Bombay.
Bombay and Madras
The Hussein-McMahon Letters.
The Theatre in Soviet Russia.
Registered Graduates' Constituency.
The Bombay University—III.
"What is Hindustani?"
The League of Nations Flag.

NOTES.

Lord Brabourne:—There is no instance within living memory of the Governor of a Presidency dying during his term of office. This itself makes Lord Brabourne's death on Monday at Calcutta an event calling for special notice. Besides this, Lord Brabourne had established himself in the affections of a large circle of friends in Bombay where he was Governor for four years and in Bengal where he has presided over the administration for the past two years. For four months of this period he acted as Governor-General during Lord Linlithgow's absence on leave in England and did so with perfect propriety. His period in India has witnessed the transition of the provinces from diarchy to autonomy, and, though the hand of the Secretary of State guided the operation at every stage, credit also belongs to Lord Brabourne for the efficient manner in which he handled the delicate processes involved in two important provinces. Great sympathy is felt for Lady Brabourne in her unprecedented bereavement far away from her family and relations.

Constitutional Reform in States:—Kashmir and Baroda announced within the last few days measures of constitutional reform. These are mainly the enlargement of their existing representative assemblies, increasing the elective element in them, and nominating from among the elected members Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries to Ministers. Cochin led the way a year ago by nominating a Minister responsible to the popular Assembly and entrusting him with a portfolio. This was on the Diwan's plan. The subject entrusted to the Minister was to be administered under the guidance of the Assembly. The first Minister appointed under this scheme unfortunately died prematurely after giving evidence of his great ability and zeal in the public interest. His successor from all accounts is acquitting himself equally well. This shows that there is no dearth of men in Cochin who can be entrusted with the responsibility of administration in the complex political structure of an Indian State. Kashmir announced a few days ago certain constitutional changes which have obtained the Maharaja's sanction. The chief feature of them is the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries from the elected members of the Popular Assembly to be a link between the Executive Government and the Legislature. This, of course, falls far short of responsible government but responsible government has not given a very good account of itself everywhere and the Government of Kashmir does well in hastening slowly in improving its machinery. Baroda has taken this week a bolder step than either Cochin or Kashmir. It can do this because of the great advance made under the late Maharaja in every direction by the State. The popular Assembly is to be enlarged considerably and one of the elected members, the one most acceptable to a majority, is to be taken into the Government as a full participator in the administration, with access to all the proceedings and papers including those within the purview of the Dewan himself. No other State so far has taken this step.

Nagpur Vice-Chancellor's Apologia:—The Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University, Mr. Kedar, made a statement to the University Court on the 11th February explaining why he favoured the admission by Nagpur University of the students who have left Osmania University. The spokesman of the students has declared that he and his friends would have stopped singing Bande Mataram had they been approached by their fellow Muslim students who regarded it as offensive to their religious sensibilities. To persist in the face of this explicit declaration in representing that the students left their University as a vindication of Bande Mataram as a national song and their right to sing it, as the Vice-Chancellor did, was not fair to the University Court. We have said that the matter would best have been left to be settled by the students among themselves and that the Hyderabad authorities might have kept out of this students' affair. But the point we wish to press on the attention of the Nagpur Vice-Chancellor is, whether it is in his power to guarantee the future of these students after they have completed their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

University studies in the Central Provinces where they are strangers. The interests of the students and not the personal prestige of the Vice-Chancellor, should be the primary consideration in deciding in this matter. The Vice-Chancellor's plea that Bande Mataram is entitled to be sung in all surroundings is not supported by the decision of the Congress that only parts of it can be sung at its functions. The Central Provinces Government has wisely agreed to let Muslims call its Vidya Pith schools by some Urdu name, although the objection to the use of the original term was wholly unreasonable. Universities should take the lead in promoting inter-communal harmony, and the action of Nagpur University and the arguments of the Vice-Chancellor are not calculated to promote this end.

The Congress Split:—The differences between Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and the Congress Working Committee have culminated in a breach between the Congress President and the Congress Executive. The course of the dispute is important. There was nothing in it which could not have been settled differently had there been mutual respect. What after all is the quarrel? Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad issues a statement withdrawing his candidature and recommending Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Mr. Bose replies pressing his own claims to the Presidentship. The Working Committee at once jumps in to support the rival candidate, in preference to its present head. Mr. Bose *apparently suspecting a conspiracy against himself, questions* the attitude of the "right wing," as he calls it, towards Federation. Dr. Pattabhi issues a statement which reveals him to be a man unable to make up his mind whether to stand or not for the Presidentship. Mr. Bose gets elected. And the "right wing" resigns. If the "right wing" resented the allegations of Mr. Bose about their opposition to Federation they should have resigned without waiting for the result of the Presidential election. To resign now seems rather late in the day. Mr. Bose, not to put too fine a point to it, got the impression that the old Working Committee was manoeuvring to throw him out. This is not the first time a responsible Congressman has suspected the "right wing" leaders of leading themselves to intrigue. Dr. Khare proved that he was not able to rely on them in fighting the disloyalty of his ministerial colleagues. Pandit Jawaharlal has not resigned along with the other members but he has addressed a long letter to the President explaining his point of view. Mr. Bose who is possessed of the context may be able to see more in it than is apparent to the public. But the Pandit's letter strikes us more as an explanation of his own peculiar difficulties than as an elucidation of the position. The Pandit remarks that he has not been able to understand Mr. Bose's politics. Pandit Jawaharlal makes a special point of international politics. There is meaning in this. The *Statesman* recently charged Mr. Bose with being a Fascist and the Congress President promptly denied it. But the accusation has stuck. To Pandit Jawaharlal this is the sin against the Holy Ghost, and somebody has played it up skilfully. The Pandit, however, seems to have realised that there was little to choose between the two parties. His separate letter and his statement in it that he has often felt himself a "square peg in a round hole" prove this. In the present state of the Congress the "democrats" can only be square pegs in a round hole, if they can be in the Congress at all. Only those who are not particular as to the weapons they use in the struggle for power, can hope to capture this great organisation. Mr. Bose unfortunately is ill at present and it will be a great strain for him to meet the crisis created by the collective resignations. He has the sympathy of the country in the difficult times that lie before him.

Jewish Refugees in India:—In reply to a question in the Indian Legislative Assembly a few days ago, Sir R. M. Maxwell, the Home Member, stated that arrangements had recently been made to admit Jewish refugees from the dictator countries, provided they obtained a guarantee from the Council of German Jewry in England or from the branch at Bombay which the Council of Jewry proposed to establish to maintain them for five years, and if unemployed at the end of that period to repatriate them to the United Kingdom. He added that persons in employment at the end of the period were to be regarded as standing on their own feet. In pursuance of this arrangement about 20 Jews out of a total of 500 who were passengers by the Italian boat, the Conte Rosso, were landed this week on their giving guarantees either through relations or the Jewish Relief Committee in respect of their maintenance while in this country. Mr. K. F. Nariman has denounced in the *Bombay Chronicle* the action of the Government of India in requiring guarantees from the refugees, as a departure from the ancient Indian tradition which welcomed Jews, Christians and Parsis who sought asylum with generous hospitality. Mr. Nariman, we are afraid, does not realise the consequences of allowing present-day refugees unrestricted freedom of entry into the country. The conditions of the ancient world were very different from what they are today. The refugees who came to India from motives of conscience, were a very different type to the refugees who are expelled from their country for political reasons. We have much sympathy for them. But sympathy is not everything. To allow refugees to swarm into the country will do good neither to them nor to the people of India. The refugees are Europeans and Europeans cannot thrive in the Indian climate. They will rapidly deteriorate and in a generation or two will become a serious social and economic problem. The more competent and eligible of the refugees have found asylum in Great Britain, France and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the United States. It is the remnant whom these countries will not admit, that are driven to go to Shanghai on the chance of finding occupation there. The Government of India's arrangement is by no means satisfactory. We are almost sure that it will be evaded. The only reasonable arrangement would be to admit only such refugees as can be easily assimilated by the Bene-Israel and other Indian Jews who, having lived all along in an atmosphere of tolerance, have not acquired or inherited the mentality of the ghetto. In aggravation of the plight of the Jews from dictator countries, the Palestine policy of Great Britain is advertising the Jew as an exploiter of oriental races and nations who have not discarded all values but those that make for worldly prosperity.

Linguistic Acrobatics:—We publish in another column a letter from Mr. Z. A. Bokhari, the eager and enthusiastic Director of the Bombay Broadcasting Studio, announcing a series which he has contrived on "What is Hindustani?" There is to be six talks by six men, three Muslims and three Hindus in order to maintain the communal balance. Evidently Christians and Parsis, not to speak of Anglo-Indians, are not considered competent to have a voice in deciding this national question. Mr. Bokhari, we hope, is not thinking of following up this series with others on "What is Marathi?" "What is Gujarathi?" "What is Bengali?" Hindustani is unique in that even after the six Bokhari experts have enlightened the expectant world as to what it precisely is, there would still be the same state of uncertainty about this elusive and imaginary *lingua franca* that is to be in preference to other languages whose presence and personality need no broadcasting. It is stated that, among the terms for Hindu-Muslim understanding which have been agreed upon between Mahatma Gandhi and His Highness the Aga Khan, is one for the compilation of a grammar for the Hindustani language. The cry today, however, is for "basic" or rudimentry languages the great attraction of which is that they have no grammar to worry over. Basic English has been invented consisting of about 800 words and a 'basic' Hindustani, it is understood, is being got ready. The rudimentary needs of man which the 'basic' language is intended to convey, do not need as many as eight hundred words. The mass of mankind can express all their animal needs without articulate speech. A grunt and a groan, the first to denote satisfaction, the second to indicate discomfort, are all that is necessary. The *Times of India*, we note, has taken up basic English with enthusiasm. If it is not merely business enthusiasm, we shall look forward at no distant date to enjoying its editorials written in basic English.

A Governor's Day:—Sir Roger Lumley raised a corner of the veil which shrouds the mysteries of a Governor's life in an autonomous province, in an unconventional talk at the Bombay Rotary Club on Monday. His Excellency divided a Governor's work under two main heads; political and social. The latter he subdivided into three, namely, touring, the encouragement of social service and entertainment. The work which fell upon a Governor and his wife, said Sir Roger, left very few moments which were dull or unoccupied. Unless the Governor and his wife are exceptional people with an insatiable and unlimited capacity for enjoyment, they must feel terribly bored at some of the functions at which they have to play the leading role. Many years ago a Governor of Bombay who knew nothing and cared less for Indian music, was persuaded to distribute prizes to the students of a music school. When he came into the hall he had a gloomy, preoccupied face, but when he stood up, after a long and tedious programme of vocal and instrumental music during which he heroically suppressed several yawns, he spoke as if he had no greater enjoyment in life than to listen to Indian music. Every body understood that it was an act of courtesy and no one took him at his word and proposed that His Excellency should forthwith 'Indianise' his official Band. Talking of the Band, and entertainment functions generally, whatever might have been their necessity in the old days when hotels and theatres were few and primitive, there is none whatever nowadays. Not only that but they deprive Mr. Latthe of a substantial sum in the shape of entertainment tax, which may go some way to fill the large hole made by Prohibition in his bottomless purse! His Excellency's account of his political work leaves a disturbing thought in the mind of the reader. The safeguards provided in the Government of India Act certainly created the belief that the Governor's intervention can be relied upon by interests adversely affected by Ministers' measures. Sir Roger Lumley said, and experience during the past eighteen months has shown, that the use of the reserve powers is governed by considerations not exclusively related to equity. The restoration of confiscated lands by reconfiscating them by a special law, is an instance in point. Since it is desired that the responsibility should be understood entirely to be with Ministers and that the Governor should be exculpated from all responsibility, it would be fair to all concerned to repeal the clauses conferring the reserve powers which create expectations, and lead to disappointment at their non-fulfilment.

University Inspection Committees:—In the article on the Bombay University which we published last week, Prof. P. A. Wadia refers to the practice of the Vice-Chancellor playing an active part in Inspection Committees. We understand from reliable authority that the Vice-Chancellor has only figured on an Inspection Committee in the case of the Law Colleges when the question of revising the Law courses was under consideration.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, February 25, 1939.

PANDIT NEHRU ON INDIAN STATES.

It is a great advantage to all concerned to have at the head of the States' People's movement a man of transparent sincerity like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In dealing with him one knows exactly where one is. He is a sworn enemy of British Imperialism. At all times and on all occasions he openly proclaims his unswerving antagonism to it. He does not call himself its opponent today and its ally tomorrow. Of all Congress leaders of the first rank, he is the one man who, so far as we know, has seldom or never had occasion to explain that what he said had some other meaning than what it had been generally understood to mean according to the sense commonly attached to words. Another advantage is that he is not a hedgerow politician. He has a political philosophy and does not despise books. One, therefore, feels in approaching a pronouncement by him that one may safely dispense with tentative and conditional expedients.

The presidential address which the Pandit delivered at the All Indian States Peoples Conference held at Ludhiana on the 15th February, was evidently intended to be authoritative as an exposition of the policy of the Indian National Congress on the problem of Indian States. The latest phase of that policy is illustrated by the *satyagraha raids encouraged, promoted and controlled from Congress headquarters.* This the Pandit definitely endorsed and justified. From his point of view, he can not do otherwise. He regards the States much as Lord Dalhousie regarded them. Dalhousie was actuated by the passion to paint the whole of India 'red' because he thought that alone would bring peace and prosperity to the people of this country. Philip Cox in his "Rani of Jhansi," a very sympathetic presentation of an important episode in Anglo-Indian history, marred by a single lapse due to ignorance of Indian sentiment, pictures Dalhousie talking down Colonel Low who, with other seasoned Anglo-Indians, stood out against his annexation policy:

> Colonel Low! I admire your sentiments, but I can not congratulate you upon your reading of the times. Do you not see, Sir, that our very presence in this country is bringing new forces into its life, regardless of our intentions? That, no matter what our aims may be, we are creating new standards and satisfying agelong needs? The Moghul power failed because it could not respond to the demands that were made on it. The rulers lacked the ability to adapt themselves to the challenging and changing requirements of the new age. We can only succeed, Colonel Low, if we pay less heed to the past and think more of the future. These petty little States of which you are so fond, Colonel Low, what are they but centres of selfishness and misrule, blocking the path of progress and hindering the work of those who see a future vision of this land of vast opportunities? The times cry out for co-ordination, education, system, efficiency, good communications; and unless we can supply these elements of progressive administration to this country, our rule will be as brief as that of the Moghul. The good of the people, Gentlemen! That is my criterion, and by that I shall stand or fall.

Readers of Dalhousie's papers will see that Cox has admirably represented the point of view of that great Governor-General. Convinced as he was that Indian States could be only hindrances to healthy progress, Dalhousie did not, nevertheless, propose to extinguish them outright. His policy was the gradual elimination of the States created by the East India Company when their rulers died without issue. The right of adoption would be recognised in the case of the older States, absolutely in the case of those which were independent of Moghul and Mahratta suzerainty before the establishment of British rule, and conditionally on good behaviour in the case of those which came under the British Crown as the successor of those powers. Fifty years later, Lord Curzon in his speech at a State banquet in Gwalior, earnestly admonished the Princes to make the good of their people their supreme end, that by that test would he judge them and that by it they as an institution would perish or prosper.

Dalhousie and Curzon were arch-priests of British Imperialism but passages in their despatches and speeches, bear a close affinity to the sentiments expressed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, its arch enemy, in his Ludhiana address. The Pandit defined his plan for the States thus:—

> There is no independence in the States and there is going to be none, for it is hardly possible geographically and it is entirely opposed to the conception of a united free India. It is conceivable and desirable in the case of the larger States for them to have a great deal of autonomy within the framework of an Indian Federation. But they will have to remain integral parts of India and the major matters of common concern must be controlled by a democratic Federal centre. Internally they will have responsible government.

Without reading much between the lines of this rough sketch of the Pandit's plan, one can see three main points emerging from it. The States can have no independence. The "larger" States may be allowed to exist as integral parts of a democratic federation exercising powers devolved on them from above. The smaller States, by implication, must cease to exist. The tolerated States must have 'responsible government.' On the first point, the Pandit maintains that the States have no real independence now and what is called "independence" in their case is a fiction invented by the British Government for its own imperialist ends. This is Imperialism with a vengeance and, if Dalhousie and Curzon were present in spirit at Ludhiana, they would have clapped their hands in sheer delight at this Indian, a product of English Public School and University like themselves, preaching their gospel with a thoroughness which they themselves had not dared even to imagine. Though the Pandit implied that the smaller States will have inevitably to go, he extolled and held up the example of Aundh, decidedly one of them, for introducing 'responsible government.' Apparently, even small States

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

can survive if they introduce 'responsible government.' In other words, the distinction between the greater and the smaller States, is not to be absolute. All can save themselves by donning the 'silk belt of responsible government.'

What is this "responsible government"? Every government is responsi ble ultimately to the society which sustains it. Even a martial law regime in the last resort must have the support of a modicum of public opinion, as Dicey points out. But the phrase has come to be used in a special sense in which it is associated inseparably with the Parliamentary system on the British model. This system, it may be observed in passing, is as unsuitable to a small State like Aundh as a steam plough to turn up the earth in a half acre backyard. A Panchayat, not a Parliament, is what it needs. The Parliamentary system can not function in a State, small or large, deriving its powers by devolution from a superior authority. This is so elementary in constitutional theory and practice, that we are surprised that Pandit Jawaharlal should have overlooked it in his plan.

The Parliamentary system or responsible government is not an infallible means of assuring good or even tolerable government. The Balkan States had "responsible government" and some of them have it even now. But they had none of the attributes of "responsible government." There was no such thing known to them as civil liberty. The Pandit frequently claimed the authority of history for his propositions. But he overlooked one important chapter of contemporary history, which shows that the Parliamentary system and responsible government cannot be mechanically introduced into every country like the radio or the gramophone. The Turkish Dictator, Kemal Ataturk, tried to introduce it in his Turkey with all the authority of a man who had saved his country from going under foreign domination. He had secured it Independence : he wanted to give it responsible government. The attempt collapsed in melodramatic circumstances.

"This system (prevalent in Indian States) has vanished," said the Pandit, "from the rest of the world." May we remind him that "responsible government" has fared no better. If survival is the test, "responsible government" has no more value than the system which the Pandit condemns, of the States. Would the Pandit prefer the systems which have succeeded "responsible government" in European countries today to that which prevails in the average Indian State ? The fact is, the world has yet to evolve a system of government which will be free from the humbug and hypocrisy of the Parliamentary system, as well as from the tyranny of a soulless autocracy. Meanwhile, it is not wise to thrust "responsible government" which, as it functions today in Great Britain, France and the United States, is, as the Pandit well knows, the complete negation of responsibility, upon the Indian States as a condition of their being allowed to exist.

The Pandit wants to get rid of British Imperialism and the States at one stroke. Historical precedents on which he rightly lays store, suggest that one of the larger States will take the stage on the disappearance of British Imperialism. The Pandit is totally mistaken in thinking that British Imperialism has kept the States alive. The fact is that they have survived because they have roots in the national life which British rule had not ; and if either has to go, it will be British Imperialism and not the home-made autocracy. We have drawn a parallel between Dalhousie and the Pandit. Dalhousie's policy led to the Indian Mutiny. Is the Pandit sure that his drastic proposals for the States, if given effect to, will lead to no upheaval ? It certainly will. He is playing with fire, trying, without intending it, to bring on a conflagration. A foretaste of what may happen is already visible in the disturbances caused by the satyagraha operations in Jaipur and Limbdi. The woes of the Spanish people which have wrung the heart of the Pandit, will pale into insignificance compared with what India will have to pass through if the Pandit desires comes to pass.

PROHIBITION FOR BOMBAY.

In his Budget speech in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on Tuesday the 14th February, Mr. A. B. Latthe, the Finance Minister, outlined the Prohibition policy contemplated by the Bombay Government. He concluded :

> I cannot lose sight of the fact that we shall still have to unload ourselves of the remaining Excise Revenue of almost a crore and a half in 1940-41.....there is little left to fall back upon for completing the Prohibition programme and expanding our other national services. We cannot, simply cannot, leave the task at this stage and must find the needed money to carry the programme to its natural consummation. And let me say this on behalf of the Ministers. It is our object to complete this work next year.

There are few Budgets which have arrested the attention that Mr. Latthe's has done, and certainly none in India. The press in Bombay has not been able to give the Prohibition scheme the dispassionate consideration it deserves, because it is directly affected by the ban on liquor advertising and to some extent by the new taxation. The press outside the province even has shown restrained enthusiasm for the Budget, because of its possible repercussions on other provinces, and not on Congress provinces alone. Every Finance Minister is casting about for new sources of revenue and Mr. Latthe's departure from gradualism may infect governments in other provinces. But as a topic of discussion the Latthe Budget has won supreme place in the city. And whether one likes it or not, there is no denying the courage and imagination which Bombay's Finance Minister has brought to his task. In the debates in the Bombay Assembly, it is significant that no Indian speaker expressed himself against the ideal of Prohibition. Even

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the representatives of the drink trade who took it upon themselves to demonstrate outside the Assembly Chamber against the policy, seem to have pleaded for no more than a greater opportunity for adjustment with a longer transition period. The *Times of India* to which all talk of Prohibition was anathema in the past, has been converted by Mr. Latthe's extremism to support Mr. Rajagopalachari's systematic Prohibition policy. This is no mean achievement. The Bombay Government deserve the thanks of all social workers for bringing prominently before the public eye a question which was too often dismissed as a fad. The debates in the Assembly have shown the reactions of various speakers to the policy set out in the Budget speech. Their attitude towards the Budget has been a reflection of their feeling for Prohibition. For though all were agreed that drink was evil, not all were prepared to accept that Prohibition should be carried out at so great a cost. Dr. Ambedkar in his speech gave expression to a certain wistfulness that all the liquor revenue was being abandoned when money was needed so pressingly in other departments. It is not easy to follow Dr. Ambedkar's logic when he says that drink is an evil but its eradication is not an urgent need, especially so when one recalls that the Committee on the Depressed Classes appointed in 1930 by the Bombay Government of which he was a member, categorically stated that there was no hope for these classes, even economically, unless total Prohibition was introduced. The speeches in the Assembly, however, were so many lamentations on the high taxation proposed and not reasoned contributions to questions of economy or policy. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was probably the only constructive speaker and his survey of the possible consequences of the new taxation on municipal life and civic amenities deserve close consideration.

In the Prohibition policy announced by the Finance Minister, Mr. A. B. Latthe, there are some features which might well have been avoided. In the first place, it was unfortunate that Mr. Latthe should have linked the policy with the proposals he put forward for new taxation. It is not improbable that the Bombay Government had hoped that the national sentiment for Prohibition would be strong enough to carry the taxation schemes as well. As a matter of fact, the reverse has happened. The opposition to the new taxes has prevented a clear discussion on the Prohibition policy itself. Sir A. M. K. Dehlavi, the leader of the Opposition in the Assembly and the head of the Muslim League Party, actually declared his rejection of total Prohibition as an impractical ideal. It was a regrettable feature of Sir A. M. K. Dehlavi's speech that he should have represented the liquor traffic as an unconquerable evil. His reference to the inability of Islam to fight the evil was in peculiarly bad taste and would have been resented if any non-Muslim had suggested it. Mrs. Faiz Tyabjee who spoke later on the subject, had a juster appreciation of the strong anti-liquor influence of her religion. She did well in dissociating herself and the Muslim League as well from the conditional Prohibition of the Opposition Leader. In the criticism which Government spokesmen launched on the Dehlavi attitude, Muslim League men were able to redeem their position by referring to Mrs. Tyabjee's emphatic stand for Prohibition.

Secondly, it is regrettable that the Bombay Government in the method in which it seeks to bring in Prohibition, should have deprived itself of a great amount of valuable support. In the matter of exemption to Europeans, the Government shows little appreciation of that body of enlightened European opinion including the Christian Missions and the Churches, which supports the reform. We realise that, in allowing the system of permits to the community, the Bombay Government was making a concession to the fact that European society has not a teetotal tradition behind it as Indian society has. Yet in the very act of introducing Prohibition, the Ministry is breaking with administrative tradition and it should have availed itself of every support it could call upon. In the individual option which is allowed to Europeans in Bombay there will be some, perhaps many, who will have the courage to stand out but their position will be made needlessly invidious by this exemption. The European representative, Mr. Bramble, made a not unsympathetic speech in the House, concluding with the assurance his community would sooner or later "obey" the law if Prohibition is enforced. The only interpretation we can give to this is that the community as a whole will throw its weight against the seeking of licenses. The meaning otherwise would be that Mr. Bramble merely offered on behalf of his community not to take up illicit distillation or smuggling, and the words "sooner or later" are inane. Dr. Gilder, the Minister for Health and Excise in his speech appealed to the European community to come into line with Indian sentiment sooner rather than later. He asked them for their cooperation and he rectified to some extent the mistake of the exemption.

The other matter in which the Bombay policy works against the grain, is in seeking to introduce the reform first in the cities where public opinion on drink is obscured by a variety of interests rather than in the villages and rural areas where the force of social opinion is strongly on the side of the Prohibitionists. We are not concerned here with the new taxation. Anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with the ambitious programme of the Congress in regard to village reconstruction, must realise by now that, if Mr. Latthe had not taxed Bombay for Prohibition, he would have taxed it for something else. For the many items of the programme all need money and, if Prohibition is the first item on the reform scheme, it is not the only one. It is well to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

remember this. We have heard that one reason for applying Prohibition first in Bombay City was that urban residents would not readily agree to taxation when the benefits from it would go mainly to the villages. The fallacy behind this argument is the assumption that vested interests in Bombay would agree to taxation if the City itself was to gain from it. There has been enough to show the weakness of this premise in the budget discussions.

Those of us who have the cause of Prohibition at heart, can not object to the Bombay policy on the ground that the price to be paid for it is too high. The method now proposed is that of fighting the evil at its worst and strongest. If once, it is argued, liquor is beaten back from Bombay, the problem ceases to exist for the province. It is true that with other Prohibition workers we would have preferred a more systematic approach to Prohibition. But after a succession of Governments all committed to a policy of "Prohibition in twenty years" with the goal receding into a more distant future, we are not going to quarrel with a Government whose enthusiasm suggests a courageous handling of the problem. Besides this is not the time for doubt and hesitation. The die is cast. Mr. Latthe made it perfectly clear that, while he is ready to consider other methods of raising the necessary revenue which might be more equitable than his own proposals, the Ministers were not ready to go back on the Government's Prohibition policy. The Ministry is determined to show in putting the plan into effect a steadfastness equal to the inspired courage of their programme. By their very attempt the Kher Ministry have deserved the support of all sections of the province. If they succeed they will have won an abiding name in the history of the Province and of the country. They cannot and must not fail.

BOMBAY AND MADRAS.

In commending his taxation proposals to the Assembly, Mr. A. B. Latthe, the Bombay Finance Minister, stated that the province had reached, if it had not crossed, the utmost limits of taxation. To obtain finances for the next and final Prohibition measure next year Mr. Latthe proposed:

> To approach the Central Government with a request to give us the full share of Income Tax now, instead of at the end of ten years, which may be expected to bring in about a crore, and to ask the authorities concerned to agree to a reduction in salaries of all the services including those under the control of the Secretary of State. With the full support of all sides of the House, I feel confident that we shall succeed in this object of fulfilling the first great part of our pledges to our Province.

There is nothing in this statement which savours of an ultimatum. Yet the *Evening News* presented this in its front page summary as a threat to quit office if the Central Government did not concede the demand. It even gave a time limit, April 1939, which reduced the entire Budget to a farce. Many people looked on Mr. Latthe's carefully drawn up schemes as a mere excuse for precipitating a crisis. The *Times of India* in effecting a retreat from this misrepresention, retained the original sentence but added a modifying class which made nonsense of the paragraph. The two sentences read :—

> The boldest stroke of all is disclosed in a passage in the Minister's speech in which it is stated that unless the Government of India advance the provisions of the Niemeyer Award by eight years and agree to pay the Government of Bombay annually the sum of one crore of rupees as from April 1, 19 9, they will quit office. This is not said in so many words but the implication is there and inquiries in authoritative quarters have confirmed this.

We do not know what inquiries the *Times of India* made and what the authoritative quarters were, but it is not unfair to infer from its subsequent silence on the subject that it has found out its error. The Bombay Government have no intention of quitting office without being asked to do so by the Congress Party or by the province. "We cannot, simply cannot," said Mr. Latthe, "leave the task at this stage." If words mean anything, this should surely imply that the Bombay Ministry propose to stick to their guns till Prohibition is put through. In confirmation of this interpretation we have the Madras Premier's Budget speech. Mr. Rajagopalachariar's point of view is not different from Mr. Latthe's in this matter. He said :

> It is practicable in India to stop the consumption of intoxicating drinks and narcotic drugs by abolishing the State trade in it and enacting laws for total Prohibition. It is practicable in India satisfactorily to enforce Prohibition. There is no difficulty except of finance. The proper solution of this financial problem on which Prohibition hangs is finally the reduction of Central expenditure and the transfer of more revenue to the Provinces. This is true, but it is not right to proceed from it to the logical corollary that Prohibition must recede from the picture and the constructive plane of provincial administration to the status of a mere slogan and focus for the development of a political crisis against the Centre. We cannot be content with this translation from the region of tangible though partial realization to the region of mere political battle, until we reach the time and circumstances favourable for a victory over such a political crisis. Such an attitude does not at any rate content me. Hence we must tax ourselves. The time will arrive when the weight of these burdens that we take up on behalf of the poorest will furnish the justification and the strength for re-adjustment between Centre and Provinces. Any other policy would amount to evasion which we charged previous governments with.

We regret that even after the Budget speech of the Madras Premier, the *Times of India* has not thought it necessary to admit its mistake. Instead it carries an editorial commending the Madras Premier's policy to the Bombay Government, ignoring the different conditions that prevail in the two provinces. Mr. Rajagopalachari had the speech of the Bombay Finance Minister in his hands before he introduced his own Budget. Both of them belong to the same political party. Apparent divergences of policy resolve themselves when one bears in mind the importance which Bombay has in relation to the rest of our

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

province. In Madras the influence of the districts is strong. It cannot be said of that province that eradicating liquor from Madras city would mean winning more than half the battle. One must not lose sight of the fact either that Madras does not lend itself to the same taxation as Bombay does. An urban immovable property tax, for instance, would bring in little revenue and cause much annoyance. The Premier realised this when he said:

> It may seem to be but snail-pace advance to go only as far as one district this coming year. My only explanation is the need to preserve financial stability and for the necessary time that is required to build up alternative taxation. To go forward irrespective altogether of financial considerations, however attractive it may be in enunciation, would be to impair the credit of the Government and cause a setback to the movement of Prohibition itself. We have to secure the financial adjustments necessary and we have to consolidate the position at every stage. We have to combine the crusader's spirit with the wisdom of sound management of large responsibilities, unless indeed we would make Prohibition only an excuse for a crisis and an escape from responsibility.

It is fatuous to assume that the Bombay Congress Government is preparing to do just what the Madras Congress Premier denounces as improper. We welcome the different tactics adopted by Congress Governments in different parts of India as a realisation of the vastness of the problem. It is a devolution of authority which augurs well for the future of provincial autonomy.

THE HUSSEIN-McMAHON LETTERS.

A Reuter's message reported on the 15th February that His Majesty's Government were publishing the letters which passed between King Hussein of the Hedjaz and Colonel McMahon as the result of which the Arab ruler threw off his allegiance to Turkey and joined the British in making war on that country in 1915. (A Reuter's message published on Thursday says that the issue of the White Paper containing the Hussein McMahon letters has been delayed at the request of the Arab delegation which wants to verify the correctness of the translations. A later message added that the British Government had all along maintained that Palestine had been excluded from the territories promised to the Arabs as the price for their alliance. The British Government have not published the correspondence but the substance of it has been published on the Arabic side, and British and American writers on the subject have consistently maintained that Hussein for his part had all along believed that Palestine was included in the territories promised to him. The Palestine Royal Commission reproduced McMahon's letter of the 24th October 1915 in their Report but refrained, as not falling within their province, from expressing an opinion as to whether the portions of Syria which were specified in it as being excluded on the ground that they could not be said to be purely Arab, comprised or did not comprise Palestine. The map attached to the Report, however, clearly shows that Palestine is not west of Damascus but south, the Vilayets adjoining it on the East being Hauran and Maan. Writing on the Palestine Report in the American *Foreign Affairs* for October 1937, St. John B. Philby who had been in charge of the British Political Mission to Central Arabia in 1917-18 and British Representative in Transjordiana in 1911-1924, and whose book "The Heart of Arabia" is a classic, observed:

> British recognition of the independence of the Arabs in all the Arab territories except Aden was the first and principal stipulation of Sheriff Hussein in his first formal letter of July 14, 1915. Sir Henry McMahon accepted this condition with certain modifications in his famous letter of October 24. Sheriff Hussein knew that the British had promised more than the Turks ever would or could. No one doubted that that promise would be fulfilled in the event of ultimate victory.

The very next year Britain, France and Russia signed the Sykes-Picot agreement behind the back of the Sheriff dividing the Turkish Empire among themselves. The publication of this shameful document by the Soviet Government in 1977, was a bitter shock to the Sheriff, which was aggravated by the issue at about the same time of the Balfour Declaration promising to make in Palestine a National Home for Jews. Stephen King-Hall in his "Our Own Times", writing of the position at the Peace Conference, observes: "The Arabs, who, under the leadership of the Emir Feisal, assisted by Colonel Lawrence, had rendered valuable assistance to the British army in Palestine, had reason to anticipate British support in a claim to found an Arab Empire with its capital at Damascus." And it is well-known that Lawrence himself thought that the Arabs had been deceived and refused on that account any recognition of his services from the British Government.

The authorities cited above are all British. Professor Hocking of Harvard University studied the question on the spot and has dealt with it at length in his "The Spirit of World Politics." An interesting document printed as an appendix to this admirable volume is the letter which Emir Feisal wrote to Professor Felix Frankfurter, recently appointed a judge of the Supreme Federal Court of the United States by President Roosevelt. That letter has been some times cited as showing that the Emir approved of the Balfour Declaration. It was repudiated by the Emir but Professor Hocking thinks that it was framed by Lawrence and that the Emir put his signature to it without understanding its contents. He adds: "The chief point in interpreting the letter in the circumstance is that when Feisal signed its Arabic equivalent (for at the time he understood English imperfectly if at all) he had every expectation of ruling in Damascus with Palestine as a part of the Syrian state." Regarding the McMahon correspondence, Dr. Hocking gives in a footnote the contents of Hussein's version of them published by him and his son Feisal.

> Hussein himself published in Al Qubla (Mecca) what purported to be a definitive agreement, July 29, 1918. Feisal shortly before had published substantially the same document in Al Mufid (Damascus). These Arabic versions give the following boundaries of the independent Arab Kingdom-to-be: 'In the East, from the Persian Gulf: in the West, the Red Sea, the Egyptian Frontier, and the Mediteranean Sea; in the North, the Northern limit of the Vilayets of Aleppo and Mosul to the Euphrates and the Tigris; whereupon the boundary follows the length of the Tigris to its mouth in the Persian Gulf,—excepting the colony of Aden.' Within these boundaries, according to these versions, Great Britain pledged herself to help in establishing an Arab State which should be independent in 'every sense of the word'.

Professor Hocking thinks that Sir Henry McMahon's letter of October 24, 1915 was not the last which passed between the two high contractors.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

He suspects that there are other letters but he finds otherwise most tangible evidence of the substance both of Arab will and British consent. Here it is:

On October 3, 1918, Feisal was permitted by Gen. Allenby to enter Damascus with shout and flourish and hoist his flag on Government buildings. Also to issue on October 7, a proclamation to the Syrian people announcing an independent Government for the whole of Syria. In pursuance of Hussein's declared purpose, Feisal further hoisted the Arab flag by proxy in Beirut (October 7); and Gen. Allenby in pursuance of England's equally declared obligation to France, required him to take it down (October 10); and after protest, he did so. (October 12). Thereby lending sufficient emphasis to the fact that the Damascus flag was *not* ordered down! Nor those at Homs, Hama and Alepps.

The weight of opinion as well as evidence, independent of the Hussain-MacMahon correspondence, is thus on the side of the Arabs. If subsequent events have made it necessary for Great Britain to go back upon her word, it is best to avow it and be done with it.

THE THEATRE IN SOVIET RUSSIA.

(By Shakuntala Paranjpye)

Mr. Norris Houghton in his "Moscow Rehearsals" gives an account of the methods of production and inner workings of theatres in Moscow as they existed in 1935. It would be unwise, however, to draw any inferences from it as to what they might be today because things in Soviet Russia move so rapidly, that the author himself when he revisited Moscow only two years later, discovered that some of its theatres had changed out of recognition, some of its leading directors and authorities on dramatic art had been quietly deprived of their power.

There are about forty theatres in Moscow. The respective sets of people working at these theatres do so, not only for a season as in Europe and America, but for years on end, toiling and striving for the good and prosperity of its theatre. As a result every theatre develops a tradition of its own with its members really devoted to its work as to that of an institution. Eight of these theatres have a technicum each, controlled and managed by its particular theatre, where potential members receive an education and training in keeping with the traditions peculiar to the institution. Thus from the very start the students imbibe a culture and technique which is exclusive to that particular theatre. This training is begun at a very young age when the body and mind of the pupil are easier to mould. Great emphasis is laid on physical training in Russia and the actors have to undergo a strenuous course of gymnastics and even of acrobatics. There are other theatrical schools in the country organized and administered under the direct supervision of the People's Commissariat of Education. They number 64, their collective strength being 26,000. Each school has a course of studies extending over four years. A list of the subjects taught at these schools will give one some idea of how earnestly and seriously the Russians treat the dramatic art. The subjects are:—History, History of the Communist Party, Political Economy, Economic Politics, Dialectic Materialism, Russian Language, Russian Literature (19th Century), Literature, Military Affairs, Psychology, History of Ancient Theatre, History of Modern Theatre, History of Art, History of Literature, Gymnastics, Rhythmics, Dancing, Physical Culture, Acrobatics, Fencing, Diction, Mastery of Speech, Music Appreciation, Make-up, Play-writing, Directing, State-craft. The eschewing of any foreign languages in the curriculum is worthy of note.

No wonder Tovarisch Furminova, the Director of the Technicum of the Central Theatre Combinate, remarked to the author, that 'the demand for actors and theatre-workers exceeds the supply.' Few, indeed, would care to go through such hard training to be followed up by a still harder life at the theatre. Tremendous pains are taken over the production of a play. Rehearsals are very thorough and sometimes a play is rehearsed for over a year before it is performed in public. Perfection is what every theatre aims at and no play is acted in public before that is reached. There are instances of a play being completely abandoned after many rehearsals because the performance could not attain the standard that the director wanted it to do. Several dress rehearsals take place before the actual performance of the play, thus enabling the actors to acquire the requisite ease and naturalness of manner. Every theatre has a repertoire of its own, and it has a change of programme every evening—a system which prevents the artists from getting into a rut wherein they are bound to fall by the constant repetition of the same play night after night. This naturally means extra work for the artists as well as for the technicians. These latter have daily to pack and unpack different settings for a different play every evening. And settings in Russia are far from being simple! This explains why, for instance, the Moscow Art Theatre has as many as 260 members on its technical staff alone.

In Soviet Russia theatres are not run on commercial lines and as a consequence the stage not having to keep an eye on the box-office, can lift the people up to its own levels of culture rather than sink down to theirs as is the case in other countries. 'The Russian more than anyone else, is infected with the passion for spectacles,' writes Stanislavski, 'the more the spectacle excites and captivates the soul, the more it attracts him. The simple Russian spectator loves a drama at which he can weep a little, philosophize about life, listen to words of wisdom, more than any noisy vandeville act after which nothing is left to feed the soul.' With this characterization of the Russian by one of its greatest authorities on drama, one can well imagine how richly Russian drama must have been fed by the revolution, and how Soviet Russia must have made use of the theatre to carry on its propaganda. Although theatres in Russia have existed for over a hundred years, the revolution has no doubt innovated them. Every factory has its dramatic club and, if a member of it shows special aptitude for the art, he is sent to be trained at a theatrical technicum, the factory bearing the expenses. The taste and the appreciation for dramatic art is universal. Even children have special theatres conducted wholly for their benefit. Valuable research in child psychology is carried on through this medium. During the intervals children are encouraged to ask any questions that crop up in their minds, and the members of the theatrical staff hold personal conversations with their juvenile audience. Special note is taken of the manner in which the children react towards the play, and further writing of plays for children is based on the conclusions drawn from such reactions. And this can be said to be one of the numerous ways in which 'Education through Art' is imparted in Russia.

The adult audience at every theatre is truly representative of the proletariat and not restricted to an exclusive class as it used to be before 1917. As compared to England or America, Russians visit a theatre much more frequently, take an emotional, artistic and intellectual interest in the plays, in fact it seems almost as though the theatre

George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London 12sh. 6d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were to the Russian people what sport is to England and America.' The Soviet theatre has no snobbery about it and people walk into the theatre straight from the factory, without bothering to 'dress' or look smart. Late-comers have to wait for the following interval before they are allowed to enter. The modern Russian plays depict real life. They have a utilitarian message to carry and they are so captivating as to make one forget one's own troubles. The auther gives us a very vivid account of a play "The Iron Flood" staged at the Realistic Theatre, as an instance:

> "There was no curtain, no proscenium, no stage at all.....That evening we spent four hours with the Red Army in the field; that was all.....The action was all around you. The wounded dragged themselves across your feet, the people were cheering each other or beside you. The relieving troops you could hear coming behind you and sweeping over you; above your head the night sky hung."

There being no copyrights in Russia the same play can be staged by more than one theatre. And it is there that one can best study the difference in style and production of various theatres. For there are a good many schools of dramatic art in Moscow. Stanislavski was an apostle of the naturalistic school. He was the director of the Moscow Art Theatre which has existed some forty years. An actor of this theatre is expected to put himself in the place of the character he is representing and have the same absolute faith in the imaginary episodes he is acting as a child has in the existence of her doll. This is a theatre of inner feeling and is essentially a theatre of actors. No actor is dictated to. He himself has to work and train his mind to fall into the 'circle.' And it is only when every actor has come to believe that he is actually living the part he is acting, that the regisseur starts to work at the ensemble and give the play such treatment as is necessary to make it a smooth, harmonious and connected whole.

Directly opposed to this style of production is that of Meierhold. With him actors are not consulted any more than they are in the talkies. Every detail of sound and action is dictated to them by their regisseur, Meierhold, and they have no say in the matter. His word is law. He believes in symbolism and constructivism. In the Meierhold theatre the stage is set up in the middle of the theatre and actors emerge direct from their dressing rooms into the view of the spectators. There are no architectural barriers between spectators and actors. Meierhold studies his productions with a view to the collective effect. "His characters also are symbols. They are depersonalized representatives of type.....They are empty masked automatons." The author gives us an instance. Meierhold believes "that the emotion of abandonment and joy with which a man is filled can much more accurately be revealed if he slides down a ten-foot S curve to meet his lady than if he follows the dictates of natural movement." Kamerny Theatre is another autocratic theatre. It was founded by Tairov. This theatre is meant to be theatrical. Its plays are heroic rather of the type of the Greek Theatre. This theatre has also abandoned naturalism for the sake of formalistic style. It went in for futurism and cubism. Huntly Carter has neatly characterized the three directors: "Stanislavski told the actor he must forget that he is on the stage. Tairov told him he must remember nothing else. Meierhold told him he must remember he is one of the audience."

Vakhtangov was a director who united the Stanislavski and Meierhold school in his productions. He believed that the actor must both give the image of the character and then make his own comment upon it. For instance he believed that Julius Ceasar should be given an expression of the collective's own civilisation and its own thought. He did not sever his activities from the Moscow Art Theatre and directed its Third Studio, which after his death did part connection with the mother institution and was named after Vakhatangov. Many other schools of dramatic Art are described by the author and they mostly fall in between the two opposing schools of Stanislavski and Meierhold.

As regards designing, Soviet Russia is rather backward. None of the theatrical technicums give any training in designing. The designer of the Soviet theatre is no more than a painter. The art of lighting also has little to recommend itself to the Westerner. Very little colour is used and little effort is made to eliminate shadows. At present there is no training school for theatre technicians is Moscow. This seems strange when one considers what elaborate courses it runs for its actors.

The play-writer in Russia has not yet attained a very high standard. He has "no idea of unity and concentration.....He works too diffusely, using a dozen scenes and two dozen characters when his story would be much more forceful if told in a third as many scenes and by a fourth as many characters.....Plots, also, are at the same time both too complicated and too simple. They are too complicated because as often as not the writer is trying to tell two or three stories at once..... the plots are too simple because in the great majority of cases one can foretell the outcome of a play by the end of its first act.....In characterization the Soviet dramatist also falls down. His chief trouble is that he tries to paint his people only in black and white..." As a consequence of the lack of good plays, the Moscow Theatres produce a good many foreign classics. The Russian productions are grand but the part played in them by the writer is insignificant. A theatre when it undertakes to produce a play does more or less what it likes with it and seldom consults the writer.

The artists of Moscow are not jesters to the public, they are its leaders, its teachers, its servants. They are Russia's respected citizens, its great men, and if an aristocracy exists in the classless society of the Soviet Union then the artists are a part of it.

REGISTERED GRADUATES' CONSTITUENCY

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer,

Sir,

There are various constituencies such as the College Teachers Constituency, the Principals, the Head Masters, which are entitled to send their representatives to the Senate of the Bombay University. There is also the Registered Graduates' Constituency provided by the Act. The object certainly is that there should be proper representation on the Senate from amongst the Registered Graduates who are engaged in independant trades and vocations and who are not connected with any Educational Institution. But unfortunately in the election from this constituency, the Principals and Professors of the Colleges always offer themselves for election, inspite of the fact that they have got their own constitutiencies. In this way the very object in creating this special constitutiency is defeated. Surely this is objectionable. The registered graduates should, therefore, make it a point to elect their own representatives on the Senate.

Satara, 14th February 1939. { Yours etc., K. B. Gadragaadkar.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BOMBAY UNIVERSITY—III.

(By Prof. P. A. Wadia.)

Any one who has followed the history of the Bombay University during the last ten years and more, will have become increasingly aware of the friction and conflict between the various statutory bodies of the University. The Act was the outcome of a desire to divide the different functions of the University between bodies competent to deal with them, whilst at the same time it sought to correlate and co-ordinate the work of these various bodies with a view to securing harmony and singleness of purpose. Where we have a body of like-minded men interested in the cause of higher education even the most clumsily worded body of laws can be used as an instrument for the expression and realisation of educational ideals. Even the most carefully drafted Act may give rise to conflicts of jurisdiction and powers where the will to co-operate falls short of reasonable expectation.

We shall take first conflicts that appear from time to time between the Senate as a whole and the Syndicate which is a permanent executive body carrying out from day to day the policy laid down by the Senate and the details in the shape of regulations laid down by the Academic Council. The executive powers of the Syndicate are usually expressed through the frame-work of ordinances which are subject to the approval of the Senate. Very often it happens that the Syndicate in the exercise of its powers frames ordinances which involve questions of policy, and on these questions of policy the Senate may not be of the same mind as the Syndicate. Thus, for example, the Syndicate has the power of framing ordinances determining the scale of fees for University examinations. The Senate with its democratic composition is usually inclined to scale down the fees, having in mind the burden on a poverty-stricken populace like that of India. The Syndicate has a temptation to scale the fees in an upward direction with a view to balancing its revenue and expenditure.

This is a source of constant conflict between the Senate and the Syndicate; and this conflict becomes very prominent at the time of budget discussions when motions for a cut are proposed and debated for hours together giving opportunities for the ventilation of all kinds of extraneous grievances on the part of members of the Senate.

Sometimes the Syndicate succeeds in cleverly playing its own game. The question, for instance, of conveying an address of congratulations to a new King-Emperor, may be removed from the field of seemly discussion on the floor of the Senate, by the device of including the expenditure under contingencies in the budget figures. The most fruitful source of conflict between the Senate and the Syndicate is in practice. The Senate always prides itself on being the supreme authority of the University on questions of finance. As such, it very often seeks by way of amendments at the time of the budget meeting to introduce such radical alterations in the budget figures that it becomes difficult for the Syndicate to accept them. Even when this is not done, motions are moved, by way of censure, are proposed and carried by a majority who combine together for the one purpose of expressing their lack of confidence in the Syndicate, though on the merits of the cut and the principles involved in the cut the members who vote with it may hold different and even opposite views.

The same lack of confidence on the part of the Senate in their own executive is manifested in questions like affiliation of new colleges. The Syndicate, in determining the terms of affiliation, is led by considerations of efficiency to impose rigid conditions more especially in matters of financial stability. This, of course, may not happen if the new aspirant for affiliation has powerful backing from members of the Syndicate or Academic Council. But when it does happen, there is a conflict between the Syndicate which seeks support for its action in terms of efficiency and the Senate which, with its democratic constitution and its contacts with the people, is inclined to give every possible opportunity to the new aspirants for affiliation to found institutions for the spread of higher education and for the dissemination of culture

Conflicts, such as we have noticed, are not to be regarded as very unusual or abnormal in the history of the relations between governing bodies like the Senate and the executive bodies like the Syndicate. But those who have followed the proceedings of the Senate as actual spectators, must reluctantly confess that there is an element of unnecessary bitterness and dissatisfaction on the part of the Senate in relation to its own executive. When we use the word, 'unnecessary,' we mean not that this bitterness has no foundation but that it is not desirable.

Let us analyse the causes that are at work in producing this lack of confidence and this sense of bitterness. One reason may be found in the fact that, in the case of a substantial number of propositions brought in the name of the Syndicate before the Senate, when trenchant criticism of the proposals is offered at a Senate meeting, it is difficult to find a single member of the Syndicate prepared to reply effectively to the criticisms and to defend the action of the Syndicate. A body like the Senate expects proper guidance and explanation from a representative of the Syndicate when a controversy thus arises. Silence on the part of the representatives of the Syndicate on such occasions is construed or misconstrued as wobbling or something worse. It might be that, when no official defence of the Syndicate resolution is forthcoming before the Senate, the reason may lie deeper. The resolution brought before the Senate in such cases may be the expression of a single will or the will of a small minority rather than that of all the members of the Syndicate. It might also be that reluctance to speak on the part of some members of the Syndicate is due to lack of knowledge or incompetence. Another reason for this constant conflict and lack of confidence may be found in the fact that the Syndicate is elected by two different bodies, five being elected by the Senate and seven by the Academic Council. Moreover, the electoral machinery based upon proportional representation with the transferable vote and upon a system of voting by post, lends itself easily to abuse and the influence of cliques bent upon the preservation of vested interests and sanctified by blessings from on high.

An analysis of the composition of the Syndicate in the past few years might reveal weaknesses which can account for the silence of some of them in defence of their own resolutions. But it is not necessary nor fair to confine one's attention to the composition of the Syndicate in accounting for lack of co-operation between the two bodies. One has to remember the composition of the Senate as well. It is a mixture of various elements—a body of 150 members, made up roughly of a 100 elected members, 40 nominated by the Government and 10 ex-officio. The elected members include not only educational interests like the colleges, the schools and the graduates, but representatives of the Municipality and of local boards and of chambers of commerce. It is difficult for such a heterogeneous body to have a single mind and purpose in questions

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of educational policy. Personalities prevail where singleness of purpose is lacking. One has also to remember that, where there are questions of sharing material benefits which are limited in amount, conflicts of interest may easily arise. All these conflicts find partial expression on the floor of the Senate in the shape of drastic comments and expressions of dissatisfaction with their own executive.

Under the present Act it may not be possible even to reduce the occasion of conflict between these two bodies. Honest difference is a thing to be welcomed. Without such differences and the freedom of ventilating such differences, the University would not be a living and growing educational institution. All that one can hope for is, that, in the work of dissemination of culture and the promotion of research, personal likes and dislikes, the formation of cliques bent on the division of spoils or influenced by a parochial spirit, should be entirely absent. Where men come together in the name of culture and research, and higher education, there could be and ought to be no regional barriers, much less barriers raised by a material profit or gain. It may be human to erect such barriers, but it is human to get over them in a sphere of work like education. No one can claim that the Bombay University is a perfect institution either in its framework or in the spirit in which its affairs are being conducted. Much depends on the human factor. But the flesh is weak, and our liberty may be used as an occasion to the flesh. Wise leadership has been lacking in the past. The spirit of commercialism has entered into its working. One can only hope and pray that these traditions of commercialism and intrigue that have in recent days been sedulously injected into a corporation that stands for whatsoever is beautiful and good and noble, may be replaced by a healthier tradition of co-operation and good will in the search for human values which transcend the distinctions of race and colour and nationality.

"WHAT IS HINDUSTANI?"

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

A series of six talks entitled "What is Hindustani"? has been arranged by All India Radio. These talks will be given by some of the most prominent people of India, and will be radiated simultaneously from Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Calcutta and Bombay.

These talks are designed to help listeners to arrive at some sort of clear notion of the kind of language that is implied when we speak of "Hindustani" as "a *lingua franca* for India." A great deal has been said on the subject during the course of the last year from various angles. This has roused a considerable amount of interest in the matter, but at the some time created a certain amount of confusion in the mind of the average man. Apart from the general interest that All India Radio has in movements that aim at a greater unity amongst the various sections of the people in this country, any attempt toward creating and popularising a common language, is of special significance to broadcasting which employs the spoken word more than any other agency in this country, and whose constant aim is to make itself intelligible to the largest possible number of people.

We do not under-rate the difficulties of the problem, and in fact we consider that All India Radio has been made more conscious of them than was necessary by the constant and at times conflicting criticisms which our spoken word items in general and Hindustani news bulletins broadcast, in particular, have elicited. Nevertheless, the problem is of such great importance to India that, however great the difficulties, the efforts that are being made to arrive at a common language, should not be relaxed.

In this series of six talks entitled "What is Hindustani?" arranged by All India Radio which will be radiated by all the Stations on 20th., 21st., 22nd., 23rd., 24th., and 25th. February, 1939 at 7-45 p.m., Dr. Tara Chand, Maulvi Abdul Haq, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Zakir Husain, Acharya Narendra Deva and M. Asaf Ali, will give their views on this important problem.

All those who have at heart this vital question of common language for India will not miss the opportunity of listening to the view of these prominent persons.

Yours etc.,

Z. A. BOKHARI,

Bombay, *Station Director.*

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS FLAG.

For years the League of Nations has found itself without a symbol, says *No-frontier News*. Various improvisations were resorted to—for example in Letitia and the Saar. But whenever the question of a League flag was mooted in Geneva it always came up against the fears of sovereign states—chiefly the Great Powers—that a superstate was being foisted upon them. Now, with the League neglected, it is to have a flag, at least for the purposes of the New York World's Fair. The matter has not been decided in the Council, to be sure, and if questions should be asked there one day, doubtless it will be said that the flag is only a provisional symbol invented to meet a special situation. Yet the situation is that the League's pentagon based building now in process of construction at the Fair just had to have a flag to fly as all the other buildings will. A League flag was also imperative at the Court of Honour where all the flags of the participating nations will float together on the appointed day. The flag is very simple. It bears a pentagon, with a five-pointed star within, upon a white ground. The pentagon and star are symbolic of the five continents of the world, as is the form of the League's pavilion at the Fair.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India
Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,
WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,
Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Siva Sankaran Foundation, Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager.*

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „ „).
Nandurbar („ „ „).
Shirpur („ „ „).
Shahada („ „ „).
Sakri („ „ „).
Sindkheda („ „ „).
Taloda („ „ „).
Malegaon („ „ „).
Satara (District Nasik).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad („ „).
Kalol (District Panch Mahals).

DIRECTORS

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,10,50,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mansana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 28,00,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

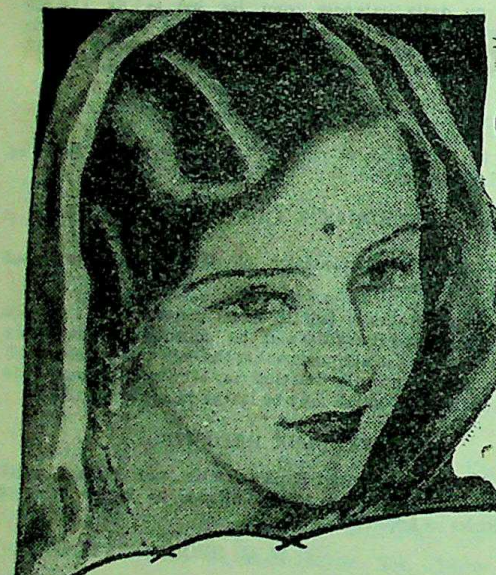
卐

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy leather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to;—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY FEBRUARY 18, 1939. No. 25

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

CONTENTS.

Death of the Pope.
Christianity and World Problems.
The "Economist" on India.
The Bombay Budget.
New Taxation.
Hyderabad Students' Response.
Nelson Imitation Nationalism.
New Friends for Franco.
Frozen Securities.
Bewildering.
Bombay University—II.
The Voice of Tambaram.
Women in Hindu Law.
Religious Endowments in Mysore.
Anti-Semitism in the U. S. A.
India Approaches Federation.
The Van Zealand Report.

NOTES.

Death of the Pope :—Pope Pious XI breathed his last in the small hours of the morning on Friday February 10. Cardinal Achille Ratti was Archbishop of Milan when he was elevated to the Papacy. Milan was also the scene of the pre-Fascist days of Signor Mussolini who was present in the crowd outside St. Peter's to which His Holiness gave his first blesssing on his accession. Eight months later the Fascist revolution placed Signor Mussolini at the head of the Italian State. In 1929 was signed the Concordat which made a State of Vatican City. There have arisen complaints on both sides of violations of the terms of the Concordat but on the whole they were fewer and less serious than those about the observance of the terms of the Concordat with Nazi Germany signed in July 1933. Pope Pius the Eleventh during the seventeen years of his reign has had to deal with many and varied problems concerning his Church both in its internal organisation as well as in its relations with other countries. One great achievement which will remain a memorial of his Papacy, is his policy of admitting non-European ecclesiastics to Bishoprics in their own country. The example set by him was followed by the Anglican Church and by the American Methodists. India has special cause to remember Pope Pius XI as during his regime and undoubt on his inspiration, the Catholic Church in India had openly identified itself with the national sentiment in respect of Swaraj and Prohibition. The Papacy itself has for centuries been filled by Italians. The probability of an American Cardinal being elected as his successor has evoked protests in the Italian Press. We daresay that the election of a Pope is not free from diplomatic and other wirepulling. But we think that there is much less of it than in an American or French presidential election. In all three cases, in theory the highest office in the State is open to the poorest lad in the land. But in the United States the office has all along remained a preserve of a ruling caste consisting of Anglo-Saxon or Dutch families as the Papacy has been the monopoly of Italians. No Roman Catholic, Jew or Negro has a chance of being elected President of the United States. Though there is no legal bar as in Great Britain the convention is not less strict. Pope Pius was not only a great Churchman but also a great diplomatist. His attitude on the Italian invasion of Abyssinia was not uninfluenced by the prospect of establishing the Catholic faith among the Copts of that country. His greatest troubles have been with Herr Hitler and it is probable that his frequent controversies with the Fuehrer brought on the heart disease to which he succumbed after several years of patient endurance. Pope Pius was held in high respect by Protestants as also among non-Christian peoples on account of his high personal character and liberal outlook. The Papacy has been greatly enhanced in prestige by tenure of Pope Pius XI.

Christianity and World Problems :—The Rev. Walter Foley of Manilla writes on another page on "The Voice of Tambaram." Tambaram is the suburb of Madras where the World Missionary Conference met in Christmas week. Dr. Foley does not, as some other commentators have done, gloss over the difficulties which confronted the Conference owing to the presence in it of representatives from nations with new political and social ideals. Especially noteworthy are his observations on the difficulties of the German delegates; Chinese and Japanese Christians did not view world problems from the same angle. Dr. Foley does not make any reference to Indian delegates, no doubt because they made no contribution worth mentioning to the deliberations of the Conference. To the onlooker, the difficulties of the Conference appear to be difficulties always attendent on efforts to put new wine into old bottles. Nearly fifty years ago, Principal Wordsworth of Elphinstone College, Bombay, a grandson of the Poet, wrote that the evolution of Europe had escaped the control of Christianity. The fact was not recognised until the War made it impossible to ignore it. In the Tambaram Conference too, there was considerable circumlocution employed to hide the plain truth that Europe is no longer Christian—more than half of it not even in name. The problems of the modern

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

world can not be solved exclusively by recipes derived from the New Testament. Some of them have had solutions offered for them centuries ago in India and China. We are sometimes surprised by European writers floundering in their search for light on social problems, which they would have spared themselves had they turned to the East for guidance. A rather glaring case is that of Dr. Pryns Hopkins in his book "Psychology of Social Movements" noticed in two recent issues of the *Reformer*. The World Missionary Conference was not the success which it might have been, because it shut itself against the light of Indian thought which was streaming on it on all sides.

The "Economist" on India:—We print this week an article on India from the *Economist*. The *Economist* surveys the field of Indian politics without bias and, if the article is an indication of the trend of British opinion, the Congress Party, it will be seen, has a great measure of support in Britain. On two points, however, it is out of sympathy with Indian aspirations. The reference to Prohibition "eating into the liquor excise revenue," lacks appreciation of the national sentiment which lies behind Congress policy. No one in Britain, for instance, would seriously advocate the cessation of rearmament on the ground that it "eats" into the national income. The feeling that rearmament is necessary and must be carried out, has overcome all thoughts of economy. Men of all political parties support the "Defence" measures undertaken by the Government. If Indians are prepared to pay the price for Prohibition we do not see how it concerns any one else. Prohibition in India is regarded as the first measure, the foundation stone in fact, of economic and social reform. The other issue which the *Economist* eyes with distrust is that of support to Indian industries, "industrial protection which eats into the yield of Customs." This is the Ainscough argument again. In bureaucratic India, economic progress had lagged behind progress in other fields. If the national life of the country has to be a full one, obviously we cannot expect perpetually to balance our Budgets with Customs revenue. It is economic extravagance to suggest as the *Economist* does, that one of the main reasons for the demand for Indianisation of the Army is the difficulty of finding money for financing Prohibition and industrial enterprises. Even if Britain took over the entire bill for military expenditure, the demand for "a people's army" would still be insistent. The trend of recent international events have shown that no country can rely on the arms of another. In presenting the financial problem as a choice between maintaining military expenditure at the present level and of putting into effect policies of Prohibition and of support to Indian industries, the *Economist* sidetracks the issue. Sir Thomas Ainscough was nearer the truth when he remarked on the difficulty of India meeting her commitments abroad if her Customs revenue falls. But Sir Thomas believed that faced with the choice, Indian economists would or ought to subordinate the development of Indian industries to the demands of foreign creditors. This is expecting from India a "higher" standard of international finance than Britain herself has set up. The problem is identical. Faced with the difficulty of paying her War debts, meeting rearmament expenses and maintaining her social services, Britain under Mr. Chamberlain's guidance chose to repudiate her debts abroad. If Indian Finance Ministers have to decide between military expenditure, social and economic relief measures and her foreign commitments, there is no reason to think that they will prove more quixotic than Mr. Chamberlain proved to be. The over-emphasis on economics in Britain is probably a reflection of the over-emphasis placed by many Congress spokesmen on the economic aspects of Indianisation of the Army. Recent Assembly debates have, however, revealed a gradual change in Indian politicans which has passed unnoticed in Britain.

The Bombay Budget:—On Tuesday the Finance Minister, Mr. A. B. Latthe, introduced the Budget for the coming year in the Bombay Legislative Assembly. Mr. Latthe's speech was a clear and lucid exposition of the proposals. The public have learnt to expect a judicious mixture of idealism and reality in Mr. Latthe's public utterances and they were not disappointed on this occasion. The main proposals of the Finance Minister relate to the enforcement of further measures of Prohibition. The introduction of total Prohibition in Bombay city and in the suburbs is the outstanding feature of Government's proposed Prohibition policy. The loss of revenue which is expected to be Rs. 155 lakhs, is to be met by new taxation. The Bombay Government are to be congratulated on the fact that they have not allowed the bogey of loss of liquor revenue to hold back their Prohibition programme. We have in the past expressed the view that in regard to Prohibition the Minister in charge had too often been overwhelmed by the opinions of his departmental staff. That reproach is no longer tenable. The first two years of office apparently were utilised by the Government to survey the field before launching on action. Yet we have grave misgivings as to whether the present step, which is without doubt a bold one, is the best way of tackling the problem. In other fields mistakes might be necessary to progress and, therefore, a certain measure of experimentation is obviously desirable. But in Prohibition one wrong step might ruin the cause. The drive for Prohibition should be from the rural areas to the urban, from the interior out towards the sea-ports. That is the natural line of action. The Government proposals work the other way. It will need a tremendous effort to enforce the scheme. Then again, granted that Bombay city and suburbs are the best territory to introduce Prohibition in, we do not know how advisable it

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to allow exemption certificates even if only to Europeans." In Bombay unlike Ahmedabad where the experiment is reported to have been encouraging, there is a large unofficial European population which will feel little compunction in applying for permits. Besides from this community the supply will spread to Indians. In the more fluid conditions of Bombay social life, such exemptions are dangerous. There is no argument in support of these permits and we would not be surprised if a good number of Europeans themselves resented this discrimination as an undeserved reproach on their community.

New Taxation :—To meet the Prohibition bill, Mr. Latthe has several proposals for taxing the people. The main proposals fall into three groups: The sales tax, the tax on competitions and the immoveable urban property tax. There was some talk last year of bringing in a tax on agricultural incomes with a view to levelling distinctions between the urban and the rural residents. Mr. Latthe in his speech, however, regarded the new tax on immoveable property in the cities as bringing urban property taxation to the rural level and told the House that he would place before the Assembly at the Poona session, Government's conclusions relating to agricultural incomes. Mr. Latthe was most hesitant in commending his tax on immoveable urban property and he concluded this part of *his* speech with an appeal for a necessary sacrifice which he hoped would be accepted cheerfully until at least "the Congress was in a position to replace it in some other way." One way he indicated was that of appealing to the Government of India for a greater share in the income tax receipts. That Bombay should receive the full share of income tax now instead of at the end of ten years is Mr. Latthe's plea and he suggests that the Government of India can accede to his request by reducing salaries all round. Here he will have public support. But Mr. Latthe made it clear that any amount he might receive from this source, would be earmarked for pushing Prohibition still farther. The property tax has two disadvantages. It encroaches on the rights of Municipalities which will lose an important source of revenue after the margin between the municipal tax and the taxable capacity of house-holders has been appropriated by the Government. And again it falls heavily on the class of house-owners in the suburbs, for example, who in depression years invested their money in small buildings which they either occupied themselves or let to others. We strongly urge that a graded property tax would be more effective and less burdensome on the taxpayer than aflat 10 percent. The sales tax on petrol was expected but there are other commodities on which it will not be as easy to collect a sales tax, and Mr. Latthe later contemplates extending the principle farther. Why can we see why hand-spun, hand woven cloth should be exempted from the sales tax on textile fabrics and so on, which Mr. Latthe proposes to enforce during the year. Hand-spun is more expensive than mill-cloth, therefore a luxury article. Even if the Gandhian principle is strictly adhered to, there should be no objection to taxing *Khadi* sales since the true follower is not supposed to buy his *Khadi* at a shop but to spin it with his own hands.

Hyderabad Students' Response :—We regret the tone and purport of the statement issued by the so-called Council of Action of the Hyderabad students awaiting admission to Nagpur University in response to what we advisedly called the generous gesture of the Minister of Education in the Nizam's Government towards them. But we do not blame the students for it. They have but repeated the practice of many of their elders nowadays, of mistaking insolence for independence. Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung's declaration was clear, explicit and unequivocal. There was no attempt at hedging. As we understood it, it meant that the whole episode is considered closed and that the students, if and when they came back, will be received without demur. The Nawab expressed on behalf of His Exalted Highness' Government their deep concern for the future of the students who are and will always be subjects and citizens of their State. The Council of Action says that the orders of the Government are not withdrawn. That is not its concern. The responsible Minister has given publicly the assurance that the past is regarded as closed and that there is no bar to the students coming back. He has imposed no conditions. If what the students want is that the Government should go down on their knees to them and beg them to condescend to return to their *alma mater*, they will not have it and they should not have it. After the statement of their spokesman, Mr. Dutt, which we quoted last week, that, if their Muslim fellow students had told them that singing of Bande Mataram was objectionable to them, they would have readily ceased to sing it, there is no question of principle involved in continuing the controversy. The past, as the Hon. Education Minister has declared, is wiped out. As regards the future, the students may shape the course of their conduct in consultation with their Muslim fellows. We do not see what purpose is served by their holding out longer. The glamour of their enterprise will soon fade away, if it has not already done so. They will realise when they seek a field of activity that they are after all refugees in Nagpur, depending on charity, whereas in Hyderabad they will be citizens in their own right. The springs of political generosity dry up very quickly. Scores, perhaps, hundreds of volunteers who gaily walked into prison during the Civil Disobedience movememt, were thrown on the streets and their bitter complaints of betrayal brought them no relief. Mr. Dutt in his statement averred that the students wish the preservation of the integrity and culture of their State. They can best help to preserve both by returning to the State and working for its progress.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, February 18, 1939.

WELLS ON IMITATION NATIONALISM.

Mr. H. G. Wells during a brief halt in Bombay on his way to Australia commited the mistake of identifying Gandhian non-violence with the effortless strength of vegetable resistance. In Australia he described Hitler as a certifiable lunatic and Mussolini as a renegade socialist, and drew down on himself a severe rebuke from the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth for embarrassing it in its relations with Powers with which it was and wished to be on terms of friendship. On his way back home he halted a few days as a State guest at the ancient Rajput State of Jaipur. He must have seen and heard something more than he knew when he was last in Bombay of the methods and motives of non-violent civil disobedience. That only confirmed him in his previous opinion of that policy. He described Indian nationalism, as expounded by Pandit Jawaharlal and Gandhiji, as a cheap imitation of European nationalism and the two leaders themselves as imitators of the West. That Mr. Wells should have discerned this fact hidden behind the trappings of Indianism in dress, manners, and other externals, speaks much for his intellectual acumen. Pandit Jawaharlal will not be perturbed by being called an imitator of the West, though he may resent the adjective "cheap" being used to qualify his imitation. He is a product of the West in all but birth and he makes no secret of his spiritual home from which he draws most inspiration. But Gandhiji has not only disclaimed but openly revolted against Westernism in every shape and form; and to describe him as an imitator of the West, seems on the face of it an abuse of language. Nevertheless, there is truth in Mr. Wells' estimate, which is more evident to the man who is a western himself than to those who have only an academic knowledge of Westernism. Gandhiji's dislike of Westernism was originally inspired by Tolstoi, Ruskin and Thoreau who had violently reacted against their own social and economic surroundings. The natural reaction of the Indian to Westernism is a tolerant indifference. It is all right, he feels, for westerners though it differs and in some respects is even repugnant to one's Indian notions. We may accept what suits us and reject what does not in Westernism: we are not called upon to pronounce judgment on it and to denounce it as wholly evil as we are not called upon to extol it as wholly good. There is imitation in avoiding imitation. The Indian when he wears clothes cut in the European style does not feel that he has become a European. W. C. Bonnerjee, one of the founders of the Congress, who was completely Europeanised and remained so to the end of his life, warned the late Professor Sundararaman not to judge of his sentiments towards Hindu conservatism by his dress and manners. Most people do not attach the same rather morlid importance to dress as an expression of their nationalism as Gandhiji and his following. In fact, they do not feel the need to counteract by their externals an inward urge to denationalisation which they do not feel.

The truth in Mr. Wells' charge of cheap imitation comes most clearly in Gandhiji's politics. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, of course, makes no secret of it and there is, therefore, no need to mention him further in this discussion. Mr. Subhas Bose's election to the Presidentship and the hullabaloo that has been raised about it, has thrown the superficially imitative character of Gandhiji's politics in high relief. Here was an election according to the rules laid down for such elections. No irregularity has been alleged. The defeated candidate accepted his defeat with good grace and offered his congratulations and good wishes to his successful rival. There the affair should have ended. But it did not. Gandhiji who persists in remaining outside the Congress—not even a four anna member—comes out with a statement declaring that not Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya but he (Gandhiji himself) was the defeated party and suggesting that those who shared his views should cut loose from the Congress, virtually making the election of Mr. Subhas Bose to the Presidentship a nullity or his position as President untenable. Gandhiji declared that he was opposed to Mr. Subhas Bose's election from the first, and Mr. Mahadev Desai has revealed from Delhi that Gandhiji sent a message to Mr. Bose advising him to stand aside and let Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya be unanimously elected. It has also come out that this is the normal way followed in choosing the President of the Congress and that the formalities of nomination and election are so much camouflage. This kind of wire-pulling, normal in Western democracy, is an imitation and a cheap imitation in India. That leads us to observe that democratic institutions as they have developed in Western countries, require devices which would be regarded as dishonest in private life, to enable them to function. Men with intellectual and moral scruples, therefore, do not seek a political career. In the middle of the last century when the British Parliamentary system was at the zenith of its power, Tennyson described politics in a vigorous couplet:

> Lies upon this side, lies upon that side, truthless violence mourned by the wise,
> Thousands of voices drowning its own in a popular torrent of lies upon lies.

Ruskin thought much in the same way and so did Carlyle. Should India borrow this kind of politics from the West? That brings us to an important point. Western political institutions are the outgrowth, and part and parcel, of the machine civilization which Gandhiji has often denounced. They are designed to mechanise life just as the machine has done to industry. To denounce machine civilisation and to insist

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in the same breath on imposing its concomitant of mechanised politics on Rajkot and Jaipur, is nothing but cheap imitation. Surely these States require to be overhauled. Will the Parliamentary system rid them of their abuses? Would it bring more freedom to the people or will it merely substitute in place of a hereditary ruler, a political boss?

New Friends for Franco :—Many straws last week-end showed which way the Spanish war was going. The British cruiser, the "Devonshire," played an important part in putting through negotiations for the peaceful surrender of Minorca. The German press commented bitterly on what it considered to be Anglo-French overtures to General Franco, calculated to deprive the Italians and Germans of their Spanish reward. It was a natural reaction to a third party's attempts to reap the harvest of German sowing. General-Franco himself was not averse to using the British and French to check his tried allies. On the Spanish-French frontier care was taken to keep the Italian forces from coming into conflict with French troops. Mr. De Valera who had kept official Eire with unwanted caution out of the Spanish dispute, has recognised Franco's Government. In the House of Commons Mr. Chamberlain, by asserting that the Government must take the responsibility, refused to give any assurance that Parliament would be consulted before General Franco's regime was recognised. An earlier Reuter message announced that the only bar to such recognition was the fear that General Franco would initiate peace in "a welter of horror and reprisals." If this is true, the Madrid Government has little hope of survival. General Franco might safely give the assurance—for what it is worth. If the British Government was reluctant to intervene in the interest of Republican Spain when it was the effective Government, still less will it be ready to act when the Spanish Republicans are a minority in the State. In a more painful manner, Spain has passed through the experience of Czechoslovakia. But there is a difference. Geographical conditions make Czechoslovakia dependant on Germany. In Spain, as Senor Madariaga has pointed out in his brilliant book in the Modern World series, Britain has always held the key position. That predominance has been shaken by the Nazi-Fascist policy in the present conflict but it is beginning to assert itself again. The most prominent symptom of this is the report published last week that General Franco supports the restoration of the monarchy rather than the establishment of a Fascist regime. It is not improbable that the historian will be able to trace a link between Mr. Chamberlain's announcement last week of Anglo-French solidarity and French policy towards Franco now. In spite of repeated declarations that British policy will conform to French, it is more than likely that France will be guided by the advice of the Chamberlain Government. General Franco is apparently enough of a patriot and a politician to seize the opportunity afforded him now to slip out of any commitments he may have with Germany and Italy. The emergence of diplomatic manouevres indicates that the Spanish war is nearing its end.

Press Securities :—A Bombay Government communique announces that under the Emergency Powers Act of 1931, four newspapers have been called upon to furnish securities for "publishing and printing matter tending to promote feelings of enmity and hatred between the Hindu and Mahomedan communities." Two of the papers are published in Sholapur, the *Ansar* and the *Angad*. One, the *Trikal*, is published in Poona and the fourth, the *Rozgar*, in Ahmedabad. The Prime Minister's warning on which we commented last week was evidently meant to prepare the public for the announcement of this application of the Emergency Powers Act passed eight years ago and all along since denounced as a revival of Star Chamber methods in the twentieth century. The communique does not give any idea of the contents of the writings for which these papers are penalised, not even whether those writings were published after the Prime Minister's warning of the 5th February or before it. In a similar case the Madras Government prosecuted the *Viduthalai* under the provisions of the ordinary law. The Bombay Government owes an explanation to the public for its preference of the emergency law. We trust it will not be the hackneyed one of the publicity attending prosecutions. If the use of such emergency powers by a bureaucratic Government was tyrannical, it is not less so when used by a popular Government. When a popular government borrows from the armoury of its bureaucratic predecessors, it becomes itself a bureaucracy. The personalities of the members of Government, the proofs which they have given of their self-sacrifice and patriotism by some of them having courted imprisonment by breaking the law (also an emergency law!) are irrelevant in assessing the character of their measures on well-established political principles. The demand of securities under the emergency law instead of prosecuting the papers under the ordinary law, is an invasion of the freedom of the press by a Government professing to value civil liberty.

Bewildering :—Gandhiji referred on a recent occasion to the existence of a tacit understanding or pact between Congress and the Government. In his article in the *Harijan* of February 4 on the Rajkot episode, he declared that "it is insufferable that the Congress, which is today in alliance with the British Government, should be treated as an enemy and an outsider by the States which are the vassels of the British." Pandit Jawaharlal on the other hand is proclaiming all the time that the Congress is fighting British imperialism which the British Government represents, and as whose ally Gandhiji demands submission by Rajkot. The British Government

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

neither confirms nor denies the existence of a tacit pact or open alliance with the Congress. All the same, the avowal of an alliance by Gandhiji, gives colour to Mr. Subhas Bose's suspicion that Federation will not be opposed as strenuously by Gandhiji's nominee as it should and would be by himself.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY — II.

(By Professor P. A. Wadia)

The Affiliated Colleges.

The Colleges that are affiliated to the University fall into two groups: (1) the older Colleges which enjoy an unconditional and permanent affiliation, as their existence has dated with the beginnings of the University; and (2) the Colleges that have come to be affiliated at a later stage, under conditions attached to the affiliation limiting the subjects to be taught for the degree courses, as also limiting the period of affiliation. It has been a standing grievance of the new Colleges that they are treated in a step-motherly fashion by the University, or that, at any rate, they do not enjoy the privileges which the older Colleges enjoy. Thus, for example, if one of the newly affiliated Colleges is affiliated for teaching only Sanskrit and French Honours, it will have to apply and proceed through all the formalities of a new application, if it desires to prepare students for the Honours Examination, say, in Persian. An Inspection Committee has to be appointed, whose Report has to be presented to the Academic Council and to the Syndicate; and, if these two bodies are satisfied, they have to make their recommendation to the Senate for the grant of such a privilege; finally, after the Senate has agreed to these recommendations, sanction of the Government has to be obtained in order that the Senate resolution can become effective. In the case of the older Colleges on the other hand, a College could teach and send on students for Honours courses in any of the languages and at any time, without making any formal application and without passing through any of the other formalities just referred to, and even without making adequate provision for the teaching of such a language course.

It is obvious that the hold of the University in the case of the old Colleges is not so effective as its hold over the younger Colleges. For example, there is one of the old colleges, affiliated to the University, which like any other College, is inspected by a University Inspection Committee once every three years. In the case of this College, a number of successive Inspection Committees have recommended definite changes in connection with the location of the College Library; these recommendations were forwarded to the authorities concerned time after time; these recommendations and the reminders were disregarded in a cavalier manner by the college in question; and yet the University authorities have remained unconcerned. Now, in the case of a new college, if a default half as serious had been brought to the notice of the University, peremptory demands for compliance with the recommendation of the Inspection Committee would have been addressed to the authorities of that college, and there would have been no rest for those concerned till the recommendation had been given effect to.

The difference in treatment by the University authorities is not only as between the old and the new colleges; it exists also as between one old college and another. We have glaring instances of this before us. Some years ago in the case of one of the older colleges, the Report of an Inspection Committee objected to a practice which prevailed in that college, of permitting some of the professors to do full-time work simultaneously with some teaching and administrative work in schools belonging to their own organization. The objection was raised on the ground that such division of attention on the part of a professor between work in a school and work in a college was undesirable from an academic point of view, and was likely to affect the efficiency of the professor's work. But more. For the last few years, one of the Bombay colleges affiliated to University has adopted the practice of appointing part-time professors on a low salary; and the professors so appointed have their regular appointments as salaried officers in joint-stock companies or share-brokers' firms. So far as we know, no notice seems to have been taken of such a practice either by an Inspection Committee or by any Statutory Body of the University. Either the earlier Inspection Committee which objected to the principle of allowing College professors to do part-time work in schools as detrimental to the efficiency of college teaching, was mistaken in its view, or the University authorities concerned should have taken serious notice this time of a practice which clearly concerns efficient teaching and the retention of an academic atmosphere. Similarly, some years ago, on the recommendation of an Inspection Committee, the Syndicate laid down a rule limiting the number of students to one hundred and fifty in any single class in the interests of efficiency in teaching. This rule was sought to be rigidly enforced in one of the new colleges; but it was patently disregarded in more than one of the older colleges.

This difference in treatment may be due to more than one cause. For instance, there is the established prestige of an old institution which permits it to enjoy privileges which the younger would not be allowed to enjoy. And, the manner in which any affiliated college is treated much depends upon the extent to which the college is represented on the Senate and the Syndicate, as also on the Academic Council.

The same differential treatment is sometimes to be noticed in regard to the affiliation of new colleges, both at the earlier and later stages of affiliation. For example, the application of the Amalner College successfully stood the Reports of the Inspection Committee and even obtained the approval of the Senate for affiliation; but as ill luck would have it, the Government asked for a further report; a new Inspection Committee was appointed; this Committee, as was expected, made an unfavourable report; and in this way, what would have been probably one of the weaker institutions affiliated to the University was thus prevented from coming into existence. But equally weak, if not weaker, institutions have been brought into existence by those who can successfully employ methods of diplomacy and wire-pulling. Institutions which are well represented on the Senate and the Syndicate often succeed in getting weaknesses glossed over which in the case of other institutions call for criticism and even severe reprimand.

The compositions of Inspections Commitees and Local Enquiry Committees may have partly to do with these inequalities in the treatment meted out by the University to the institutions under its control. Sometimes an outstanding educationist from beyond the limits of the Province is appointed to bring a fresh and disinterested outlook to bear upon problems of education in the Presidency. Such men were sometimes appointed on the triennial Inspection Committees. But, as a rule, these Committees include businessmen who

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

happen to be on the Syndicate, or others who at times fail to secure the confidence of the institutions inspected. The Inspection Committees, instead of being respected as bodies of people who would not merely endeavour sympathetically to understand the difficulties but even guide aud advice the authorities of the institutions they visit, are looked upon as inquisitorial bodies of people inclined to find faults and weaknesses; in fact, these Inspection Committees are sometimes composed of men who often subordinate visions and ideals of educational policies to the elaboration of petty details like the violations of mechanical rules that can not possibly work everywhere with the same uniformity. Here, again, it is not so much the machinery as the human material that fails the University. More recently a new feature of a doubtful character has entered into the composition of Inspection Committees; we refer here to the inclusion of the Vice-Chancellor as a member of an Inspection Committee. To our knowledge, in the history of the University, this is the first time when the Executive Head of the University has become a member of an Inspection Committee. This practice is most undesirable; the Principal of an inspected college may have something to say against the behaviour and recommendations of an Inspection Committee; and, he must hope that the Vice-Chancellor, as the Chairman of the Syndicate, will guide the Syndicate properly after hearing what the Principal has to say; but when the Vice-Chancellor himself is a member of the Inspection Committee, there can be no hope for a square deal on an appeal by the principal of a college against the conclusions of such a Committee.

Anyone who has carefully observed the relations between the University and the Affiliated Colleges cannot help feeling that there is an unhealthy suspicion on the part of the Colleges in relation to the executive of the University; so, there is an unhealthy competition on the part of the colleges to get hold of as large a share in the material gifts which it is the privilege of the University to bestow upon the colleges and their constituent members. Unfortunately material gifts cannot grow by being shared; and the limitations of matter react most unfavourably on the spiritual gifts which should link the affiliated colleges into a harmonious corporation in the interest of the search of whatsoever things are true and of good report.

THE VOICE OF TAMBARAM.

(By Walter Brooks Foley).

The story of 470 delegates from 70 countries, with their differences and similarities, will be told in a wide variety of forms and settings. Frankly, I am not greatly interested in many of the details, regarded by some as of great significance.

Facts of vital value are, however, beginning to emerge with clarity. We met as world Christians—and, most of us did. Here and there delegations still seemed impressed with national and racial significances. But the outlines of a world Christian culture were clearly apparent. There were comparatively few assumptions of superiority of one nation as over against another. It seemed most difficult for Japanese and Germans to get away from the limiting concepts of Nationalism stimulated by the high pressure propaganda of governments interested in mutual co-operation with other countries. The Chinese were outstanding as they helped lift the Conference to international levels.

The hindrance of the rationalized crisis position of the German delegates slowed up much of the work of the Conference. There was a continuous effort made by the delegates to inflict their limited and limiting position on the whole conference. They were eschatological and other-wordly. They met for constant consultation on the progress of their concerted campaign. They received the most kindly treatment. Again and again statements of delegates from other countries were tempered to meet German last objections. Yet, finally, on the full day of the Conference the German delegates brought in their own statement of theological position. A sentence or two from the statement will illustrate the difficulty that hundreds of other delegates felt in trying to work out any constructive Christian programme.

Here are the sentences. "... there are distinct orders which God has established and which are eternally valid: the sexes with their perpetual relation of attraction and repulsion, the structure of family and clan, nations with their different forms of government, races with their special gifts. In spite of God's love to all human beings, which does not respect persons—we have to recognize the validity of these orders... .." "Therefore we are not allowed to dissolve these orders of sex and family, nation and race." ".....the church has not to bring into force a social programme for renewed world order or even a Christian state." ".....we live as citizens of two different orders, until Christ himself will appear to transform the whole structure of this world."

Likewise there was constant pressure to avoid the use of terms like "aggression," "persecution" with the general idea of keeping delegates like those from Japan out of difficulty with their government on their return home. Any condemnations were expressed in comparatively mild terms with realistic content rather thoroughly washed out.

From the point of view of radicalism, or even of any advanced social position comparatively little was done. Yet the significant fact was that throughout the sixteen major sections and the ten or twelve special groups the great problems of all humanity faced the delegates constantly above and below the surface. Questions that twenty-five years ago would never have appeared on the Agenda of a Missionary Conference held the centre of the stage.

There was a deep realization of the need for unity of Christians in a world of chaos, disaster, and uncertainty. That really held the Conference together. Nothing else could have. Regardless of differences, which were many, Christians from seventy countries thought and worked and planned and wrote and talked and walked together. Agreements could not possibly be unanimous, but, as the Germans stated, it was recognized "that we are one in Christ our Lord and in the faith in the Church as His body."

We used a common language—English—which greatly facilitated all our work. No interpreters were used (though often it was difficult to understand the many dialects of English which have grown up in the different sections of the world). Christianity was definitely recognized as a world movement with a belief in Christ and his pre-eminent significance in the life of practically all nations. The common base of language and the belief in a great central fact were points of contact that proved of high value as the days and weeks passed.

Attempting to estimate and state the "faith by which the Church lives," evolving practical literature methods, acknowledging weaknesses in Church organization and practice, postulating Christian ideals for international economic development, advocating a Far-Eastern Office of the International Missionary Council to promote research and extensive consultation, all will have place in the Christian programme of the future. But by far the greatest influence of the Conference will come in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the next ten years as the nearly five hundred delegates weave the new world Christian pattern into the warp and woof of thousands of local churches, into the thinking of millions of national Christians, into the practice of a new sanity among nations and races.

The Conference was one of advance, though Chinese and Japanese found it practically impossible to agree on Christian attitudes in a time of war, though missionaries to Muslims found it difficult to unravel the right solution of Arab-Jewish disputes in Palestine, though missionaries in Turkey cannot conduct any of the usual missionary activities with an emphasis on Christian teaching, though German Christians made no vital statement of protest against the treatment of Jews in Germany, though wars continued in China and Spain, though aggression against groups and races and nations was maintained in many lands of Europe and Africa, though political national units insist still upon promoting their own selfish interests regardless of effects on other nations.

The advance came in a realization that all are affected by the rise or fall of anyone. Individualism while advocated, was clearly seen to be no solution. Mutual consideration, understanding, and co-operation were so obviously required that they became a sort of key-stone arch in the proposed World Council of Churches. The kingdom of God was given a wider significance than that of any one Church, nor was the conception confined within the borders of all churches. It was agreed that "God has not left himself without witness as men have been seeking Him all through the ages." Christ is to be presented "so that he will not be foreigner" to any.

The great challenge to Christianity was seen to be *not in any ancient forms of other religions, but in new paganisms* which can be called substitutes for God. "Communism when based on a materialistic philosophy is an outstanding example; so are the new nationalistic systems when they make nation, state, or race the object of worship." "The Church" was, indeed, "called to the encouragement of co-operative relations between its members and those of other faiths.....in combating the evils which cripple the life of man."

Extremely important in its new inter-national conotation was a penitence for "the greed, racial arrogance, and callousness toward personality that mar the civilization in which the Church is set" and a declaration that the Church "is not to be confused with any one civilization," for "beyond the frontiers of the Church itself multitudes today professing other faiths stand in awe and love before Jesus Christ and.....acknowledge the wonder of His peerless personality."

We live in a non-Christian world—East, West, North, South. The Christian Churches everywhere are now "sending" churches, reaching out to revolutionize in Christian ways the whole of society through individuals acting singly and in groups. The divisions of "older and younger" churches now have much less significance. The task is a common one in which all must share. The wealthier Churches may well assist the poorer Churches. The poorer Churches may well furnish creative ideas for more rapid advance.

The voice of Tambaram is one of dissatisfaction with human performance, but of certainty that God alone may be offered to an otherwise lost world.

No one of us who came away thinking from Tambaram can ever again be Indians, or Chinese, or New Zealanders, or Japanese, or English *alone*. The *world* is our problem. We must see it as a whole, so far as we are able. We must be citizens of an international order—citizens indeed of a Christian kingdom on earth and beyond.

Dr. John R. Mott, the President of the International Missionary Council, stood out as a Christian leader par excellence. His agreement to continue to serve for the next three years was most acceptable to all who know his breadth of vision and experience. There is a strong possibility that these years when he will advance in age from 73 to 76 will prove among the most fruitful of his more than half a century of active leadership in Christian organization. If there is any one voice capable of speaking for the World Church it is his. Under his chairmanship the voice of Tambaram gave evidence of amplified, unified and continuous power for the Church in the immediate future.

WOMEN IN HINDU LAW.

(By Sir Sitaram Patkar.)

The legal disabilities of women with reference to marriage, divorce, guardianship and inheritance are manifold. The Hindu Law as administered by the Courts is based mainly on Smriti texts and the commentaries thereon. Hindu Law which was devised to meet the exigencies of society existing many centuries ago is archaic and unsuited to the present environments of society. The commentators on Smriti texts made innovations from time to time according to the changes in the customs of the country by putting a construction on the texts which was consistent with the changed circumstances. But since the British Courts of Justice were established, Hindu Law in many respects became static and incapable of any modification. The British Courts followed the letter of the texts. Most of the Judges who administered Hindu law were ignorant of the Sanskrit language in which the Smriti texts are written. They depended on translations which were sometimes incorrect and erroneous. Another difficulty was caused by interpolations in the original texts themselves. To add to these difficulties many of the commentators expressed their emphatic opinion that the texts which were favourable to the rights of women were Kali-Varja, *i. e.* inapplicable to the present age. The original texts allowed widow remarriage and inter-caste marriages. The British Courts laid great stress on custom. The Bombay High Court under the inspiring influence of the Chief Justice Sir Michael Westropp put a construction on the texts which was favourable to the rights of women, and therefore in the Bombay Presidency a daughter and sister get an absolute interest in the property inherited by them. The injustice to which women have been subjected cannot be remedied merely by persuasion or appeal to reason. Legislation is the only remedy. It is therefore suggested that legislation may be undertaken by the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

Representative committees should be appointed with an adequate number of women members to examine the whole question and recommend effective legislation. There are several schools of Hindu Law in India and the views of the different schools are divergent. In Bengal, there are two schools the Mitakshara and the Dayabhaga school. In the rest of India Mitakshara is predominant but the interpretations put on the Mitakshara, a commentary on the Yagnavalkya Smriti, in the different schools are divergent. In the Bombay Presidency Mayukha and Mitakshara govern—Mayukha governs in certain parts,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bombay and Gujerat and the Mitakshara governs in other parts. There is divergence of view between Mitakshara and Mayukha on certain points. It is therefore more desirable that the legislation in such matters should be undertaken by the Provincial Legislatures, than by the Central Legislature. There may be legislation in the Central Legislature on points which are of universal application to the whole of India.

It is also necessary that a representative committee consisting of experts and also women should be appointed. The presence of experts is necessary to see that sound and consistant legislation is recommended. There were several bills introduced by members of legislatures who were not experts. These bills were not properly considered and in some cases led to curious results. In the case of Dr. Deshmukh's bill as regards Hindu Women's Property Act, there was a pact between the mover of the bill and the Law Member and the rights of daughters were jettisoned and dropped altogether from the bill. The language of the bill was faulty. The result was that difficulties arose in the interpretation of the Act necessitating subsequent legislation as the previous Act was likely to result in complications not foreseen by the mover of bill. It is likely that experts may commit mistakes but the chances of error are much minimized by the presence of experts on the committee. The presence of experts on the committee is therefore desirable. The presence of women is also necessary because women have long suffered from man-made laws, and in the present stage of the evolution of Hindu society they should have a right of self-determination. If, however, their demands are extravagant and inconsistent with other tenets of Hindu Law, the aid of the experts on the committee would be useful.

Such committees were appointed in many of Indian States like Baroda, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin and legislation was undertaken in the light of the recommendations of such committees.

The legislatures of Indian States generally take the lead from the legislatures of British India in other matters of legislation. Sometimes Acts in British India are in their entirety made applicable to Indian States. It is a matter of regret though that in the matter of social legislation, the legislatures of Indian States have given a lead in matters of marriage, divorce, guardianship and inheritance, the British Legislatures are lagging behind.

Under the present Government of India Act there is considerable scope for social legislation and it is the duty of the Provincial and other Governments to undertake social legislation at an early date, and not relegate it to a distant date on the ground of other pre-occupations.

Education has advanced considerably in India, and there is a general awakening among women since 1920. The Women's Council in Bombay Presidency and other women's organisations have taken an important part in the past in shaping social legislation. The Sarda Act is an instance in point. Mr. Desai's bill of adoption had to be dropped on account of the opposition led by women. The women of this country must be infused with a conquering spirit to overcome difficulties. They must carry on constant agitation on the question of removal of legal disabilities.

Now many women are members of the local and Central legislatures, and some of them are included in the cabinets of the country. The day is not far distant when women will be entrusted with the portfolio of finance. If women are at present occupying positions of trust and responsibility, the text of Manu and other Smriti texts which are based on the assumption of incompetence of women to take care and manage property are absolutely redundant and meaningless in the present environments of society. Reason, justice and merits are on their side, and if they try to put forward their grievances persistently before the Legislatures, I have no doubt they will succeed at no distant date.

RELIGIOUS ENDOWMENTS IN MYSORE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

"The question of making suitable provision out of Chattram Savings Fund for the grant of relief to the needy persons throughout the State has been engaging the attention of Government for some time past. Government consider that this is an object on which the savings might be legitimately used." That is an extract from the Government Order regarding the utilisation of the Chattram Savings Fund for the grant of Doles to the Old and Indigent.

In fact, as early as 1926, Government had sanctioned the abolition of certain Annachattrams in the State and directed that the savings from the Chattrams so abolished might among other objects, be utilised towards the maintenance of homes, or for the relief of the aged and the infirm who have none on whom they can depend for maintenance and support. In giving effect to the above object, the funds have so far been utilised for making grants to organised institutions and homes for the aged and the infirm, and no provision has been made for affording relief to the infirm and indigent.

There is, in Mysore City, the Kangalarakki grant of Rs. 5,000 for giving doles of rice and ragi to the poor. The present intention is to cover the whole State. An examination of the income and expenditure of the Fund shows that the normal receipts of the fund are in excess of the normal expenditures and that there is scope for utilising a part of the income of the fund for this purpose. But it is felt that it is difficult and inconvenient to distribute rice and ragi doles to such persons; each of the grantees is to be paid in cash at the rate of Rs. 3 per mensem, the selection of the persons eligible for the grant of such doles being made in each district by a committee consisting of the Deputy Commissioner of the District, the District Treasury Officer and three non-official members. Cash allowances will be paid to 140 persons each year at the rate of 25 each in the districts of Bangalore and Mysore and 15 in each of the other districts.

The various institutions under the Muzrai Department spend about Rs. 8 lakhs a year. In the name of worship of God, most of it is spend on the poor. Not in the Mysore State alone—even outside, the charity of Mysore has spread. At Tirupathi, nearly half a lakh were fed during last year—while over and above that, another ten thousand got *prasad*. In the rest house belonging to the State, seven marriages, 236 Upanayanams and 3063 Choulams were performed during the year.

Not Brahmins alone—non-Brahmins are also embraced by the Mysore charity; in Mysore, a special rest house for them being under construction. At Subrahmanya in South Kanara, during *Santarpana*, nearly 15,000 were fed.

"Sacred Ganga Theertha and Prasada from Tirupathi were sent to the Palace both on the occasion of Mahasivratri and His Highness the Maharaja's birthday. Thirtha and Prasada were brought by the Mysore Agents at Srirangam and Jambukeswara and presented to His Highness the Maharaja on the Birthday occasion."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

That simple extract from the report of the Muzrai Department gives a glimpse into the golden band of love and worshipfulness that knits the people of Mysore to its Ruler.

A Hindu State, several Mohammadan institutions are being maintained under Government supervision. There is no communalism here. The Press in Upper India hailed as a phenomenon the unique event of the Muslim Dewan of Mysore being called to lay the foundation stone of a Hindu temple. But Mysore takes it as a normal event. The Prince Gulam Mohammad Charity Fund stipendiaries count 51 Christians aud 21 Hindus, in addition to 101 Muslims.

Here are the items from the administration report of the Department: An approved design for the construction of an ornamental gate-way to the Jumma Masjid in Dodpet, Shimoga, was got prepared by the Consulting Architect to Government and an estimate has been called for from the Executive Engineer.

What are called *Puduvat* loans are given out of the Department's resources. Several educational institutions are run, as well as hospitals. The Ayurvedic and Unani College and Hospitals, in Mysore, the Sanskrit College, Melkote, Veda Patashala, Vaidiki Dharma Patashalas, Agama classes, are all associated with the urge to help the poor.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE U. S. A.

Two American periodicals have called attention to the spread of anti-Semitism in the United States.

The *Federal Council Bulletin* writes as follows under the heading "Discrimination Against Jews in Employment:"

To what extent are Jews, as Jews, refused employment today? The American Jewish Congress (221 West 57th St., New York, N. Y.) has issued a report entitled "Towards Fair Play for Jewish Workers" by J. X. Cohen, chairman of the Congress' Commission on Economic Problems, which gives many data on this question concerning New York City. The Commission on Economic Policies investgates complaints of discrimination which are reported to it. It finds, in some cases, that these are due to malicious gossip. In cases of valid complaint the investigation sometimes goes far toward changing company policy. Discrimination, Mr. Cohen finds, has increased very greatly since 1928, and particularly, since the Nazi Government came into power in Germany. "There is today a marked tendency to make Jews marginal workers, that is, the very last hired, and the very first fired when entering a period of economic decline." Employment agencies are frequently biased, refusing to refer Jewish applicants for positions even where employers are not prejudiced. Advertisements for "Christian" employees spread anti-Semitism, so that one of the needed tasks in the field is "the moulding of a uniform policy among newspapers respecting unfair ads." While there is no discrimination against Jewish teachers in the New York City public school system it exists to a serious extent in private schools, sometimes even among those serving mainly a Jewish clientele. Relatively little discrimination exists in department stores in New York but the situation is very different in the food and beverage industry, where a "large proportion" are "apparently unfair in their employment policy." The larger steam laundries follow a discriminatory policy but the "wet wash" laundries do not. Opportunities in the lithographic industry are very limited because of apprenticeship regulations. The New York Telephone Company does not "employ an equitable number of Jewish persons," though it denies any discrimination.

On the same subject, *Time* writes:

Pressed to explain why New York Telephone Co. does not employ an 'equitable number" of Jews, one official replied that Jewish girls, could not operate equipment "because their arms are too short." A restaurateur alibied that Jewish waitressers do not like to serve non-kosher food.

"One of the gravest elements of our very difficult problem is the discriminatory attitude of some Jewish employers toward Jewish employees." A Jewish-owned Miami hotel with over 95% Jewish patronage had only four Jews among 600 employees.

That there is a rising tide of anti-Semitism in the U. S. comparable to Europe's is the contention of many U. S. observers, especially Jews. Last month the American Jewish Congress, an organization to protect Jewish civil and economic rights headed by Manhattan's patriarchal Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, published a survey specifically charting the effects of Depression and world-wide anti-Semitism on Jewish job prospects. Devoted mainly to New York City, which has a population 28% Jewish, the survey showed:

Employment agency advertisements specifying "Christians" (variants: "Gentiles," "Anglo-Saxons") are more frequent than at any time since the War. Rare in the boom years of 1917–18 and 1928, they were more than twice as frequent in the 1932 depression as in the 1921 depression. In 1934, after Hitler's rise, they "occurred at the amazingly high rate of once in every column inch of advertising matter—five times as frequent as in 1932." Until 1934 "one of the great New York papers," the Jewish-controlled *Times*, banned the specification, but today "Christian" appears once in every 6½ column-inches. "Anglo-Saxon" once every 29. Another paper runs "Christian" once every half column-inch. "Anglo-Saxon" once in 4½.

Discrimination in occupational advertisements is sharpest against Jewish salesmen, white-collar workers, women stenographers. To combat it, many Jewish girls have taken to wearing crosses "as a protective charm."

Of 90 major employment agencies, 35 ask their employer clients for "religious preference."

Although 45% of Jewish children get through high school, compared to 30% of Protestants, unemployment is higher among Jewish youths (31%).

INDIA APPROACHES FEDERATION.*

A few weeks ago, in an address on the pressure of population in India, General Sir John Macgaw drew attention to the fact that over half the Indian people, at least in the rural areas, fall below a minimal standard of nutrition, even on the frugal scale of a warm Oriental country. He showed that, in default of some improvement in economic output, the pressure of population is likely to drive down the average standard of life still further; for the population of some 400 millions is now increasing at the rate of 3½ millions a year. The political leaders of India have themselves been earnestly taking up this problem. Late in December, a so-called Planning Committee organized by the Congress met in Bombay, under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, to consider how India's industries—urban and rural—should be developed with a view to raising the standard of life, combating unemployment, and caring for the rapidly rising numbers of the population. The industrialisation of India has been proceeding apace and is

*The *Economist*, January 21, 1939.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

likely to go much further, since in the end it provides the only possible solution of the demographic problem. As Sir Thomas Ainscough, the British Senior Trade Commissioner in India, says in his latest report, published last week :—

During the past ten years scores of new industrial enterprises have been inaugurated in India which are swelling the total and increasing the variety of her production. They are, moreover, displacing imports, which have hitherto been obtained largely from the United Kingdom and which have provided a steady Customs revenue for the Government of India.

Industrialisation has been aided by the cheapness of labour, itself but a reflection of the low standard of living wrested from the land. It is true that the Indian workman is far less efficient than his European competitor, and that in total wage cost per unit of output the latter not infrequently has the advantage. But that does not alter the fact that standards of life in the tenements of India's industrial cities are appallingly low.

Nevertheless, the problems of industrial labour have not yet assumed the first prominence in Indian politics, although it is now nearly two years since popularly-elected Governments assumed office in the provinces. There are many reasons for this. In the first place, the rural and agricultural community greatly outnumbers the urban and Industrial. In the second place the factory workers are very difficult to organise because the majority of them keep one foot, so to speak, in their home villages, whither they return at any sign of serious industrial disturbance and where they can always find a living, either by their own efforts or at their relatives' expense. In the third place, the leadership of the Congress which holds office (with or without allies) in every province but two, is predominantly middle-class in outlook, and is much more closely associated with agrarian agitation than with industrial trade unionism. Finally, the vital economic problems of India, urgent as they are, still remain partially obscured by the politics of nationalism. It is still possible for Mr. Subhas Bose, the current president of the Congress, to perambulate the country declaring that nothing worth while can be done to improve the lot of the poverty stricken Indian until India has obtained her complete constitutional freedom.

In so far as this propaganda has any national grounds at all, it is based on two main allegations: that the British Government has overtaxed the people of India in order to maintain an expensive army for imperial purposes, and that until British power has gone, with its inherent conservatism and covert alliance with the landlords and capitalists of India, no national economic or social reform will be countenanced. Even if we take this claim at face value, the landlords and capitalists will not disappear with the British administration. Many of them are today prominent in the Congress Party. Indeed, to judge from the way matters have gone in the provinces, a second bloodless revolution will be needed if power is to be transferred from the bourgeoisie to the masses and the vested interests of feudalism overthrown. Nevertheless, the movement of economic revolt has undoubtedly been gaining ground, especially in the peasant areas of Bihar, Orissa and the United Provinces, and big inroads have already been made on the privileged position of the *Zemindars* (landlords). At the centre, great importance attaches to the Income Tax Bill which Sir James Grigg, with immense determination, steered through before the rising of the Assembly last month. For not only is it a vital element in the structure of finance on which the new Constitution will depend ; it is also a critical step in the modernisation of India's fiscal system, by a shifting of some burden from the agricultural to the commercial and industrial classes.

There is not much elasticity in the Indian fiscal system, even in its revised shape. The difficulty of finding money for the purpose of government—expanding purposes, if Indian democracy fulfils its promises of economic and social reform—will be increased by the policies of prohibition, which eats into liquor excise revenue, and of industrial protection, which eats into the yield of Customs. This is one of the main reasons for Indian agitation for control of the Army, the cost of which threatens to increase with mechanisation and improved rates of pay. The Congress is today laying stress upon its policy of a "people's army." This implies not only the elimination of the British Army and the Indianisation of the Officer cadre in the Indian Army, but also the recruitment of troops in proportion to the numbers in different areas and different communities.

This proposal at once raises in an acute form the problem of Hindu-Muslim relations ; for at present the Indian Army is drawn very largely from the Muslims of the Punjab. Hence the agitation has tended to embitter the already strained relations between the Muslim League and the predominantly Hindu Congress. This is one reason for the recent breakdown of attempts to establish a working pact between the two groups. Such a pact would pave the way for Congress leadership under the future federal constitution. At present, the ostensible Congress policy is still one of rigid opposition to a federation imposed from outside and scored with reservations and safeguards designed to inhibit the free working of Indian democracy. Beneath the surface, however, Congress opinion has drifted to a more co-operative attitude. Certain conditions, it is stressed must still be fulfilled, conditions which the more conservative Congressmen are anxious to prove can be satisfied without formal amendment of the Government of India Act. Of these, by far the most important is the stipulation that the system of election to the federal Chambers shall be such as to give the Congress itself a reasonable chance of obtaining—with reliable allies if necessary—a working majority.

This does not seem an extravagant demand on the part of an organisation which has proved its claim to speak for the bulk of Indian electors by forming Governments (in two cases with partners in coalitions) in nine of the eleven provinces of British India. But the Federal Constitution allows the Congress no hope of a majority even in the Lower House of the Federation, so long as the mass of the Muslims are hostile and so long as the States' seats are filled by the Ruler's nominees, who would presumably be anti-Congress. The approach to the Muslims having broken down on the fundamental point of the Congress's refusal to acknowledge the Muslim League as the sole effective representative of the Mussulman community, the Congress leaders have naturally turned their eyes to the seats allotted to the princely States. The agitation for democratic reform in the States is in part a spontaneous movement among the States' subjects themselves, and to outward appearances it is directed primarily to the greater participation of the people in the States' internal government. But it will be misunderstood unless it is seen against the background of the struggle for power in the federal India of the future. For the Congress, the question of democratic election of the States' federal representatives is fundamental, deciding—as it may—whether the federation is to be introduced with the co-operation of the Congress or in the face of a vast civil disobedience movement. It is, of couse, even more fundamental for the Princes

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

themselves. It is also fundamental for the Muslim League, whose only hope of federal power as a distinct organisation lies in the chance of straddling a balance between other groups, and, above all, it is fundamental for the British Government, with whom lies the decision at what moment and on what terms the great step of federation will be taken. This is the gravest of the important issues that will have to be solved in 1939, if federation is to be inaugurated with any chance of success in 1940.

THE VAN ZEELAND REPORT.*

(By Henry Carter.)

The world is likely to hear much in the future of the Report presented to the Governments of British and France by M. Van Zeeland, until recently the Premier of Belgum. Months ago the two Governments ask him to undertake "an inquiry into the possibility of obtaining a general reduction of quotas and of other obstacles to international trade." He and his colleague M. Frere, have conferred with national leaders in America as well as in European capitals. The Report was published on January 1938. Behind its discussion of tariffs, exchange controls and the like, is a vast human concern—peace instead of war, peace which could be won by a collective Economic policy to aid all countries by raising the standard of living of their impoverished multitudes. When in Czechoslovakia and Poland last December with Mr. Lansbury, I heard responsible statesmen in those two countries express their deep conviction that this was the one road which could lead away from the fateful race in armaments. We took every opportunity on that journey to urge that the Van Zeeland Report, when presented, should be studied to discover whether it pointed to peace through economic agreement. Whatever criticism may be directed to this or that detail there can be no doubt that as a whole the Report is a peacemaker's effort, a genuine attempt to restore not only communications but also close relations between countries that have fallen further and further apart. I will try in brief terms to set out its main proposals.

In the first of its three sections the Report gives a general view of the world situation. Diverse conceptions of economic life are at present in conflict. One view regards trade with other nations as a good and desirable thing in itself, because it distributes raw materials, food stuffs or manufactured articles, usually to the mutual advantage of the trading nations. The other view or policy—now known as autarchy—aims at economic independence by supplying the home market with goods produced within the national (or imperial) frontiers. Everybody knows that since the world has rejected freedom in international trade; that Governments have ranged themselves, with differing emphasis on the side of economic nationalism and that we live to-day amidst active hostility with quotas and tariffs and currencies as weapons of offence or defence. M. Van Zeeland clearly recognizes that the sufferers in this conflict are the plain folk of the warring countries, for economic nationalism causes national impoverishment. Yet, though difficulties abound, the grim circumstances of to-day demand a new and a wiser choice. "The economic policy which we now adopt," says the Report, "may, if it is good, mark the beginning of a new era of prosperity in the world; it may also, if it is bad, transform the present hesitations of trade into a new and more serious crisis." The Report declares for international economic collaboration.

The second part of the Report reviews "the principal direct obstacles in the way of international trade and the means for reducing them." I must refer the student to the document, and here name only the outstanding findings.

On the economic side M. Van Zeeland suggests that Governments should undertake (1) not to raise or widen the range of their tariffs; (2) to carry out a general reduction of such duties as are of an exceptional character; (3) to abolish duties and other obstacles limiting the export of raw materials; (4) to negotiate bilateral commercial agreements based on "the most favoured nation" clause; (5) to remove forms of "indirect protection" which hinder international commerce; (6) to appoint arbitral bodies for friendly settlement of differences of an economic character; (7) to suppress industrial quotas; (8) to reduce or end agricultural quotas.

On the financial side the chief obstacles to trade are shown to be sudden and excessive exchange variations and restrictions of commercial payments. A network of suggestions is elaborated, designed to lessen insecurity in international trade, and to promote its development.

The section closes with what is virtually an appeal to the States of the world "to join in a programme of international co-operation." The co-operative States, it is suggested, might establish "a common fund the resources of which might be applied, under appropriate conditions, to facilitate the financing of legitimate trade operations during the period of adjustment." If this includes the provision of capital for industrial and agricultural developments in the poorer and more backward countries, then a long stride would be taken towards advance in the standard of living where destitution now abounds.

If peace on earth is to be reached through good-will and joint action in the economic field, what is the way forward? A notable merit of the Report is that the reader—be he expert or plain citizen—is not left "in the air." In his final section the author, after recalling the fears and suspicions and complexities which make co-operation difficult between Governments, refuses to be turned aside from the work of welfare-building. He proposes a new method of approach, "the object of which will be above all to secure to each participant the tangible advantages of collective action." A pact of International Economic Collaboration is advocated, open to all States: "the aim of the pact would be to raise the standard of living by improving the general well-being." The leading economic Powers are invited to take the first steps.

* The *Christian World*.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India
Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,
WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,
Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	...	...Rs. 3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	...	... „ 3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	...	... „ 1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds		... „ 1,01,47,000
Deposits as at 31st December 1938.		„ 31,03,00,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.

103 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.

NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.

BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(*Established 1892.*)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol („ „).

DIRECTORS

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,08,00,000

London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short periods at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897.)

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 26,50,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co. Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate

2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the **more delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

92.2.32

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY FEBRUARY 11, 1939 No. 24

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

CONTENTS.

The Testing of Democracy.
The Palestine Conference.
The Muslim League & Palestine.
A Generous Gesture.
"Munich Agreement" or Political Blackmail?
Turning to the Press.
The Jews and the Christians.
The late Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar.
Indian States.
Sale of Girls.
Reflections on Congress President's Election.
Bombay University—I.
France After Munich.
The Criminal Tribes Act.
Muslim Women's Marriage Dissolution Bill.
Christianity and Anti-Semitism.
The Jews and Jesus.
Tanganyika.
Rajagriha Finds.
Dr. Tagore on Santiniketan.

NOTES.

The Testing of Democracy :—A striking feature of Post-Munich politics is the increasing dependence of the democracies of Europe on the United States of America. President Roosevelt has often in recent months made statements which raised Anglo-French hopes of American intervention in the event of trouble. But it has been clear at the same time that American opinion was lagging as much behind now as it was in Wilson's time. A report was published last week that the President had told the Senate Military Committee that the American frontier was on the Rhine. This drew angry protests from Germany and Italy and it had later to be repudiated by the President. The democracies of France and Britain will have to fight their own battles. They might consider themselves more fortunate than Czechoslovakia in as much as they are aware of the position well in advance. Mr. Chamberlain's declaration in Parliament of close collaboration with France might be taken as the first fruits of this realisation. The situation has also led to discussions in the British press on the survival chances of democratic institutions. The *New Statesmen* discusses in a series of interviews the capacity of democratic States to prepare for defence. It is interesting to note that three leaders of different schools like Mr. Herbert Morrison, Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George, are agreed that the future of democracy depends on the "right" type of leadership. This seems on the face of it ridiculous. The leader is as much the product of a system as the upholder of it. If Britain finds reason to be dissatisfied with her present leadership, she might well examine the conditions which have given power into the present hands. With the "right" type of leader any system should succeed. We had always understood that the special greatness of the British system lay in the fact that whatever the weaknesses of its leaders it could not be led into totalitarianism. The prevalent belief among the intellectuals that the country is being badly guided by the present Government points to a loss of faith in institutions. This is the first step towards a change in the political system. Another symptom is the news which was widely published this week of countrywide plots to bomb national buildings and institutions and of counte-measures by the British Government and the police to prevent incendiarism. In ordinary circumstances, the unofficial censorship would have worked to keep the news from spreading. The publicity given to the danger can only mean the declaration of a state of emergency in the near future and the assumption of special powers by the Government.

The Palestine Conference :—The Palestine Round Table Conference commenced its session in London. On Tuesday Mr. Neville Chamberlain inaugurated the session twice—once he addressed the Arabs and later he spoke to the Jews. The reason for this procedure was that the Arabs refused to recognise the Jewish Agency and would not sit in the same room with Jewish delegates. The Arabs are divided. But there is a difference between the first Indian Round Table Conference and the present Palestine one. At the first Indian Conference the moderates were represented more than adequately, the extremists were non-co-operating: on the Palestine Conference the threat of non-co-operation from the Mufti Arab delegates has secured the exclusion of the moderates, the Nashashibi group. In the peculiar circumstances in which the Conference has been convened, only Mr. Chamberlain could ask for "peace through understanding." To add to the difficulties of the Conference the Mufti Party in Palestine has recommenced political activities in protest against the invitation of moderate leaders to the Conference. Mr. Chamberlain made a clever speech in which he represented the British official delegation as a third party which sits in judgment over rival claims and announced his intention of hearing both sides before giving an opinion. The Arabs at the Conference have, to our mind, made a grave mistake in their attitude towards the Conference. Their grievance is not so much against the Jews as against the British. At any rate anyone reading the four demands of the Arab Higher Committee, must know that not

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

one of them can be satisfied by the Jews. Those demands are, recognition of the complete independence of Palestine; the replacement of the Mandate by a treaty; revocation of the Balfour Declaration, the immediate cessation of Jewish immigration and land sales. If the delegates are willing to go to London for a Conference conducted by the British Government why should they refuse to meet the Jewish delegates? The Arabs have now composed their differences. The Nashashibi Party will be represented by two delegates at the Conference.

The Muslim League and Palestine:—It is unfortunate that in its anxiety to press forward its own claims for recognition, the Muslim League has adopted a policy on questions relating to other Islamic peoples, which results in weakening Indian support. Both in the memorial meetings following the death of Kemal Ataturk and on the Palestine issue, Indian opinion, regardless of community, was with the Muslims. The League, however, in both cases has thrown its weight into communalising international questions. In the matter of Palestine, Mr. Jinnah, head of the Muslim League, represented to the British Government the need for Indian Muslims to be called in conference along with the Arab delegates. The Government naturally enough refused. Mr. Jinnah in a subsequent representation urged that Indian Muslims had a special interest in the holy places of Palestine and therefore pressed the Government to accede to his request. The Arab delegation have wired to Mr. Jinnah their support of his appeal They apparently look to Indian Muslims to swell the Arab strength and they evidently argue that, if world Jewry can be represented on the Conference, they do not see why Indian Muslims should not be allowed. If the Arabs were dealing with the Jews alone the addition of a couple of Indian Muslims may well be a source of strength to the Arab delegation to the Conference. But the British element has to be reckoned with as well. Politics are a complicated business. It might not inconceivably happen that concessions in India to the Muslim League may change the attitude of the Indian representation on questions relating to Palestine. The League knows very well that for all its interest in the holy places of Palestine the Indian Muslim community is not likely in the near future to attain a voice in matters of administration relating to them. The League leaders cannot have so soon forgotten the experience of the Muslim delegation to the Saudi Conference, in 1926. Capt. H. C. Armstrong's comment in his life of Ibn Saud, on the part played by the Indian representatives is interesting:

> The Indian delegates were at the bottom of most of the trouble. One proposed the Turkish delegate who had come late, as president, when a Hejazi was already in the chair. Another persisted in talking in Urdu or English when the Congress had decided that Arabic should be the only language, and refused to be shouted down. Both criticised the Wahabi practices, the handling of the finances of the pilgrimage, the organization of the Congress, and the suggestions to hold annual meetings. They demanded more votes than Nejd because there were more Muslims in India than in Nejd, and they created a general spirit of ill will.

The Muslims League, we are sure, does not ignore the fact that between Muslim Arab and Muslim Indian there are wide differences in outlook and ambition. The pressure of the League on the India Office is largely the result of a desire to win international recognition for the communal organization, apart from the country in which it has its roots. The attempt has not succeeded but it conveys the wrong impression that sympathy for the Arab cause is strong only among Indian Muslims. The League would be wise to turn its attempts to removing this impression.

A Generous Gesture:—The Educational Minister of Hyderabad in the course of his address at the All Hyderabad Teachers' Conference on the 3rd February, emphasised the importance of discipline in schools. He took the occasion to refer to the recent withdrawal of students from the Osmania University in terms which should remove any lurking misunderstanding and greatly facilitate the ending of this unhappy episode by the return of the students to their *alma mater*. Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur spoke of the high destiny which awaited those who distinguished themselves by hard work in their school and college and went on to observe:

> In this connection I would like to say that we are very anxious for the future of our misguided youths who have left us. The door is always open to them. They will be received with open arms. They were misled and misguided by interested persons. We are anxious for their future. We are anxious that they do not spoil their future careers. The past will be forgotten. I say once again that they will be received with open arms.

From the first it was evident that a small matter was exaggerated into a serious problem and that with more coolness and deliberation than were displayed at the moment, the episode would have passed off without leaving any trace behind. This view is strengthened by the statement of the students published in the *Daily News* of Nagpur of the 4th February. In it the spokesman of the students, Mr. Narendra Dutt, says: "We declare openly that had our Muslim students asked us directly to refrain from singing the Vande Mataram we would have done so." Obviously the best course would have been to have left the dispute, if there was really one, to be settled by the students among themselves. Mr. Dutt further avers: "We believe that Hyderabad must preserve its integrity as a political and cultural unit within the frame-work of an All India body politic." Clearly these young men are not of the school which would like to see all Indian States abolished. In view of these sentiments and the generous gesture of the Educational Minister, it will be the height of folly if friends and well-wishers do not find a way of bringing about the re-entrance of the students to their own university where they are sure of a cordial welcome.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Munich Agreement" or Political Blackmail?—The idea of calling upon all Congress Provincial Government to resign because the Thakore of Rajkot has not conformed to his undertaking with Sardar Vallabhbhai or because the authorities at Jaipur do not permit the presence of Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj within their borders, recalls the delightful Elia Essay about the Chinaman who first discovered that pork was a delicacy. Neither of these potentates is under any obligation to acknowledge the excellence of parliamentary government as the panacea for all the ills they and their subjects are suffering from. The Viceroy, no doubt, is anxious to have the Provincial part of the Government of India Act to continue to function under their present Governments as it provides the strongest argument in favour of and the best hope for the acceptance of the Federal part. But there is a limit beyond which he can not go even for this purpose. Otherwise, it would be better to scrap the whole Act and pass another handing over the whole administration, British India and the States, to the Congress hierarchy. The wobbling methods of the Government of India have created confusion all round. They are unfair both to the States and to British India outside the Congress. They are unfair to the Congress also. Though the leaders do not seem to realise it the position of the Congress in the light of the frequent appeals to the Viceroy for intervention is exactly that of Indian States which also look to him for protection. Unless there is a "Munich agreement" between Lord Linlithgow and Gandhiji, these frequent calls upon his powers as Crown representative to intervene at the threat of withdrawing the Congress ministries from eight provinces looks unpleasantly like political blackmail. One disadvantage of Mr. Subhas Bose's taking over the control of the Congress would be to get rid of the camouflage which obscures the real issues of politics at the presentday.

Warning to the Press:—The Bombay Premier has issued a second warning to the Press against writings calculated to inflame communal antagonism. The first was issued soon after he took office. He says that Hindu-Muslim controversy has been a familiar feature of Press writings for several years past but that a new development has taken place during the past few days in the shape of Gujarati-Marathi rivalry. The highest duty of a publicist at the present time in India, whether he is a journalist, politician or minister, is to promote by every means in his power harmonious and friendly relations between castes and communities. Any person who writes or speaks, whether in public or private, offensively of a community or caste as such, commits a capital crime against his country. Writings in the press, however, are not the only or the most dangerous material. Private conversations are far more inflammatory as they can not be exposed or contradicted. Government, too, must in the present state of Indian society be extremely careful to give no room for suspicion of bias in favour of or against a community or caste in the expenditure of public funds and in the formulation of beneficial measures. It is not enough to feel righteous in its own mind. Its measures must show to the man in the street that the Government is even-handed in its dispensation of justice and benevolence. No one doubts the intentions of the Kher Ministry but there is unfortunately a feeling that their intentions are deflected by pressure from party interests. We are told that the new development is of recent birth. It would be correct to say that an old smouldering ember has been recently fanned into flame. Have Government tried to discover if there is any cause or reason behind it or whether it is the wanton mischief of unadulterated perversity? It is extraordinary that the Congress which has for its chief end the creation of a feeling of solidarity between all castes and communities has, judging from events, accentuated old rivalries, and given rise to new ones. The exchanges between it and the Muslim League have not certainly composed Hindu-Muslim differences. The Gujarati-Marathi development can also be traced to the differences arising out of Congress measures. There is one other suggestion. Writings in the popular press take their cue from the conversation of leading partisans. Ministers themselves must set the example of conforming in their private utterances to the admirable sentiment against communalism which they promulgate from public platforms and through press communiques. The Prime Minister himself as everybody knows is totally without blame in this respect.

The Jews and the Christians:—We reprint today an interesting article from the *Jewish Tribune* on the Crucifixion story and its effect on the position of Jews. It would be thought that the opinion of the Jews has a peculiar value on this question. The *Jewish Tribune*, however, is very guarded in its comment probably because one of its contributors, "a staunch Christian and a lover of the Jewish people," has "strongly advised" it not to publish anything which will hurt Christian feelings, at this time. The *Jewish Tribune* nevertheless supports the view that the story of the Crucifixion as narrated in the Gospels has reacted adversely on the Jews. We cannot understand the attitude of the correspondent who would suppress Jewish opinion on a vital matter because it will hurt his feelings. As for the correspondent's rather dogmatic assertions on our note—the bone of contention between him and the *Jewish Tribune*—we would refer him to the letter of the Secretary to the Canadian Board of Missions which we publish elsewhere. Mr. Armstrong goes even farther than we do. He would deny intelligence to any Christian who does not accept that Christ was crucified for breaking the laws of the Romans.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, February 11, 1939.

LATE MAHARAJA SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAR.

The Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar of Baroda died on Monday night at his Bombay residence in Nepean Sea Road. His Highness had for several years past been in indifferent health which necessitated his spending the greater part of every year in Europe. He returned from Europe in October last in a condition almost of collapse. Careful and expert medical assistance sustained by his own will to live, led to marked improvement in his condition. But he could not be moved from his Bombay home. The end came as a surprise and a shock to the public which had believed that His Highness was well on his way to recovery and that he might be spared to rule over his State and to give the benefit of his ripe experience and wise counsel to the country in the transitional period through which it is passing. His death at this juncture is a very great deprivation to Baroda and to India. The story of his long career as a ruler is well known. But he was first and foremost a social reformer with definite views on the principal changes needed in order to make society progressive and capable of playing its part amidst modern world conditions. The elevation of the position of women and their emancipation from cramping customs like the purdah and infant marriage, the abolition of the present watertight hereditary system of caste, the removal of untouchability and, above, all the banishment of illiteracy, were regarded by him as absolutely essential before India can take upon herself the responsibility of self-government in the full and true sense of the term. He was recognised as an All-India leader in all these matters. His position as the ruler of Baroda enabled him to apply his principles on a large enough scale to be of guidance to the rest of the country. He was fired by the spirit of the pioneer. A fervent believer in the liberating force of education, he introduced free and compulsory education in his State many years before any other State or province in British India thought of it. He appointed committees of enquiry into marriage customs in the State and promoted legislation to reform the more glaring defects in the light of the results of the enquiry. Baroda led the way in the matter of intercaste marriages, and legal reforms relating to women's right of property. The Maharaja was among the first to realise the cruelty and hardship involved in the custom of untouchability. He established schools and boarding houses for the children of untouchables and encouraged their higher education by means of liberal scholarships tenable in India and abroad. Dr. Ambedkar was one of those thus helped.

The Maharaja in his earlier years would seem to have inclined to what is called Rationalism. He spoke on one occasion contemptuously of those who wished to save only their own "dirty souls." The process of saving one's own soul happens to be the process of saving other people's souls also. No one can save his own soul at the expense of another's. When the Maharaja's mind passed this stage, is not known. But certain it is that he realised in these latter days the need for religion and the great worth to humanity of the messages of the World Teachers. To three of these he was most powerfully drawn: Sri Krishna, Buddha and Jesus Christ. In a memorable address to the World Fellowship of Faiths at Chicago in 1933, he said:

> To do a man's work in an unselfish spirit is to find God, says the Gita. It is men of such spirit that have built up "this brave, new world," but through self-will —Trishna or Tanha—we are wrecking it, as the Gita and Buddha insist. The men of science, the doctors, the engineers, the social reformers, the religious seers, these are making all things new—fellow workers with God; but selfishness, race hatred, narrow nationalism and greed have thrown all into chaos. Yet a new cosmos is emerging; God is at work. He is a democratic king and asks our help. He recognises no hierarchy but that of service. He that is greatest, let him be the servant of all. He is greatest who serves most.

The Maharaja digressed a bit to define Democracy and the definition he gave is one which has not grown stale in these six years. "Democracy," he said, "means also the emergence of the common man and his rights, the demand of the backward peoples for a place in the Sun. And alike in East and West, tyranny and humbug are challenged, for they deny these rights." Along with Sri Krishna and Buddha, the Maharaja named Gandhiji as "our great laymen who have given us what you call horse sense, and called us back to reality and to the human values." These, he added, are "the practical idealists of India." In his concluding words at this great Conference the Maharaja struck a lofty note which thrilled the audience to enthusiasm. He said:

> You are wise and farsighted in organising this World Fellowship of Faiths; let each put its own house in order, and let each bring out of its treasury things new and old for the healing of the nations. What better expresses the spirit we need than the saying of the Chinese Mystic twenty-five centuries ago? Activity without Assertiveness; Production without Possessiveness; Direction without Domination. This is very Christian, and we in India claim that we are by nature akin to the Christian ideal; we also acknowledge that Christ has challenged us to make our religion simpler and better.

Baroda when the late Maharaja ascended the gadi was a backward State barely redeemed from chaos by the efforts of a Regency: It has during his reign come to be one of the most advanced and well-administered States. A life of great achievement like the Maharaja's evoked naturally the highest admiration in India and abroad. Its cessation is, therefore, felt as a national loss which is peculiarly deplorable at this juncture when the country is experiencing the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

travails of a new birth. His Highness' grandson has succeeded to the gadi. His education and upbringing, engaged the special and personal care of the late Maharaja. It will be the earnest prayer of the public in Baroda and in India that His Highness Pratap Singh's reign may be as long and as prosperous and progressive as that of his illustrious grandfather.

INDIAN STATES.

Lord Dalhousie thought that it would be for the good of their people if Indian States were annexed to British India. Satara was admittedly a well-governed State. But when the ruler died, Lord Dalhousie refused to recognise his adopted son, and annexed the State. He wrote in his despatch to the Directors of the East India Company :

> In my conscience, I believe we should ensure the population of the state a perpetuity of that just and mild government which they have lately enjoyed, but which they will hold by a poor and uncertain tenure, indeed, if we resolve now to continue the Raj, and to deliver it over to the government of a boy brought up in obscurity, selected for adoption almost by chance, and of whose character and qualities nothing whatever was known to the Raja who adopted him : nothing whatever is known to us.

As a matter of fact, the Governor-General was acting on the orders of the Chairman of the Court of Directors. His task was to urge some plausible reason. He could not in the face of unimpeachable testimony allege that there was mis-government in Satara. He was obliged to admit that the Raja's government was good and mild. His argument was that, under the rule of the adopted son, there was no chance of the excellence of that rule being continued. He was convinced that only under British rule was there a guarantee of the continuance of the late Raja's benevolent and popular administration. The Raja of Satara was not a limited monarch in the present day sense of the term. Yet his rule, according to the testimony of the then Governor of Bombay, Sir George Clerk, who pleaded for its continuance, was a happy and prosperous one and his government was "just and praiseworthy." As for its popularity, it is enough to quote the opinion of Major J. D. Basu that its annexation was the cause of the Indian Mutiny. He says :

> The annexation of Satara is an important landmark in the history of British India, for it can be safely asserted that the policy which led to the absorption of this native state was the principal cause of the Indian Mutiny. This non-recognition of the adopted son as heir to the Satara principality gave rise to the controversy, the echo of which is audible even to our own day.

Major Basu's book was published in 1922.

As a result of the Mutiny, the British policy towards Indian States was completely changed. The Queen's Proclamation guaranteed to the Princes their rights and dignities. In the new conditions, great Indian statesmen arose and flourished. Sir Salar Jung, Rajah Sir T. Madhav Rao, Sir Dinkar Rao, Dewan Rangacharlu, Sir Sesaya Shastry and Sir Seshadri Aiyar established a high reputation for constructive Indian statesmanship. The deposition of Malharrao Gaikwar in the eighteen seventies was resented by Indian opinion as an unjust and unconstitutional act of the Government of India. The proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India was in part intended to regularise such proceedings in future. The Rendition of Mysore a few years later was hailed by the Indian public as an act of just and generous statesmanship. Indian States were regarded by the Indian people and their leaders as the inheritors and preservers of Indian culture and tradition and as such were cherished by the whole country. Ranade declared that the heart of India beat in the Indian States and watched with solicitude every sign of social and moral progress in them. Dadabhai Naoroji championed their rights against encroachment by the Government of India. The Rulers reciprocated this goodwill and the relations between the States and British India developed on happy and harmonious lines. Some of them, however, had not made the best use of their opportunities. In the beginning of this century, Lord Curzon, as a part of his centralization scheme, initiated a policy of associating the Princes whom he called partners and colleagues, closely with the defence of the Empire. He insisted on the rulers attending to their administration as arduously as he himself did. He set his face against their going abroad for pleasure and spending much of their time on social and sporting functions. He admonished them severely for neglect of the interests of their people. In his famous Gwalior speech, Lord Curzon laid down his policy towards the Princes. The passage is worth quoting :

> The Native Chief becomes by our policy an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He can not remain *vis-a-vis* of the Empire a loyal subject of Her Majesty the Queen Empress, and *vis-a-vis* of his own people a frivolous and irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest, and that his gadi is not intended to be the divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the race course, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations and I do not say they are not legitimate relaxations : but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I, at any rate, judge him. By this test will he, in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive.

Indian opinion welcomed this plain-speaking as called for by certain tendencies which were becoming noticeable among some Princes. But the Princes themselves regarded it as an insolent invasion of their rights. This feeling was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accentuated by Lord Curzon's action in securing the perpetual lease of Berar from the late Nizam, which, by the way, had been p oposed by Dalhousie and rejected by his predecessor fifty years before. All India felt that the Viceroy had taken undue advantage of the loyalty and keen sense of honour of His late Highness. Lord Curzon also incurred unpopularity in British India on account of his Universities Act and the Partition of Bengal. The discontent of the Princes swelled the volume of his unpopularity. His successor, Lord Minto, as a measure of appeasement, relaxed the control of the Government of India over the States. The War came and the Princes' help in money and troops were highly serviceable to the British Government. This emancipated them completely from the control of the Government of India, which had to be asserted subsequently in some cases of grave misgovernment by drastic action. As a general proposition it must be acknowledged that the standard of administration in all but a few States underwent marked deterioration during the period of the War and the years following it.

The grievances of the people, especially of several States in Northern India, increased in number and gravity. The Chamber of Princes, while keen on asserting the rights of their order, totally ignored the claims of their duties so well enunciated by Lord Curzon. The States People's Conference for many years asked only for the redress of grievances. Several responsible British Indians associated themselves with it, men like the late Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. But, owing to want of response from the States and the Government of India, the movement fell into extremist hands. The leaders of the National Congress did not for many years interest themselves in the States' People's movement. The Congress observed towards the States the principle of non-intervention from its very inception. The most thoughful and responsible Congress leaders were of opinion that the States must develop th ir own polity and should not be forced into the mould of British Indian politics. Within the last twelve months however this wise policy has been abandoned and Congress leaders are actively promoting a movement for the immediate transformation of the Governments of the States into parliamentary and responsible governments.

SALE OF GIRLS.

RAMSARAN SINGH *writes to the Patna Searchlight*:

The abolition of the dowry system is good, but those who advocate it should also pay their attention to the worse practice of selling girls which prevails in this province. The most corrupt practice of sale of girls for marriage should be checked before the system of dowry is abolished by legislation.

The Brahmins of Tirhut sell their girls for marriage like domestic beasts in Sabha which is held in Tirhut annually without taking any care for their future well-being. Even the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhangah is unable to check it and the Sabha is held annually for this very purpose.

REFLECTIONS ON CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S ELECTION.

A noteworthy feature of the short but sharp interlude which followed the announcement of the election of Mr. Subhas Bose to preside at the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress, is that the principals in the contest have either been silent or very sparing in their comments on the event. Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad has not spoken at all. Yet it was his last minute withdrawal that brought about what may develop, if it has not already done so, in to a crisis in the Congress. The Maulana's attitude, indeed, is not easily explained. For over a month he let the apparently authentic forecast about his being the next President, go uncorrected. He might have privately conveyed to Gandhiji his difficulties in the way of accepting the Congress crown. If so, Gandhiji did not consider them adequate and the Maulana was persuaded to agree to shoulder the distinction. He comes to Bombay from Bardoli and issues a statement to the Press stating that, owing to the strain on his health caused by his duties as a member of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, he could not accept the Presidentship, and commends the candidature of Dr. Pattabhi Sitarammayya. Dr. Pattabhi has told the public that he had already sent out an announcement to the Press withdrawing his candidature and it was under the Maulana's pressing request that he withdrew his withdrawal. Was the strain on his health the only reason of the Maulana or were there other reasons behind it? Gandhiji, though careless of his own health, is exceedingly considerate to that of his co-workers. He is not the man to drive a willing horse to death. If he had found that the Maulana's health would not be equal to the strain of the Presidentship—Gandhiji, it must be remembered, is a health expert—he would certainly not have pressed the office upon him. One is driven, therefore, to conclude that there were other reasons which weighed heavily with the Maulana. There is one which springs to one's mind. As president of the Congress the Maulana will be the head and spokesman of the Congress whose relations with the Muslim League border on open hostility. There have been personal recriminations between the Maulana and Mr. Jinnah. If the negotiations are to be re-opened, it was desirable that some one who was less involved in the controversy should speak for the Congress. If the Maulana, overlooking this difficulty, took over the negotiations as President of the Congress, would the rank and file of the Congress give him complete support and confidence? These are weighty reasons and, if the Maulana had pleaded these publicly, he would have added greatly to the high esteem in which he is held by all parties. Needless reticence on the part of leaders in matters of this nature, deprives the public of the educative value of the process by which they reach decisions on matters of moment.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the other principal in this affair, has preferred to let the election figures speak for themselves. But Gandhiji thought that something more was needed to convey the significance of the figures. Avowing himself to be responsible for Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's candidature—as if the actual candidate did not matter—he declared Dr. Pattabhi's defeat was a repudiation of his principles and policy by the majority of delegates and advised the minority, which is assumed to accept all of his views, to accord or not their cooperation to the re-elected President as their conscience bade them. Evidently, Congress discipline which has been rigorously enforced in other cases, has ceased to matter because Mr. Subhas Bose

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

not Gandhiji's candidate has received a majority votes. Gandhiji's statement, issued on the morrow of the election, lacks generosity and is not to Mr. Subhas Bose. Gandhiji says that he was the first opposed to Mr. Bose's re-election but he not give his reasons. We, too, thought that Mr. Bose was not the most suitable President for Congress at this juncture and gave our reasons, ely, his oft-repeated thesis that Britain's difficul- were India's opportunities, and his intense ncialism which is calculated to lead to the ests of the whole country being subordinated to narrow exigencies of Bengal politics. In both ects he is a contrast to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru world view may sometimes take on a tint of ism but is most often associated with goodwill magnanimity towards those whom circumstances e made him look on as his political opponents. other words, the Pandit is a party poli- by necessity not by choice. With Subhas Bose it is rather the other way. But that he has been elected for a second time sident of the Congress, we have every hope that will, as so many others have done, develop a der outlook and a more generous spirit towards with whom he has to contend. Since writing lines, we have seen Mr. Subhas Bose's short and fied statement. He is not intimidated by dhiji's disapproval of his election and does not to throw up the sponge on that account. hopes by his activities to convert Gandhiji his side as he attaches more importance to good opinion than to that of all the rest his friends. He has consulted with Pandit awaharlal Nehru at Santiniketan. The Pandit, whatever his views, is unlikely to support Mr. Subhas Bose in the face of Gandhiji's disapproval. Mr. Bose knows this. The Poet, Tagore, is reported to have taken upon himself to bring about an understanding between Gandhiji and Mr. Bose. We trust he may succeed but the result of the Poet's intervention in political matters have not been always very happy. The accession of Mr. S. Srinivasa Ayyangar to Mr. Bose's side is likely to prove a turning-point in the career of the Congress in the Madras Presidency. In fact, his influence was largely responsible for the majority which voted for Mr. Bose among the delegates from the Tamil Nad.

There is another reflection which forces itself on the mind on the perusal of the statements and counter-statements which have been issued in connection with Mr. Subhas Bose's election. It is plainly avowed those opposed to Mr. Subhas Bose that the practice hitherto has been invariably for the candidate for the Presidentship to be nominated by Gandhiji and that the subsequent elaborate election procedure was a mere formality. When Mr. Bose insisted that the delegates were free to elect whom they liked and that the manifesto issued by seven or eight members of the Working Committee on the eve of the election, was an interference with the delegates' freedom of choice, he was plainly told that his own election last year was made at the instance and suggestion of the High Command and that it is not for him, therefore, to raise his voice against the established convention. That may be a good retort to Mr. Bose but it raises an issue which must be very embarrassing to those who have accepted Truth as the creed of the Congress. Is it Truth to pretend that a candidate who was imposed on the Congress by Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee, owes his position to the free choice of the delegates as has been the case all these years and which would have been the case this year also but for the intramigence of Mr. Subhas Bose? Gandhiji has been off and on raising the cry of corruption in the Congress. How can he expect purity when the very foundation rests upon a palpable fiction? There is another question which is raised by this episode. The Congress stands for responsible Government in British India and the States. One expects that it will set the example and model of it in its own constitution. Would the reproduction in the Government and the States, of the Congress constitution such as it has been shown to be in the Nariman and Khare episodes, and has now been authoritatively expounded in connection with election of Mr. Subhas Bose, be accepted by Gandhiji and the rest of the hierarchy as a sufficient and satisfactory form of responsible Government? What is the principle running right through the organisation? It is the vesting of power in a person or set of persons carefully denuded of responsibility which is thrown upon another set who have to be guided by Party heads in the exercise of the power which they nominally possess. Here again there is departure from Truth, the fertile soil of corruption. Corruption can not be eradicated by purges at intervals. It must be prevented from growing by ensuring that the soil of public life is sweet and free from the fungus of make-believe.

BOMBAY UNIVERSITY.—I.

(By Professor P. A. Wadia.)

In every country in the world, the Universities, whether run by the State or endowed by private munificence, play a vital part as institutions for the promotion and prosperity of the national life. In India as much as any other part of the world, they serve the national life as centres of research and seats of culture, as the disseminators of learning amongst the masses, and as the training ground for the future leaders as well as legislators for developing the democratic institutions of the country. It would be a sad day when the public resources of the provinces are withdrawn from the support of these seats of learning and nurseries of citizenship, merely. in the interests of an effective support of primary education.

Universities have recently come in for a considerable amount of criticism. Some of them, like the Bombay University, have had traditions that go back more than seventy years. Some of the more recently founded Universities are suggested to be worthy as models to be profitably copied by the older Univsreities which have been charged as being conservative, reluctant to move with the times, and predominantly concerned with the humane sciences and culture. In this way, the Bombay University has been having its share of criticism; and it is high time for us that we should make a survey of the working of our University with a view to examine its strength and its weakness.

Let us preface our remarks by stating that a University is an institution which seeks to be instrumental for the promotion of definite purposes, and for the fostering of a particular way of living. Thus the success of any such institution must ultimately depend upon those who work it. As it is, the main work of our University, as such an institution in our Province, is carried on by the constituent Colleges and schools affiliated to it. For, apart from the special Departments of teaching and research that it directly controls, the main functions of our University are confined to the work of laying down courses of study and conducting examinations.

This work is done by a machinery known as the University Act. In examining the merits and demerits of the work of the Bombay University we

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have, then, to take into account the nature of the machinery, as also the human material concerned with the working of that machinery. These two factors must be accepted as so intimately interdependent that it is difficult to separate the working of both in this brief review of ours.

The Bombay University Act directs that all the elections to the Senate, as also to all other statutory bodies of the University, shall be conducted on the principle of proportional representation in terms of the single transferable vote. Now, in the first instance, it is difficult to understand why the principle of proportional representation, intended as it is to give protection to minorities, should be introduced in elections to an educational corporation, like the University. In the domain of education where we are concerned with the things of the spirit, there should be no barrier of race or creed or colour. But, even if one admits the need for proportional representation, in order that such a system of representation is effectively worked, it is necessary that all the constituent members of the several bodies should be elected at a time, and that also through constituencies that are plural, and not single-member constituencies. In both these respects the Act under which the Bombay University is working calls for immediate revision. For example, the Senate has on it twenty-five members elected by the Registered Graduates: but all these twenty-five members are not elected once every five years; they are broken into groups of five, and spread over five years, five members being elected every year. But a still more serious disaster has overtaken this system of representation by the ruling of an ex-Chancellor; whenever a vacancy occurs due to the death or transfer of an elected member outside the Province or for some other cause, it is ordained by this ruling that the incumbents of such casual vacancies should hold office not during the remainder of the period which the original incumbent would have filled, but for a new period of five years; in view of this, plural-member constituencies have been tending to become single-member constituencies. Moreover, as the constituency of Registered Graduates is, for the purposes of election, to be regarded as a single whole extending from Kanara at the one end to Sind at the other, and as the number of electors now includes more than fifteen thousand votes, the object of proportional representation which was originally meant to secure the protection of minorities is defeated by the ruling of the Chancellor referred to above.

Similarly in another constituency, namely that of University and College Teachers, we find the same anomalies. Here also single-member constituencies are being gradually created with the lapse of time. In both these electorates communal prejudice can be traced behind the elections; but, what is worse, regional prejudices can also be seen working, as, for instance, between Gujarat and Maharashtra; and, Sind and Kanara are pushed into the background. If these defects were the end of it all, there might be some comfort for some of us. But unfortunately, in the elections from the Teachers' Constituency worse features of human frailties have been coming to our notice; thus principals of Colleges, in spite of the fact that they have their separate constituencies, offer themselves for election also from the Teachers' Constituency; there can be nothing so undesirable as this ranking together of the principals and professors of Colleges in the same constituency, as it tends to make the principals hunt for the votes of their own staff. Moreover, there are Colleges where, on account of the formation of cliques, the Principals insist that the voting-papers of members of their Staff should be submitted blank to these Principals, for the Principals' use as occasion requires. It used also to be a practice a few years ago on the eve of elections, for scores, if not hundreds, of graduates being registered through a single channel with a joint cheque which was presented at the office of the Registrar to cover the registration fees; luckily, such practices cannot now be profitably pursued, in view of a recent amendment of the Rules for Registration by which everyone who graduates is antomatically placed on the list of voters.

The causes of such electioneering practices as we have noticed above, can be traced not merely to human weaknesses arising from motives of ambition. There are other causes that seem to be at work, though these are not directly connected with the method and machinery of elections. In some of the constituent Colleges the low salaries paid to the members of the staff leave much room for them to desire a supplement to their earnings by such opportunities as the election to the Senate offers. A large number of these Colleges lie at some distance from the centre of the University. Membership of a Senate is a stepping-stone to membership of other Statutory Bodies like the Boards of Studies, the Faculties, the Academic Council, and others. Moreover, the mere fact that an applicant for examinership is a member of the Senate enhances the chances of his appointment as an examiner. Then there were occasions when gentle reminders had to be communicated by the Registrar's office to Boards of Studies about the undesirability of too frequent meetings. Similarly, the faculties have sometimes created work by the appointments of all kind of joint-conferences between a number of Boards or between other university bodies. In this way, one has reluctantly to admit, the machinery of elections has been and is being utilized not for the purpose of making the best talents availabe for University work, but for increasing the voting strength of cliques and for making the utmost possible use of the opportunities for such supplementary income as such memberships offer.

If it were asked what would be the possible methods of putting an end to some of the anomalies we have noticed above, it would be difficult to give any precise answer. But it is clear enough that, if proportional representation is to be retained, there should be simultaneous elections every five years from the different constituencies to the Senate; and, these elections should be up to the full strength of the number of members to be elected by these constituencies. It is also desirable that the Act should be so revised that the member who is elected to fill any casual vacancy from any constituency should hold office only for such limited period as the original incumbent would have filled before the next General Election of the constituency in question takes place. Further, the principals of all the Colleges should be ex-officio members of the Senate; this will save them from the degradation of vote-hunting amongst the subordinate members of the staff. But, above all, every election must take place by ballot, not through the post, but recorded in person by the voters concerned at polling booths. The objection against organising such polling booths on account of cost and trouble should not come in the way of this most desirable change; it is because of the voting by post that the pernicious practice of collection of votes by persons in authority goes on as an open secret, defeating thereby the fundamental object of the ballot. Therefore, this reform must be introduced immediately. Let us, however, remember that the mere revision of the Act in these directions will not bring the millenium. The machinary of the League of Nations could not be prevented

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from becoming a holding corporation of the victors in the last war. The best machinery for election in the Bombay University Act will not prevent it from being mis-handled by cliques. "Except ye be born again" needs to be remembered as much in the domain of University Education as in the salvation of the individual and of the corporate life on the larger scale.

FRANCE AFTER MUNICH.*

(By George Fielding Eliot)

The chief military aim of France is security. Security for its territorial frontiers in Europe and its colonial empire. Since the World War, France has sought to achieve security against a possible German war of revenge by trying to surround Germany with a *cordon sanitaire* of military alliances, developing close relations with Britain, and maintaining armaments at a high level.

The basic cause of French anxiety regarding Germany is man power. France has a population of 42,000,000, which has changed but little for three-quarters of a century. The French birth-rate is steadily declining. In contrast Germany, before the *Anschluss*, had a population of 68,000,000, with an increasing birth-rate. To these numbers have been added 10,000,000 Austrians and Sudeten Germans, giving a total population almost twice that of France.

In order to counterbalance German man power, France has drawn on its colonies for military strength and there are at present some 50,000 colonial native troops stationed in France. But France also depended to a large extent on its allies.

French strategy was based, first of all, on an impassable frontier barrier, which would assure France against sudden invasions like those of 1879 or 1914, and give time to cover the mobilization of its reserves (say four to eight days), the transportation of troops from North Africa (about two weeks), and the arrival of British forces. This barrier now exists in the Maginot Line, a series of fortified positions covering the whole German frontier and parts of the Belgian and Swiss borders. The garrisons of these fortifications consist of 50,000 specially trained troops, drawing 250,000 reserves from near-by areas.

Behind this barrier France can mobilize immediately the 27 divisions of its first-line army, with five cavalry divisions and auxiliary formation. Of these, the cavalry divisions and ten specially organized, fully motorized infantry divisions from the *Troupes de couverture*, which will move swiftly up in support of the Maginot Line, dealing with any possible break-through, or concentrating toward a threatened flank. The bulk of France's army, however, now consists of reserved divisions of which there are 42. The demands of the fortress troops, the air force, the tanks and other new formations coupled with the fact that the classes now serving are those of the "war-baby" years of low birth rates, have compelled France to reduce the number of its first-line divisions, of which there were 44 in 1914, but only 27 (of which 6 are colonial) today. The reserve divisions, regarded as distinctly inferior in 1914, are today France's mainstay. They have been brought to a high degree of perfection in training and equipment, and have excellent officer personnel.

If France is at war with both Germany and Italy, it is very likely that it will continue to use a defensive strategy toward Germany, while assuming the offensive toward Italy. The French do not think highly of the Italian army, and the configuration of the Alpine passes, converging from France toward Italy, favours the offensive in this direction. One school of military thought in France favoured an offensive striking from the Rhine crossing towards the Upper Danube between Ulm and Ratisbon; this calculation, however, was based on the assumption that the Czech army—34 divisions all told—would be engaging part of the German forces.

After Munich, France is isolated—save for Britain—and its strategy must be revised. It becomes more necessary than ever that the lines of communication between France and its North African empire should remain open. Maintenance of these lines is the primary task of the French navy.

From Sardinia and Sicily the Italian fleet could seriously interfere with the main line Algiers-Marseilles, but not at all with the exterior line Bordeaux-Casablanca. An Italian foothold in Spain, however, would alter this situation. Possession of the Balearic Islands would enable Italian air power to operate effectively against French transports on the Algiers-Marseilles route. Spain's Atlantic ports make it possible for Italy to operate beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Moreover, Spanish Morocco gives Italy a *pied a terre* in the very heart of Morocco itself. It is these considerations, rather than serious worry over the Pyrrenean frontier which disturb French strategists when they examine the present situation in Spain.

In order to assure its vital communications with Africa, France must maintain its alliance with Britain, while rapidly building up its own fleet. The French fleet, with eight battleships, is at present superior to that of Italy and Germany combined who have four battleships. Considering ships under construction, it may not remain so in three years' time when France will have ten battleships, Germany five, and Italy eight.

It is, however, in the air that French military preparations have lagged most seriously. In 1933 France possessed the most powerful air fleet in Europe; today it occupies fifth place. It must always be borne in mind that the air weapon is an offensive weapon. It cannot easily assume, or efficiently discharge, the defensive role. This is because there is no possibility of setting up impassable barriers in the air: there are no points of support, such as rivers, mountains and fortifications may afford on the ground; there is no means of canalizing the enemy advance into defiles. The possibilities of evasion are enormous when war is fought in three dimensions. But air power cannot hold territory, nor is it capable of continuous effort because of limitations of carrying power and time of flight. It cannot, by reason of its limitations, prove decisive by itself.

Air power does not defend well against air power; the best defence against the bomber is the anti-aircraft gun and its appurtenances, the civilian defense measures lumped under the heading of "air raid precautions," and the dispersion of targets—of munition factories, railway centres, and the like. That—and one's own bombers used remorselessly in reprisal.

It is here that the French air force was found wanting. In September 1938 the German air force represented a grave threat to France, the French air force, a much less formidable threat to Germany. French inferiority in the air was due to internal political, social and financial causes, and to bureaucratic inefficiency.

French military policy after Munich, to sum up, may be expected to turn to the following objectives:

(1) Increase of the rate of airplane production.

*Foreign Policy Report.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(2) Abatement of the Spanish threat, to remove fears of Italian or German strategic footholds in Spain or its possessions.

(3) Closer relations with Britain, France's one remaining ally.

(4) Increase of the navy.

(5) Improvement and extension of the fortified lines on the east and north.

France stands all but alone today, certainly alone on the Continent. It still has the most formidable and best army in Europe, an army which derives much of its strength from the fact that, for sixty years, it has annually added a class of conscripts from whom have been selected officer-candidates, non-commissioned officer-candidates, and the personnel of the permanent specialist cadres, year after year, also, a fresh class of cadets has entered the military schools from which half of France's officers are drawn, the other half coming from the ranks. This process still continues. While France possesses such an army, whether isolated or not, its word will have weight in the military councils of Europe.

THE CRIMINAL TRIBES ACT.

Of all the galling instruments used to curtail the civil liberties of the Indian people, the Criminal Tribes Act has been the worst. The indignities to which the Act puts all those who are so unfortunate as to come under its clutches, amount to their virtual enslavement. In Madras, for example, all the thousands of people belonging to some particular tribes have indiscriminately registered as Criminals who have not only to render forced labour to the meanest official, but have to take out passes to go out of their villages even to earn their livelihood. The conditions imposed on them by the Act have been making a hell of the lives, all the more because the public have not been aware of the harm that the operation of the Act has caused. These, however, have now come to light, so much so, that the Act has earned a severe condemnation by every influential opinion and high judicial authority, with the result that the National Congress at its Faizpur session, declared in favour of repeal of the Act as it is "A menace to peaceful citizens," and further, this Act as well as the Foreigners Act are applied to political prisoners.

We are now informed that the Madras Government has decided to repeal the Act as such, only retaining powers to deal with the wandering groups and habitual offenders of dangerous character by enacting two separate laws for the purpose. The Premier of Sindh, in reply to a motion in the local Assembly last year for repeal of the Act, promised to do the needful. Informal assurances to the same effect have been received so far from some other Provincial Premiers and native States. To-day, there seems to be a general recognition that the Act, which has been rightly characterised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as 'monstrous,' should not be allowed to disgrace the Statute Book any longer.

It does not, however, appear to have been sufficiently realised in Bengal, that the Act in this place has often been used against political workers, though it is never meant for them. This has been possible because, use of the Act is, under the provisions of the law, a matter of executive discretion, against which no appeal to the judiciary lies. It was similarly misused in the province of Bihar, until the Congress Government took steps to remedy the wrong. In the province of Bengal a large number of Congress and peasant workers, even men of education and culture, have been penalised under the Act. It has been applied even against a member of the Legislative Assembly. It is high time that opinion against this state of things should be mobilized and even expressions at the All-India Criminal Tribes Conference which is proposed to be held at Tripuri at the time of ensuing Congress session.

We, therefore, earnestly appeal to the public to realise the urgent importance of the matter, help us with their suggestions and information about the persons victimized under the Act, and render all possible assistance to launch an organised movement for the purpose. All communications in this connection should be addressed to Sj. Mukundalal Sircar, No. 72, Canning Street, Calcutta.

MUKUNDALAL SIRCAR, (CALCUTTA)
SYED JALALUDDIN HASHEMY, M.L.A., (CALCUTTA)
HEMANTA KUMAR SARKAR, (CALCUTTA)
BASUDHA CHAKRAVARTI (CALCUTTA)
MANILAL SEN, ADVOCATE, (PATNA)
V. RAGHAVIAH, ADVOCATE, (NELLORE)
W. V. R. NAIDU (JAMSHEDPUR)
PEARY SHANKAR RAY, M. L. A., (CUTTACK)
T. VENKATARAO, (VIZAGAPATAM)

MUSLIM WOMEN'S MARRIAGE DISSOLUTION BILL.

The Report of the select committee on the Muslim Women's Marriage Dissolution Bill was submitted to the Central Legislative Assembly.

Among the changes made by the committee, Clause II of the amended bill replaces Clauses 2, 3, and 4 of the bill referred to the committee. The opening words apply the clause to any woman married under Muslim law, even though she may not herself profess Islam. The references to the various schools of law have been omitted and the grounds made general in the belief that they will prove acceptable to all. The grounds set out in the bill referred to the committee have been thoroughly overhauled and recast in the interests of greater precision, and certain contingent provisions have been added by way of provisos.

Notes have been appended by Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, Mr. Asaf Ali and Bhai Parmanand.

Mr. Asaf Ali, in his note, expresses satisfaction at the form in which the bill has been amended and supports the bill as it has emerged from the select committee. His main objection was that, although a Muslim woman's conversion to another faith shall not by itself be a ground for dissolution of marriage, the reconversion of a wife to her original faith shall by itself operate as an automatic dissolution of marriage. This objection has been met with in the amended bill as it has emerged from the select committee.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh, in his note, congratulates the Muslim members of the select committee on bringing forward 'a liberal and just piece of legislation' and supports the bill as it has emerged from the select committee.

Bhai Parmanand, in his note of dissent, says:—

'In my opinion Clause 4 of the bill, which in a modified form is the original Clause 5, is altogether redundant and no longer required. It cannot be denied that the renunciation of Islam by a married Muslim women and her conversion to a faith other than Islam was so far the only legal remedy left to her to get a dissolution of marriage. This remedy has been sanctified by long usage and accepted by the various High Courts of India.....

'I think, however, that Muslim legislators are perfectly entitled to reform and make a change in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

their religious rites and customs, but they should clearly assert it and have substantial grounds for such a change and at the same time they should not upset the old foundations altogether. My view therefore, is that while abolishing apostasy as the only cause of dissolution of marriage, they should at least put apostasy as one of the main grounds of getting divorce along with the 19 fresh grounds as given in Clause II.

'I wish to add one more point. During the debates on the bill it was urged that the renunciation of Islam was in most cases not genuine and that it was only a device adopted by Muslim women to get rid of undesirable husbands, and that therefore the object of the original clause 5 was to put an end to this evil practice. Accepting this view to be correct, it gives us a sufficient ground to believe that genuine abjuration of Islam cannot but be followed by the dissolution of marriage and this, I think, is a very substantial reason for either o nitting Clause 4 from the bill altogether or at least putting apostasy as the main ground for getting divorce.'

CHRISTIANITY AND ANTI-SEMITISM.*

In the January issue of the *Jewish Tribune*, we lifted an editorial under the above caption from the *Indian Social Reformer* wherein it was stated that one of the main reasons for hatred to Jews is due to the fact that "every Christain child is taught from its infancy to hate the Jew as belonging to the race which killed Jesus Christ."

We have received a letter from a correspondent who describes himself as a "staunch Christian and a lover of the Jewish people" advising us against publishing any thing that is likely to hurt the religious feelings of others, especially at a time when world Jewry is meeting with so much persecution. Our correspondent believes that by publishing anything of this nature, we are likely to disturb the feelings of our Christian neighbours. We feel that our correspondent errs in this respect as nothing could tend towards a better understanding than a frank and hearty discussion that is not tinted with any malice or does not lead towards bad feeling.

Jews more than anybody else are in a position to state the repercussions that are brought about as a result of the Bible narrative regarding the crucifixion of Christ.

Replying to one of the letters that appeared in the 21st January issue of the *Indian Social Reformer*, the editor of the *Reformer* states that "there has grown up a considerable volume of opinion in favour of the belief that Jews was crucified not for his heresy from orthodox Judaism but for sedition against the Roman power." We would like to assure Mr. Harry W. Tilsanka, the author of one of the letters to the *Reformer*, that Jews have the highest opinion of Christ.

Alas, the Christian—Jewish tragedy is one of the crying disgraces of our times! It has been truly said that more blood has been shed in the name of religion. Provided there is tolerance and broadmindedness, Jews can live in perfect harmony and on the best of terms with their Christian neighbours. This has been proved time and again. One of the causes of anti-Semitism can be traced to the fact that Jews have been accused from time immemorial of having crucified Christ. This teaching has created a deep hatred which shows itself from time to time. The following extract from the Preface to his new book, "The Christian—Jewish Tragedy," by Conrad Henry Moehlman, Ph. D., D. D., will be found of unusual interest: "Critical methods demonstrated beyond all contradiction that our gospels are ancient historical documents containing all the faults of such docu ments. The synoptic accounts of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus do not agree the one with the other. No one can bridge the chasm between the differing synoptic narratives on the one hand and the Johannine portrait on the other. All of the New Testament descriptions of the tragedy of Passion have undergone serious modification and expansion. Our Christian text books do not tell what happened in Jerusalem nineteen centuries ago. The Jews still possessed the right to try and execute persons transgressing their religious laws. The Jews did not crucify, they stoned or decapitated for blasphemy. The Roman procurator Pontius Pilate because of popular tumult and revolutionary tendencies among the followers of Jews (*sic*) interested (*sic*) and condemned Jesus on the charge of sedition. For decades after Calvary, Jerusalem Jews and Christians got along rather well together."

Husband, in his *Persecution of the Jews*, concludes that, "Jewish courts did not possess jurisdiction in criminal cases after Judea became a Roman Province."

The Indian Christian Weekly, the *Guardian* of Madras appeals to the World Missionary Conference to bring about a change in presenting the crucifixion story.

THE JEWS AND JESUS

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I read with interest the *Indian Social Reformer* but I am surprised at the statement in the December 17th issue, page 243 ".....every Christian child is taught from its infancy to hate the Jews as belonging to the race which killed Jesus Christ....."

Of course, this is grossly untrue as you must know. One is inclined to think that it crept into the article (entitled "A suggestion for the World Missionary Conference") by some strange slip of the pen. The fact is that Christian children almost universally are taught that Jews are God's Chosen people. It is unfortunately the case that many who call themselves Christians do not have that love for the Jews that should characterize followers of Jews who was himself a Jew. In the congregation in this city of which I am a member, we recently had an address by Rabbi Eisendrath who is very highly esteemed in this country. His congregation had recently built a fine temple in our neighbourhood and the Official Board of our congregation had sent them a message of warm welcome to the community on the occasion of their opening service. In his lecture to us the Rabbi expressed the great delight of his people having received greetings from us and other bodies in our party of the city.

You mention "Jesus was crucified by the order of the Roman Governor." Every intelligent person knows this; no Christian that I have ever met thinks of the Jews as having tried or condemned Jesus to death, even though certain of their leaders were quite willing that he should be found guilty and crucified.

Toronto,
January 19, 1939.

Yours, etc.
A. E. ARMSTRONG.
Secretary,
Canadian Board of Foreign Missions.

[We have answered this objection more than once. The Bible story of the Crucifixion fastens the guilt upon the Jews. This, every Christian child reads, and the early impression produced in many cases, is not wiped out, by sermons from Sunday pulpits. Otherwise why is there so much anti-semitism in almost all Christian countries, which is totally absent in non-Christian lands where Jews have been settled for centuries?—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

* *The Jewish Tribune.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TANGANYIKA.*

An important conference of the area representatives of the Tanganyika League was held in Nairobi. It was attended by people from neighbouring territories and is reported to be the largest interterritorial gathering ever held in East Africa. The Conference was called for the purpose of deciding on the future policy of the League and to set up a strong and representative Central Council to carry on the League's work. The opportunity was taken to present to the Conference the report of the activities of the League by Major Cavendish-Bentinck, the chief organiser and the real force behind the League.

The Conference discussed the future policy of the League behind closed doors and hence unless a communique is issued it is difficult to say what that policy is. In any case there could be no fear about the principle of opposition to the cession of Tanganyika to Germany. Indian representatives were present at this conference, but their number was very small and we think large number of Indian representation is necessary. The League organisers may well arrange such representation next time if they did not want to create an impression abroad that after the first purpose was served they did not need Indians any further. On their part Indians must also join the League in large numbers and take active interest in its work. We do not know what discussions took place in the Conference or what decisions were taken but we hope the organisers will see that the League does not indulge into activities beyond the main object for which it is formed. Any effort to deal with such questions as future constitutional relations between Tanganyika and Kenya and Uganda will lead to immediate disruption of the League. Its main objective is to secure Tanganyika for Britain and once that aim is achieved it should be dissolved.

There is already a strongly organised Indian opinion definitely and unanimously opposed to any return of Tanganyika to Germany. What Sardar's visit will do is to cement it still further and remove for ever any doubt which some of us may have about it. Therefore, if one takes a narrow view of the visit one may say that sacrifice of time by so important a man as Sardar Patel is not worth the work he may do here. But that is not so. The visit must be looked upon from the viewpoint of the personal knowledge which such a man will have of the position of Tanganyika in East Africa and the conditions in which his fellow-countrymen are living here.

Kenya Daily Mail.

RAJAGRIHA FINDS.

A Monograph on "Rajagriha in Ancient Literature" is issued by the Archaeological Survey of India, based upon a critical study of various ancient texts. The author is Dr. B. C. Law.

One of the most wonderful cities of ancient India, which goes back to the days of the Buddha and continues to be a place of pilgrimage and a health resort even to the present day, the indentification of Rajagriha, still known as Rajgir, is rendered easy by the configuration of the hills by which it is surrounded, the other name of the town being Girivraja, or mountain fastness. The Mahabharata mentions Rajagrih as the capital of King Jarasandha, and as the place was hallowed by the presence of the Great Master, it is frequently mentioned in Buddhist literature. Modern excavations have been particularly fruitful at Rajgir and there is, it is said, ample scope for research at this most ancient historical city.

Details are given in the publication of the various names by which the ancient city of Rajagriha was known and their significance as also of the topography of the various sites in and around the city and of the hot springs, the bamboo forest, the mango grove of Jivaka, the Sattapanni cave and other places associated with incidents in the life of the Buddha and the history of Buddhism. The importance of Rajagraha in the religious and cultural history of India is brought out and in particular it is shown how from the earliest times Rajagriha was a notable centre of Naga worship—a conclusion confirmed by the recent discoveries of the Archaeological Department.

The identification of the five hills that enclose the city has always been a matter of some difficulty and confusion owing to the contradictory writings in different periods. A satisfactory solution is now given of the problem in the Monograph.

DR. TAGORE ON SANTINIKETAN.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru performed the opening ceremony of Hindi Bhawan before a large and distinguished gathering last week. After a reception in the traditional Indian style, Dr. Tagore spoke a few words welcoming Pandit Nehru and other invited guests. He said: "It had been my earnest desire to have in this Ashrama a sort of confluence where streams of different cultures could meet together. Apathy of the rich people of our country and our own poverty has so long been preventing us from achieving that wish. It is therefore my very great pleasure to welcome those friends whose munificence had been instrumental in establishing this shrine of learning dedicated to the culture of one of the greatest languages of our land. I am sure that the beginning of Hindi Bhawan, however humble it be, will presage a growth which will be rich and fruitful."

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India

Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,

WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,

Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Price Rs. 3/- Postage 10 as.

K. Natarajan's

"OUR TRIP TO AMERICA"

Price Re. 1/- Postage 4 as.

Orders for Both Books will be Executed Post Free.

Copies can be had from the Office of the *Reformer.*

The Manager.

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

THE MAHA-BODHI

An Illustrated Journal of International Buddhist Brotherhood.

(Established 1892.)

Deals with Buddhism in all its aspects and with History, Art, Philosophy, Archaeology and education. News of Buddhist activities all over the world is a special feature.

CONTRIBUTORS:

Professor Nicholas Roerich, Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sri Rahula Sanskrityayana, Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Mr. J. F. McKechnie (Bhikkhu Silacara), Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Mr. Arun Sen, B.A. (Cantab), Dr. B. M. Barua, Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., Ph.D., B.L., Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. N. Dutt, and others.

Annual Subscription.		*Advertisement rate.*	
India, Ceylon	...Rs. 4	Full page (Cover)	...Rs. 25
Burma	... „ 5	Ditto (Body)	... „ 15
Far East	...Yen 8	Half page	... „ 8
Europe or equivalent	...8 Shillings	Quarter page	... „ 4
America	...3 Dollars		

Apply to the Manager,

MAHA-BODHI SOCIETY
4A, COLLEGE SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Wai („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satara („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol („ „).

DIRECTORS

R. G. Saraiya, Esq., (Chairman).
B. C. V. Mehta, Esq.
Gordhandas G. Morarji, Esq.
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
Prof. V. G. Kale.
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. N. Keshwain, Esq.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varde, Esq.,
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. J. Zunjarrao.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,99,850

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,000.

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS.

The Paper for International Justice.

Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst.

PRICE 2d. WEEKLY.

Weekly Articles by Dr. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London.

Frequent Statements by the Emperor of Ethiopia.

First Hand News of Fascism in Italy, Ethiopia, Spain and elsewhere.

3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, ENGLAND.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,08,00,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. *No credit* will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897)

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 26,50,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill, Agent, Ahmedabad,)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

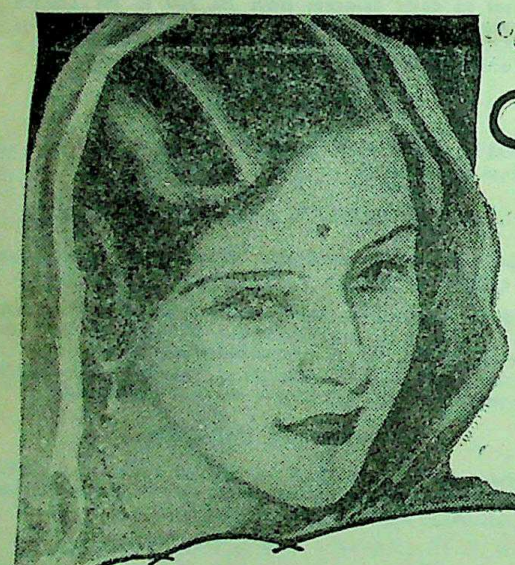
THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
2-26 Bombay.

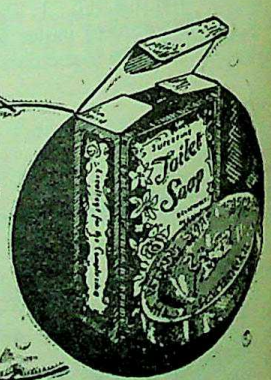


For
BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy leather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.

MYSORE *Sandal* SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE



Stockists:—**The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.**

For terms of business etc., apply to:—

The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—RAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY FEBRUARY 4, 1939. No. 23.

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

CONTENTS.

Anglo-Indians' Future.
The Right Policy.
The Rajkot Imbroglio.
Other States.
East Africa and Tanganyika.
The Wardha Scheme.
The Congress President.
Professors on Federation.
Kashmir and Tamil Saivism.
The Ramakrishna Mission in the U. S. A.
Communal Majority and Parliamentary Majority.
"Christian" Untouchables.
Mr. Bose and the Congress.
A Conference About Tanganyika
Sydney University.
Temples and Harijans.
Harijans and Hotels.
Women and the Population Problem.

NOTES.

Anglo-Indians' Future :—Sir George Anderson, a late Commissioner of Education with the Government of India, wisely declared at the outset of the paper which he read before a joint meeting of the East India Association and the Overseas League, London, that it was beyond his scope that day to speak about the Anglo-Indian community. But the Archbishop of Canterbury who presided, was not equally circumspect. His Grace prefaced his introductory observations with a hasty sketch of the history and antecedents of the community which brought out the imperialistic Christianity of which he has given many indications in the recent crises in world affairs. Recounting the early services of Anglo-Indians, the Archbishop said that they were foremost in fighting under Clive and that "they gave a signal instance of their loyalty to the British Crown when the great Mahratta conspiracy broke out at the end of the eighteenth century." He mentioned the part they played in the great "Mutiny" in the middle of the nineteenth century, and that practically every available man of them entered in the service of the Empire in the days of the Great War. Clive's armies were largely composed of Indians and "the black commandant" often led European troops in the battlefied. There was no discrimination against colour in the days when the British were struggling to get a foothold in the country. Why does the Archbishop refer to the Mahratta opposition to the British in the end of the eighteenth century as a "conspiracy?" The Mahrattas were the rulers of the country and they had every right to fight the alien power which sought to deprive them of their sovreignty. If the Archbishop is in touch with recent events in India, he would have realised the unwisdom of making even a passing reference to the "Mutiny." The British Government banned the production of a film depicting an episode of the Mutiny as likely to revive memories which were better effaced. The Indian Legislative Assembly at last session adopted without division a motion for adjournment as a protest against a reference to those who fought against Government as "mutineers." Indian speakers claimed it was a national revolt the leaders of which were national heroes in the same sense as Bruce and Wallace in the Archbishop's native Scotland. The Archbishop did no service to Anglo-Indians by his ill-informed excursions into Indian history. Especially inopportune are the Archbishop's references when thoughtful Anglo-Indian leaders are impressing on their community its duty to think in terms of Indian nationalism. Sir Henry Gidney himself has often done this of late years. But he is not the man to let the Englishman dodge his responsibilities towards his people. He demanded at the meeting that the British Government should endow the Anglo-Indian community to make up for the loss of Government patronage in India consequent on the introduction of provincial autonomy. Lord Hailey who made the best speech of the evening, bluntly told Sir Henry Gidney that the British Parliament was unlikely to comply with his demand. He advised Anglo-Indians to stand on their own feet and to adapt themselves to the new conditions in this country. If they played their part manfully he saw no reason why they should not fare as well as the other inhabitants of this country under a national regime. He regarded the preference shown to Anglo-Indians in the past as a disservice done to them because they prevented them from working for their own uplift.

The Right Policy :—It is curious as showing the continuity of thought which has made the Indian Civil Service "the steel frame," as Mr. Lloyd George called it, of the Indian administration that Lord Hailey's observations were almost a paraphrase of those written by Sir Thomas Munro more than a century ago on the right policy to be followed for the benefit of the then young Anglo-Indian community. Munro wrote in a despatch to the Court of Directors who had proposed to give bonuses to the wives and children of Englishmen who married and settled in the country :

> It is easy to appeal to humanity; but it is often the harsh duty of Government to resist its call, and never

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was it more so than on the present occasion. If we leave the half-caste people to themselves, they will go on as they have done for the last forty years, increasing slowly, according to their means of subsistence. They will seek employment as servants, mechanics, shop-keepers, and merchants in the towns and villages on the sea-coast. When there is no longer room for them there, succeeding generations will be forced to look for a subsistence as bullock-men, peons, labourers, and ryots. This is what has happened to the descendants of the Portuguese on the west coast, and there is no reason why the same thing should not happen to the descendants of English soldiers, if it be not prevented by imprudent interference.

Mr. Littlehailes, who succeeded Sir George Anderson as Education Commissioner with the Government of India, advised Anglo-Indians to give up thinking that there was any humiliation in learning the Indian languages, and to send their children to the schools and colleges open to all classes. Collecting a few thousand pounds for the upkeep of special schools for Anglo-Indians, is, as Sir Henry Gidney said, merely a speck as compared to the resources needed to cope with the entire problem. What chance is there of larger sums being raised? The Archbishop himself feels that the refugees problem in Europe has greater claims on the British people and that their needs are very large and pressing. If the British took their responsibilities to Anglo-Indians seriously, it is the easiest thing for them to take the lakh and a half of them into Britain or the Dominions. The Rev. A. E. Scipio, Headmaster of an Anglo-Indian High School in Bangalore, mentioned some cases in which his boys with the help of scholarships from a fund which he has raised by contributions from the teachers and old boys, were able to continue their studies in England where they settled down in good positions. He said that there were many statements in the paper read and the speeches made at the meeting which he could "draw swords against." He pleaded for funds to establish and maintain more orphanages with "ever-open door, where the children who have been bereaved of their parents or have been cruelly treated by their parent and are in a state of starvation, are able to be accepted instead of meeting the reply we so often meet, 'There is no room. The orphanages are full'." These orphanages, he added, are needed to receive and rescue children from a life of shame and degradation. Cedric Dover in his "Half Caste" drew a harrowing picture of treatment meted out to the off spring of mixed unions by the White races and sought to rally them all to the slogan "Half castes of the World, unite." It was a desperate cry wrung out of a bitter heart. Whatever might have been the case in the past, there is no prejudice against Anglo-Indians in India. Young Anglo-Indians are taking their place in national movements and the situation is altogether more hopeful for them than some of the speakers for propaganda purpose represented it to be.

The Rajkot Imbroglio :—The public have now before it the correspondence in the shortlived Rajkot revolution between the Thakore and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, between Mr. Patel and Sir P. Cadell, Gandhiji's statement thereon and the Government of India's communique dealing with Gandhiji's demand that the Government should interfere and call upon the Thakore to carry out his undertaking to Sardar Patel. It will be difficult for the impartial historian perusing these documents, say, fifty years hence, to conclude that the Sardar or Gandhiji comes out best in this controversy. It will be equally difficult for him to avoid concluding that Sir Patrick Cadell is the one party in the correspondence who has acted with perfect candour and loyalty to the Thakore Sahib who engaged him as Chief Minister. The Thakore Sahib avows that his object in taking on Sir Patrick was that he should put down the agitation of his subjects. Sir Patrick Cadell when he came into office and looked into the grievances of the people, found that there were just causes for them and that the Thakore Sahib, his master, has been very neglectful in the discharge of his duties as ruler of the State. He told the Thakore Sahib this and exhorted him to devote more attention to the affairs of the State and be more accessible to his subjects. The Thakore did not like this plain speaking. He, in fact, resented it and dispensed with the Dewan's services on the plea that so long as he was in Rajkot the people will look up to him and not to himself, their ruler, as the fountain of power. The Resident had to intervene at this stage and to remind the Thakore that the Government of India had approved of the appointment of Sir Patrick on the distinct understanding that it will last for a term of not less than six months. The Thakore, thereupon, withdrew his order. At the same time he opened negotiations with Sardar Patel and he reached an agreement with him apparently without the knowledge and certainly without the consent of his responsible Minister. This agreement enabled him to oust Sir Patrick from his office and to bring back the old Dewan. The Thakore rejected some of the Sardar's nominees to the Committee on constitutional reform and appointed others on the ground that minority rights were ignored by the Sardar. Gandhiji at this stage came out with his call on the Government of India to compel the Thakore to accept the Sardar's nominees. That Government, to be fair, has shown itself willing to help him whenever it can as in the Orissa Governorship. But it has to maintain appearances at least in its dealings with States. The call made upon it to overrule the Thakore, argued Gandhiji, was not a call for intervention. We do not know what else it is. The Government has in a closely reasoned statement shown that it cannot possibly comply with Gandhiji's invitation, much as it would have been happy to do so could it have done so. We must record our emphatic protest against the venerable and venerated person of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

face the fact that its day of absolute power is over. If it cannot reconcile itself to sharing its control with the Leftists, it will have to bring about a trial of strength before the Tripuri Congress meets next month. Gandhiji has emerged out of his position as adviser to the Congress in general to lead the right wing of the party. What he says in a statement he has now issued, is in effect that, unless Mr. Bose continues the policies initiated by Gandhiji, the right wing will find it impossible to co-operate with the President. Mr. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, goes a step farther. He calls on Mr. Bose to form an all Left Working Committee and carry out his own programme. Mr. Bose has won the presidential contest but that is not even half the battle. From the provincial committees to the provincial ministries the Congress right wing is in complete control. In the Indian States, the leadership of political agitation is in their hands. It will take more than a year to shake them from the controlling position and Mr. Bose's second term is a brief twelve months. We may look for a greater representation on the Working Committee of the radical Socialist party after Tripuri. Mr. Bose's supporters will demand it of him. But he can be compelled by the power of the right wing to keep that representation below an absolute *majority*. In view of these facts, there can be only three possible reasons for the right wing attitude towards a radical who is Congress President not on their sufferance but on the votes of the party. It might be actuated by a desire to intimidate Mr. Bose into submission. This would be the attempt of a caucus to dictate to an elected leader and only Mr. Bose can deal with it. The man who successfully challenged the prerogative of the right wing heirarchy to nominate the President, can only submit now by destroying his own following and setting back the cause of the radicals in the Congress. There is also the personal element. Mr. Bose knows, from the example of Dr. Khare, the Congress punishment meted out to those who weaken after a first defiance. In as much as he was one of the instruments of the heirarchy, Mr. Bose knows this from the inside. Gandhiji's retreat might be perhaps the result of pique at Mr. Bose's successful exposure of the right wing control of the Presidentship and of the President. On the other hand, it might be a strategic retreat designed to rally the elements which dread Socialism like a plague. The right wing leaders know only too well, none better, the wide gap that exists between promise and performance. But it suits them now to take Mr. Bose at his word and isolate him. Whichever of the three explanations one accepts, it is clear that Mr. Bose cannot except loyalty from orthodox Congress leaders. The supremacy of the Right has been broken by the success of Mr. Bose. Neither the country nor the Left wing itself is ready for a supremacy of the Left. Mr. Bose faces a difficult situation. Under his second Presidentship the Congress enters on a new political phase, the most important of which is the secularization of politics. Mr. Bose has a definite policy in economics, in politics and in international relations. And on none of them can he claim, nor to do him justice does he claim, the moral and religious support of Gandhiji's prestige. Whatever the fate of the Congress under Mr. Bose's guidance, the country has gained in so far as questions of policy will be judged on their merits alone free from the fog of political and economic mysticism. That is a great service which the Congress President has incidentally rendered to India.

PROFESSORS ON FEDERATION.

The views of politicians and political parties on Federation have been widely advertised. Not so those of men whose interest in the question is wholly or predominantly intellectual. We have had three pronouncements recently of this type. Sir S. Radhakrishnan contributed to the *Indian World* of Bombay an article in which he touched on Federation. After pointing out that the Federal part of the new constitution suffers from some grave defects such as the association of the States with provinces, safeguards to protect British interests, and the reservation of army and external affairs, Sir Sarvapalli briefly indicated the different attitudes of Indian public men towards it. One section would trust the Princes who, after all, were also Indians, not to obstruct the political progress of the country by mis-using their representation in the Federal Legislature; as regards safeguards, an assurance might be got that they would not be used in regard to the constitutional activities of the Federal Ministers. The reservation of subjects might be eliminated by steady pressure being applied to the British Government. These may be described as the optimists. Another section felt that already the power of the popular representatives has got reduced and if they compromised on Federation they would be strengthening the hands of British Imperialism. It was high time that they severed their connection with Britain and set up a social democracy. In between, Sir Sarvapalli added, stood, Gandhiji who declared in February 1937 that if Dominion Status according to the Statute of Westminister were offered him, he would wholeheartedly accept it. "There is no reason to think," Sir Sarvapalli added, "that he has changed his opinion. Whether the section represented by Gandhiji would win or others would, depended not on Indians but entirely on the British." Sir Sarvapalli told the British publicists whom he met during his stay in Oxford last year:

> Today in India there is at the head of the movement a leader and a saint, and he demands only Dominion Status—the substance of Independence. It is just; it is expedient. It is inevitable sooner or later. It is bound to come. History is for it and the forces of the world are with it. A European crisis will precipitate it.

The first section, those who would work the Federation trusting to the Indian patriotism of the Princes, has had two influential supporters in Mr. S. P. Rajagopala Charya, lately first member of the Mysore Government, and Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University, who, some years ago also held the high office of Director of Education in Mysore. Both of them speak with inner knowledge of the motive forces in the important Indian States. Their confidence is shared by many who have had occasion to speak on the subject to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Princes and Ministers in some other States. There are, to be sure, States which fall far short of the standards of Mysore and other progressive States. But what has been possible in these States is possible in other states as well. In contact with the progressive States the less progressive ones are bound to accelerate their pace. In fact, the bigger progressive States on whose assistance the smaller ones are beginning to rely, can bring pressure to bring on them or, if they are recalcitrant, refuse to co-operate with them. The lumping together of all States as feudal is unfair and it is resented. Some of them are administered with as much regard to constitutional proprieties as the British Indian provinces. And it is pointed out that to allay the fears and suspicions of British India, the States will adopt a convention that their representatives will not participate in discussions on purely British Indian questions and will not take part in the voting on them. It is further pointed out that the Federal subjects on the whole are such that the interests of the States in them are identical with those of British India. It is further urged that Federation offers the only means whereby States having armies of their own can be brought in accord with the general plan of Indian Defence. The Independence school does not try to meet any of these arguments. It brushes them aside impatiently with the vague assurance that they will all be settled after the attainment of Independence. Czechislovokia thought likewise but it was not able to maintain its independence for twenty years though its problems were much less in magnitude and complexity than ours. The Independence school also requires the sacrifice immediately of civil freedom as the price of future and problematic political independence.

Sir Sarvapalli describes Gandhiji's position as being in between these two sections. He cites an assurance given two years ago by Gandhiji that he would be satisfied with Dominion Status under the Westminister statute. Sir Sarvapalli thinks that he has no reason to believe that Gandhiji has changed his opinion during the last two years. His attitude towards the States has certainly changed in this period. Probably he has realised that Dominion Status can not be claimed by British India alone and that the States must, therefore, be brought into the picture along with British India. This may account, for, what otherwise is unaccountable, his sudden resolve to support movements for full responsible government not only in the advanced States but also in the medieval States of Kathiawar and Rajputana. He wants them in the Federation but first they must assume the habiliments of representative responsible government.

Dr. Ambedkar delivered a three hour address at the Servants of India Society at Poona last week on Federation. He is more an intellectual than a politician. At any rate his political views are illuminated by intellectual insight and in this he stands out of the common run of present-day Indian politicians. Dr. Ambedkar devoted a part of his address to showing that the term "Federation" can not be properly applied to the loose combination of autonomous provinces and autocratic States. He thought that the more proper term would be "Confederacy." Even Confederacy implies a similarity of constitutions among the confederates. We think that the old word "Empire" exactly suits our case and might be retained with advantage. It is a term which is well understood by the Indian masses. As Professor Radha Kumud Mukherji observed in his address at Andhra University on "Ancient Hindu Imperialism" (*Reformer, January 21*) it was felt from ancient times that a multitude of kings was not conducive to a stable political equilibrium and that what was required for the stability of the political system was a kind of united domination. Imperialism in our day has acquired an opprobrious significance which does not belong to it. What is now condemned as Imperialism is more properly "Colonialism" having for its main object economic exploitation. Under the aegis of an Empire there is room for a great variety of social and political organisations. The Imperialism of India stood for religious toleration and racial integrity. In view of the difficulties of bringing the great variety of Indian States into a Federation, we had suggested the Federation immediately of British provinces. We should have preferred that the provincial autonomy part of the Government of India Act should have been held in abeyance pending Federation. But as it has been introduced the next best thing is to reunite British India in the only way now possible. We are glad that Dr. Ambedkar also favours the idea. He threw out the suggestion that the smaller States which can not be converted into economically self-sufficient units should be thrown together and created into provinces, their rulers being pensioned off. This may be the ultimate destiny of these States but it must be left to be achieved by the march of events. If, as we suggest, the name of Empire is retained this is not a matter of urgency. As regards the larger States, a closer economic union between them and the provinces and also a more compact system of defence can be devised without infringing on their independence and integrity. There is no need to go in search of an Emperor as we have already one in the person of the British sovereign who is also king of each of the Dominions which will at no distant date adopt for themselves the name of Kingdoms.

KASHMIR AND TAMIL SAIVISM.

The Adyar Library has brought out an excellent edition of the handbook of Kashmir Saivism, entitled Pratyabhijnyanahridayam, the Secret of Recognition, with the Sanskrit text and an authorised English translation by Dr. Kurt F. Leidecker, based upon the German translation of the work by Dr. Emil Baer. In his introduction the learned editor points out that this work is one of two compendiums which are used to this day as religious text-books and catechisms among believers in Kashmir. He adds, as testifying to the esteem in which the book is held among Southern Saivites, that two editions of it were published in Madras, one with a Tamil and the other with a Telugu translation. The work consists of 20 sutras into which are condensed much abtruse philosophy. The author is Rajanaka Kshemaraja, pupil of Abhinavagupta who flourished in the second half of the ninth century, known as the founder of Kashmir Saivism. The other great school of Saivism developed in the extreme south, in the Tamil country, and came to be known as Saiva Siddhanta. In a learned and interesting note prefixed to this edition of the Pratyabhijnyanahridayam, Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, compares and contrasts the Kashmir and the Tamil schools of Saivism. "Between the idealist non-dualist school Saivism developed in Kashmir," he writes, "and the realist pluralist Saiva doctrine that has grown in South India, there is considerable agreement in externals, but differences in fundamentals." The differences are doctrinal and abstruse and do not interest the layman. Both the schools are based on the Agamas. The question of interest to the historian of Indian thought, is, where were these Agamas originally composed and what is the relation

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

between the two schools at either extreme end of the country. Western scholars wedded to the idea that Indian culture and civilisation went from the north to the south —this itself is the corollary to their inveterate belief that culture and civilisation was imported into India through the north-western passes—have inclined to the view that South Indian Saivism was influenced by Kashmir Saivism, though they have not been able to trace the channel by which it was conducted to the South. Macnicol in his "Indian Theism" quotes Dr. L. D. Barnett's theory that the theological ideas of the north "following the natural geographical route, filtered down southwards." Macnicol also quotes the same authority as stating that the teaching of Abhinavagupta was "in all essentials identical with the orthodox siddhanta of the Dravidian south." This identity rather suggests that if there was interchange of ideas between Kashmir and Dravida, it was from the south to the north. A reference to dates makes this clear. Abhinavagupta's date is fixed as the second half of the ninth century by the nearly contemporary testimony of Kalhana in "Rajatarangini." Southern Saivism was developed, if not finally settled, in the sixth century, according to the testimony of inscriptions found in Conjeevaram. The Ceylon Christian Tamil scholar, Mr. Isaac Tambiah, in his extremely interesting and learned introduction to his English translation of the Psalms of the Saiva saint, Thayumanavar, deals with this point in a convincing manner. He writes:

> Saivism, whether of Kashmir or of South India, is built upon the books known as Agamas. This is an admitted fact. Now, the earliest Tamil religious writer who mentions the Agamas is Tirumular and Tirumular's age is certainly prior to the ninth Christian century. How long prior to the ninth century? This can not be answered with much sureness of conviction, but it may be noted that he has been placed in the first century after Christ. Greater sureness attaches to the statement that Tiru Gnana Sambhandar who flourished after Tirumular belongs to the sixth Christian century. The Agamas, and Saivism based on the Agamas, did not orginate with Tirumular; their existence is anterior to Tirumular's time, anterior to the sixth century A. D. at the least. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that Agamic beliefs may be ascribed to the periods of the Brahmanas. The evidence of inscriptions establishes the fact that Saivism was flourishing in Conjeevaram in the sixth century, and that there were men proficient in the system of the Saiva Siddhanta.

Mr. Tambiah is strongly of opinion that Southern Saivism is of purely Tamil inspiration and origin. If Abhinavagupta's Saivism is identical with Dravidian Saivism, it follows that either Abhinavagupta was a Dravidian who had migrated to Kashmir or a Kashmiri who had studied Saivism in the South, presumably Conjeevaram which was a great centre of religious culture from ancient times. Or he must have studied under some great teacher from the South who visited Kashmir. All these are probabilities. There was more cultural intercourse and understanding between different parts of the country in the old days than now. We can go from one place to another more quickly by the railway, the motor-car or air-craft but the very speed of locomotion militates against any but a superficial knowledge of the people of the places we visit. The old slow means of travel enforced on the traveller as a necessity the study of the manners and customs of the districts through which he passed. Scholars and pilgrims were constantly journeying between North and South. The movement of thought during the Christian era has been from south to north rather than the other way. The great Sankaracharya sojourned for a time in Kashmir. The close affinity between his Monism and Saiva Siddhanta might have influenced the shape which Kashmir Saivism took in the hands of Abhinavagupta. The decline of Hinduism in Kashmir has been attributed to the Mahomedan conquest of the country. But military conquest has never yet killed a religion unless it had already become corrupt and decrepit and only awaited some accident to give the final blow. Saivism grew and flourished in the South because of the great number of saints and poets who rallied to its banner. "No cult in the world," says Dr. Barnett, "has produced a richer devotional literature, or one more instinct with brilliance of imagination, fervour of feeling and grace of expression." There was no similar outcrop of religious genius to uphold the cause of religion in Kashmir.

Vasanta Press, Adyar, Madras—Price not stated.

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION IN THE U. S. A.

(By Swami Vishwananda.)

Four of my brother Swamis and a few American friends were anxiously waiting for me at the Pier at New York on April 29. Customs formalities over, a number of press men beseiged me. One of them began to admire my teeth and another my English.

We have a flourishing Vedanta Centre at New York. The Editor of *Asia Magazine* and the author of the book "Hinduism Invades America," were present at my reception, when I spoke on "The Cultural Heritage of India." I spent a week in New York. To visit New York and not to go to the uppermost point of the Empire State Building is to play Hamlet without the part of the Prince of Denmark. I did go to the highest point and looked around the world below. No wonder the New York cockney feels that he is the topmost man in the world.

From New York I came to Providence. Providence is only forty miles from Boston. Our Boston Centre is situated on the bank of the River Charles and on the other side is the world-famous Harvard University. Harvard is legitimately proud of William James, Royce and Landman, the great Orientalist. I am sure very many Hindus have been nourished on the writings of these three great Americans.

Providence is a nice, small town and our Centre there has been spreading the message of Universal Vedanta for the last decade. The grandson of Sir Lalubhai Samaldas came to visit me at the Providence Centre. I could not help recalling the tall, dignified figure of Sir Lalubhai, who was not only a prominent figure in the business world of India, but also a devout Hindu and a Sanskrit scholar. Men of his type are becoming rare. It gave me great joy to meet the lad, Joyendra, in the New World.

I arrived here in Chicago on the 10th of May. Spring was nearing its end and Summer was starting in. I began my Sunday lectures at the Masonic Temple, but had to close by the middle of June. The universities were all going to be closed for the Summer vacation.

I called on Dr. Hayden, Professor of Comparative Religions of the University of Chicago, and Mr. Woodward, the acting President. Both of them were extremely nice to me. Mr. Woodward, who had seen me in Bombay dressed as a Hindu sannyasin, recognized me at once in my new garb and made many inquiries about the social and educational problems of India.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I spent the Summer in the midst of the woods of Wisconsin. Wisconsin has, I am told, ten thousand lakes. Mrs. Fannie Jones, my hostess, was one of the pioneers of female education in this country. She and her daughters are deeply interested in Oriental philosophy. Her son was a distinguished lawyer of Washington. Her daughter-in-law, grandson and grand-daughter came to spend the Summer, so I had intimate contact with a middle-class, truly cultured American family. Mrs. Jones used to regale me with stories of American life 75 years back. The education of girls was not encouraged much by the elders. People were driven away from the churches before sunset, and the place where we have the fine buildings of the University of Chicago was all wilderness. She was telling me what a commotion it created when her father brought a kerosene lamp for the house.

While I was there I used to ramble alone in the forests and often remembered the lines of Byron, "There is a pleasure in the pathless woods." It was in their forest homes that our forefathers, the builders of Indo-Aryan civilization, the great seers of the Vedic age, turned the searchlight within and discovered the laws of the inner world which are attracting the attention of the savants of the Western hemisphere. A distinguished professor of science told me, "It is the spirit of tolerance of your religion and culture which appeals to me most." I was often reminded of the Himalayas and I wish I could get mountains and snow in Wisconsin to complete the picture.

I returned to Chicago in September and resumed my activities. I sent your letter of introduction to Dr. Braden of North-Western University. He invited me to lunch in the University Club and introduced me to Professor Schaub, head of the Department of Philosophy, and Mr. McGovern author of the book, "To Lhasa in Disguise." He took me round the library. What a joy it was to see the *Bombay Chronicle* and *The Indian Social Reformer* on the table!

I visited Dr. Braden twice, sitting in his private room overlooking Lake Michigan, where we discussed the great problems which every thinking man and woman has to confront today. Dr. Braden appreciates very much the universal spirit of Vedanta. Dr. and Mrs. Braden, Professor and Mrs. Schaub, and Mr. and Mrs. McGovern all came to my place for a Hindu dinner. Some of the students of this Vedanta Centre have mastered the art of Hindu cooking and the table was verily "a feast of reason and a flow of soul."

Professor Schaub is a friend of Mr. Das-Gupta, Professor of Philosophy of Calcutta, and has visited India. He has a vital interest in Indian culture and philosophy. He is a strongly built man with a powerful voice, and he is, perhaps, the most interseting of the three—he is a Professor of Political Science and the author of the book, "Mahayanna Buddhism." He is so vital: He told me, "You and I have many things in common. We shall see more of each other." Dr. Braden was telling me about Mrs. Reddy of Madras, Mr. Parekh of Bombay and Mr. Prasad of the Arya Samaj. He has been lately reading the life of Mr. Ranade and has become a great admirer of Mahadev Govind Ranade.

Dr. Alfred Emerson is the head of the Department of Zoology. His sister Gertrude was the Editor of *Asia Magazine* and has married Mr. Sen of Calcutta. Mr. Sen was a pupil of Sir J. C. Bhose. Lady Bose loved Sen like her own son. It is Mrs. Sen who introduced me to Mr. Somerset Maugham.

Professor Emerson invited me twice to his house to dinner. He is a very loveable gentleman. I particularly admire his sparkling wit. He described the life of the American husband to me in this way, "For the first six years the husband asserts superiority over his wife, for the next six years he tries to have equality, and for the next six years it is a struggle for existence." He has not much attraction for metaphysics and theology and he told me that the theist is like a blind man searching for a black cat in a dark night in a blind alley. He is going to invite shortly Professor Compton, the Nobel Prize winner, and me to his home. His aged father, who is just past 80, is a great scholar and was Professor of Greek and Latin in several universities and knew President Wilson at Princeton. When Professor Emerson, the senior, called on President Wilson at White House, the Professor-President recalled the days when they were freshmen in the University and almost shed tears because his ideals could not be realized.

I have lately become very intimate with Mr. Morris, Professor of Philosophy, at the University of Chicago. He invited me to lunch in the University Club and introduced me to several professors; Dr. McKeon, Dean of the Department of Humanities, and Professor Faris, head of the Department of Sociology, became interested in me. Years back Professor Morris met Tagore in Chicago and was struck by the personality of the poet. He was even planning to join Tagore's University. He is a great admirer of Hindu philosophy, especially of the school of New Logic of Bengal. He is dreaming of visiting India one day.

I was invited to speak to a large audience at International House on "Gandhi, the Saint." The students of the University of Chicago were interested in my lecture on "The Spirit of Hinduism" which I gave at Dean Gilkey's house. There were about a hundred boys and girls and they assailed me with questions.

I had a little Christian influence during the formative period of my life and had my education in a Presbyterian College and spent four years in a hostel where every morning I had to attend Christian prayer. As I take a retrospective view I feel I have gained thereby. It is time we tried to discover the points of excellence in our neighbour's faith instead of asserting the superiority of our own religion. Spirituality and arrogance go ill together. Mrs. Gilkey admired Mr. K. Natarajan's depth of devotion for Christ. Evidently the lecture created a good impression. As a sequel I was invited for a dinner and lecture in the First Presbyterian Church of the city. It was an experience for me to have dinner with four hundred Presbyterians.

The other day I attended one of the sessions of the Oriental Students' Conference at Brent House. There were Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Hindu students rubbing shoulders and a number of American professors and students too. I met Einstein's niece there, Professor S. L. Joshi, who has been in this country for the past twenty-five years, is very popular among the students and professors. We retired to a corner of the room and discussed many problems of India and America. He was insisting on Mr. Jayakar's coming to this country once. I agreed entirely with him and on going shortly to write to Mr. Jayakar. I am told Dr. Barrows, President of the World's Parliament of Religions, in 1893, was pastor of the Presbyterian Church where I lectured.

This is my first Christmas in Christendom. I am smelling for the last month the fragrance

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the Nativity of Christ in every way. The stores and streets are beautifully decorated, crowds of men and women in a mood of festivity go about and exchange greetings. Behind all the merriment and festivity one feels the spirit of Christ. It is the Son of the carpenter, who was born in one corner of a shed in Nazareth, who is dominating the mind of Europe and America. One cannot help recalling the immortal words of Napoleon, "Alexander and Caesar and myself built empires only to have them crumble to dust, but the empire which the Son of the carpenter has built is extending as time is rolling on. Today on the throne of France, tomorrow to be food for worms—such is the man whom the world calls Napoleon the Great."

COMMUNAL MAJORITY AND PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY.

To the Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have been trying without effect to get Hindu friends who perceive the truth to speak or write about the enormous political harm that is happening on account of the confusion which has arisen in India between the quite separable ideas of a parliamentary majority and a communal majority. Thanks to the Communal Award, followed by the Harijan fast, both Hindus and Moslems in India have come to imagine that a communal majority has the rights of a Parliamentary majority—forgetting that it is only the right of conquest that could give any vestige of rights to a communal or racial majority—a right which does not exist at present in India either for Hindus or Moslems, and that the whole foundation of parliamentary government is that a minority might become a majority at a future election through the mistakes of the majority, through propaganda, etc.,—which is not the case with a communal majority. The only result of this confusion is resentment and perhaps later on it might lead to civil war.

Theoretically all students admit the difference but, in practice, it is forgotten.

The leader of the local National Congress, (not State Congress), said recently in a speech at this place that because the majority of people in Travancore are Hindus, therefore, when responsible government is established it must be a Hindu government, and that the Christians and Moslems need not fear such a government as their culture would be protected. The same kind of elementary mistake is made in British India, although not so clearly. The Dewan of Travancore knows political science too well to subscribe to this rank heresy—but the *result* of his notion that the Maharajah is a trustee of the Hindu God is the same. Because I happened to prove in your paper—I think conclusively—that Christians in Travancore have identically the same kind of *political* rights as the Hindus, in a memorial to the Maharajah signed by over a lakh of Nairs it is alleged that I am one of the Christians trying 'to fix their claws deeper into the devasoms.'

The attempts at mass conversion of Harijans and the counter attempts to prevent it, are admitted even in a leading article in the *Hindu* to be directly due to the desire to increase voting strength presuming that voting should be largely communal and not based on political convictions. If the ideas advocated by me ten years ago and recently by you——*viz.*, that on account of strong communal prejudices in India, parliamentary majority government is unsuited, and other forms must be adopted,—had prevealed, or if, on the other hand, Mr. S. Sreenivasa Iyengar's notion of completely secularising politics is adopted, these confusions and troubles would tend to disappear. The Moslems will never agree to be treated as a *political* minority to be protected and safeguarded, simply because they happen to be a communal minority. They have to be treated as *equal* with rights to decide about the form in which they and Hindus should be governed.

The Bande Mataram controversy is another illustration of this confusion. If Bande Mataram is adopted by a parliamentary majority, like the National Anthem, any minority which objects would nevertheless have to conform. But a majority community has no right to insist that minority communities should conform, whether in assemblies or meetings, or in students' hostels. I am glad that you pointed out the danger to University discipline on account of students dismissed from one University being admitted with open arms by another University; but the above confusion seems unwittingly to have crept into your leader on Bombay Government and Muslim Interest (*Reformer* January 21). In any public meeting, surely the feelings of minorities should be respected, so long as the song is not a national song—*i. e.*, is not accepted as such by the Parliamentary majority government or any other kind of government. In other cases, even though publicists might not accept St. Paul's advice about not offending the weaker brother in matters not affecting vital principles, they should, I think, look at the future consequences, and advocate any system which would lead to least unpleasantness—because the song is what the majority *community* approves of and not the parliamentary majority or the government.

It seems to me that Gandhiji and other Hindu leaders misled these Hyderabad students, and have done a lot of needless harm, resulting subsequently in assaults and even deaths. The correct prescription undoubtedly would have been to sing the song when only Hindu students were in attendance, and avoid it when Moslem students objected — whether rationally or irrationally. The *reason* for the objection is irrelevant.

The same confusion, I fear, is likely to hold up Federation. Hyderabad, for instance, will not agree to parliamentary majority government, which, until ideas clarify or change towards socialism, must be a a predominantly Hindu government. Some other form will have to be devised.

A communal majority government, when it becomes effective, is likely to be even more tyrannous than autocracies, as the autocrat would at least consider his own safety. And besides, as I have repeatedly said, a Hindu or a Moslem sovereign in India is *not* Defender of the Hindu or Moslem faith as Sir C. P. Ramaswami has very unwisely been stating, but is the supporter of Dharma. I find that this view is completely validated by a scholar of the eminence of Dr. R. K. Mukerjee, "The ruling sovereign in Indian polity was not the King in flesh and blood, the real ideal sovereign was Dharma." (page 332, *Reformer* 21 st January).

I have already given several illustrations of this truth. A lovely instance came to my notice recently. A Karanavan of a Nambudri Tarawad in the Cochin State recently became a convert to Christianity; and as a convert, had to build a house for his own use. As he and the Maharajah are both what I may call pure Hindus, uncontaminated by later wrong accretions, he went to his King for help and the Maharajah was pleased to grant him a generous timber concession.

Kottayam,
January 26, 1939.

Yours etc.,
K. CHANDY.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"CHRISTIAN" UNTOUCHABLES.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your issue of the 14th January, 1939 you have commented on the resolution of the Indian Christians Conference relating to the uplift of village Christians. I hope in your usual kindness and courtesy you will give space to a few words I wish to say regarding the important question of principle which you have raised.

I think all Indian Christian leaders know and many non-christian Indians admit with gratification that conversion to Christianity has meant a general all-round raising of status to very large numbers. The representation to the World Missionary Conference in so far as it is genuine, must be regarded as an exceptional case. None will contend that the Church has done all it could, or all that was expected, to those depressed classes who have sought its shelter. During my thirty years association in Christian work I do not know of a single Missionary—Indian or Foreign—who would not put the spiritual and moral redemption in Christ as the primary motive and economic or educational advancement as only incidental. Of course, in the minds of men who have been variously oppressed for centuries the desire for a more comfortable life must be naturally very strong. Every one should have the fullest sympathy with such desire.

Depression is of various kinds—moral and spiritual, social and economic, civic and political. Conversion to Christianity may not, and often does not, lead to the disappearance of all these disabilities. If large numbers of depressed Indians are induced only by material hopes to adopt another religion, it would be good in the interests of all concerned—of peace and good will—if such conversions could be stopped by constitutional means without restricting anyone's free will. Why Christian Indians, who have economic or civic or political disabilities, should not be given the same help by Government to which scheduled castes are entitled passes my understanding. Hindu depressed classes are not specially taken care of because they are *Hindu* but because they are depressed. There may be, and there are, such backward classes among Christians and Moslems. Conversion to Christianity or Islam has generally given to the depressed classes equality, brotherhood, and opportunity to rise within its own borders. But it cannot compel other communities to recognise them socially or religiously, to whom they remain as untouchable as ever. But as subjects and citizens of the State they are entitled to all civic and political amenities and rights equally with others.

Benares, 25, January 1939. } Yours etc., R. C. DAS.

Allahabad Agricultural Institute "Farmers' Fair" :—The eighth annual "Farmers' Fair" will be held at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, Thursday to Saturday, February 23rd, 24th and 25th, 1939. This well known Exhibition attracts visitors from all over the United Provinces and adjoining provinces. As in previous years the Fair will provide something of interest for cultivators, zamindars, gwallas, dairymen, cattle breeders and to the public generally. There will be ploughing contest, contest for gwallas and for village cattle and evening meetings at which there will be prominent speakers and lectures on agriculture and dramas and pictures. There will be a limited amount of accommodation for specially interested visitors who may wish to come from outside of Allahabad and stay for more than one day, provided it is arranged for in advance.

MR. BOSE AND THE CONGRESS.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The fear you expressed in your issue of 17th September 1938 writing about "Mr. Bose explains" has come too true and we have the unedifying spectacle of the Patel-Bose controversy about the Presidential Election.

I wonder, sir, why so much ink has been wasted over so simple a matter. Mr. Bose has clarified the issue in an unimpeachable and unanswerable manner. He is right in demanding an election of the president, pure and unadulterated, in preference to the farce thereof which the Working Committee junta has been enacting with the approval and possibly guidance of Gandhiji.

If I were a Congressman I do not think I should vote for Mr. Bose's re-election. But every one has a right to demand that the President shall be truly and freely elected by the votes of his electorate uninfluenced by any ordinances issued from anywhere with or without Mahatmic guidance or acquiescence. Let there be no mockery of democracy. True democracy is broad-based upon the free exercise by the demos of the birthright to decide who shall manage their affairs by a free and unfettered vote. In so far as this elementary right is denied to the delegates by the uncalled for issue of the Bardoli fatwa, the Congress Junta is in the wrong and as you, in the remarks referred to above, feared Mr. Bose has been "*painfully reminded of his condemnation of Dr. Khare.*"

Khar, 28th Jan., 39. } Yours etc., VEERBAL H. MEHTA.

The Reformer wrote in the article referred to by our correspondent, "A breach between the President and his Congress Cabinet is not inconceivable. We only hope that, if it occurs, President Bose will not be painfully reminded of his condemnation of Dr. Khare as an incompetent man who should never have been premier."—Ed., *I. S. R.*

A CONFERENCE ABOUT TANGANYIKA.*

The Tanganyika League is holding a conference in Nairobi as we go to press. The proceedings which began yesterday are scheduled to conclude today. Representatives from various parts of East Africa are attending the conference. It is interesting to note that the great bulk of the delegates are Europeans, but that there is a sprinkling of Indians, chief among them being the recently elected President of the E. A. Indian Congress and his secretary, together with two others. The fifth Indian delegate is from Dar-e-salaam ; we understand that he does not bring with him his community's credentials. No Indian centre in East Africa has officially nominated a delegate to the Conference, not even Nairobi where the conference is being held. Out of the five Indian delegates, three are from Nairobi representing the Congress and nominated as liason members before the last session of the Congress, one from Dar-e-salaam and one from Mombasa. We lay great stress on the Indian representation at the Conference because it is essential that the non-Indian public and the authorities should be under no misapprehension about Indian participation in the affairs of the Tanganyika League.

The European representation at the Conference is larger numerically, but not as much East African as it might have been. Rhodesia, which is said to

* *The Colonial Times*, January 21.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have over 4,000 members of the League, has sent no delegate, neither has Zanzibar nor Nyasaland. Uganda sends only one European delegate.

The conference is essentially European in representation and ideals and is the logical outcome of a series of attempts during a generation to bring East Africa under one control. But it must not be understood that it reflects the views or the wishes of the peoples of East Africa. And among the peoples of these territorries there is that huge native population which has no say in its own destinies. Nor does the conference command the unqualified support of the bulk of the Indian community whose name has unwittingly been mixed up through the rash and impolitic co-operation of a few persons who unfortunately for the community are at present in charge of the Congress.

At the recent session of the Congress the main resolution on Tanganyika purported to support the principle of self-determination for the peoples of East Africa. That was a repetition of the message which the President of the Indian National Congress sent to the distressed Indians in Tanganyika who had appealed to him for help during the weeks following the Munich agreement. The obvious inference which one has to draw from the participation in the Conference of the President of the local Congress and some of his officials is that the Indian community is ever ready to apply the great principles of self-determination for immigrant races, but not to those whose land and resources are under exploitation by those races !

The situation has been complicated, much capital being made out of it by the Europeans, by the report that Sardar Valabhbhai Patel has been induced by Mahatma Gandhi to come to East Africa in order to organise a campaign among Indians against the return of Tanganyika to Germany. We are not sure about the authenticity of the report, but we will not be wrong in our surmise, if the report be correct that the Aga Khan's recently reported visit to Mahatma has, something to do with the Sardar's visit.

The Aga Khan has shown a keen interest in the future of Tanganyika. He has a large spiritual following among Indians in that country and the surrounding territories. His first response to the appeal addressed to him by Tanganyika Indians was that they should seek the assistance of India, not to prevent the return of Tanganyika to Germany, but to ensure that Indians in that territory would get adequate compensation for their landed and other interests in the event of its Geman re-occupation. He appeared at the time to accept the inevitable, for it then seemed inevitable, that Tanganyika should change ownership, after the German triumph in Eastern Europe. But the tide of international events since then changed against Germany, and so did His Highness' appreciation of the actual facts. Soon after his arrival in Bombay a few weeks ago, the Aga Khan expressed himself as opposed to the return of the territory to Germany. His reported visit to the Mahatma followed next.

And now we have the report that a prominent Congressman and leader in India is to come out to East Africa to organise Indians against the return of Tanganyika. As our readers will have known, responsible opinion in India has been reluctant, like Indian opinion here, to express itself against the German claim, and it was not long ago that the President of the Indian National Congress refused to be drawn in the controversy. The Sardar is said to be the virtual dictator of the Congress, but it is difficult to understand how his visit to this country could be undertaken unless the Congress headquarters at Wardha have sanctioned the step over which there must be considerable difference of opinion in non-Congress and even the Congress, circles. The remarkable circumstance connected with the report is that the local Congress headquarters were in the dark about the proposed visit, and that neither the Congress in India nor the Aga Khan have had any exchange of views with the local Congress on an issue of such great importance to Indians in Eeast Africa.

It is yet too early to comment on this further complication created by the Sardar's proposed visit, but it ought to be clear to Congressmen in India that local opinion has settled itself to one clear issue, namely the retention of Tanganyika within the British fold. Indian opinion could not go further than that and if the Sardar's aim is to get Indians in East Africa to agree to that principle, he might spare himself the trouble and the time which the visit will necessitate.

Having made the Indian position on the future of Tanganyika and on the Tanganyika League clear, we await further developments in the matter. One good point about the Conference is that it has an item on its agenda proposing that Colonial Territories and Mandates should be internationalised. It is the one subject on which Indians at the Conference might express themselves dispassionately, for there is an increasing concensus of opinion in India and in Britain that something substantial should be contributed to make peace a live reality. Under a scheme of this kind, India can have a fair share in the distribution of responsibility for East African affairs and a correspondingly greater right to interfere in the interests of its sons settled in these territories.

SYDNEY UNIVERSITY.

The Vice-Chancellor of the Sydney University, Australia, (Mr. T. S. Wallace) in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University, clarifies misunderstanding arising out of a press report in India stating that the Sydney University was prepared to accept students from India and remit the payment of fees. He adds that the announcement was in general terms and was followed by a great many applications from Indian students of all grades for admission into the Sydney University. Since it would not be possible to deal adequately with these personal applications, Mr. Wallace has written to the Vice-Chancellors of the Indian universities setting out the position and seeking their assistance and co-operation in the matter.

Mr. Wallace says :—'The University of Sydney thinking that it can contribute in a small way towards promoting cordial relations between India and Australia, is prepared to grant exemption from fees to three students in any one year from Indian universities who wish to pursue post-graduate study. It is not considered advisable to accept under-graduate students. The departments which in our opinion, offer the best opportunities for Indian students are those of agriculture, economics, veterinary science, tropical medicine, zoology and physics. We should be glad if the students were selected by the universities of India acting either singly or together, preferably together; or perhaps, it would be advantageous if the universities sent forward the names of six candidates from whom we could select three, having in view when we make the final selection here, the subjects which they wish to study and the facilities available.'

While the Sydney University, adds the letter, would be prepared to remit all fees of the students

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

so selected, the students would have to find the cost of their passage to and from Australia and their living expenses during the period of residence.

Proceeding Mr. Wallace says that he has discussed these matters with Dr. Kunzru of the Servants of India Society and a member of the Council of the Allahabad University when he visited Australia recently. Mr. Wallace suggests the formation of a central committee in connexion with the universities of India which might be able to take the matter in hand and arrange matters so that the first three students arrive in Sydney towards the end of February, 1940.

TEMPLES AND HARIJANS.

Last year, the Bombay Legislature passed the Bombay Harijan Temple Worship (Removal of Disabilities) Act which enabled the Trustees of Hindu temples in the Province to decide in favour of allowing Harijans to enter into temples. Enquiries show that as a result of this legislation, more than 33 temples have been thrown open to Harijans in 14 districts of the Province. Information as to the number of temples thrown open all over the Province is being collected and would be published in the next issue.

In this connection it is not out of place to emphasise the fact that a stronger public opinion in favour of Harijans entering temples will hasten the throwing open of more temples for the Harijans.—*Public Information.*

HARIJANS AND HOTELS.

It might be recalled that the Government of Bombay framed a rule to the effect that no person keeping a place of public entertainment under a license shall refuse admission to such place to any member of the Harijan class, or Scheduled Castes on the Ground of his being a member of such class or castes. In this connection enquiries made show that there are in all 3,586 licensed Hindu hotels in the Province. The number of licenses surrendered to avoid compliance with the new rule about admitting Harijans were 269, no less than 67 of them coming from Bombay Suburban District alone. The number of licenses cancelled for non-compliance with the new rule were 29, 11 of them being from Surat alone. None surrendered their licenses either in Bombay, Ahmedabad or Poona. The number of hotels in these three places alone is above 2,000. 14 of those who either surrendered their licenses or whose licenses were cancelled applied again for grant of licenses under the same rule. Thus it will be seen that the new rule is being complied with, and Harijans are getting admittance to licensed Hindu hotels.—*Public Information.*

WOMEN AND THE POPULATION PROBLEM.

The *population-problem*, as a whole, is outside the scope of the Open Door International.

But it is possible that the wishes for an increasing birth-rate in many countries can be a new weapon with which to attack the freedom of women. When the suggestion is that the decrease of population is due to the emancipation of women and particularly their economic freedom, and that the remedy therefore is the impracticable parrot-cry "woman must return to the home," then women are threatened by new attacks on their rights and opportunities of earning a living.

And, too, when other false remedies are found in order to "protect mothers," *i. e.* by prohibiting them to work for pay before or after childbirth, or by shifting on to the employers heavy burdens—the prohibition of dismissing a woman worker for a certain time before and after childbirth, the ordering of compulsory rest-periods for nursing, etc.—when the population-problem is used to accelerate and widen the false protection of women, and to extend it to women in all sorts of employment—then this population-problem can become a very real danger to women's freedom.

However, in this problem, too, there are bright spots.

In certain countries governmental committees have been established concerning the population problem, and some of these committees have delivered reports, giving very useful argumentations and suggestions.

The *Swedish* Committee condemned, from the point of view of the declining birth-rate, the policy pursued by certain provincial and communal authorities and by certain large companies, which dismiss their women employees on marriage or on pregnancy. The report from the *Danish* Committee argues on the same lines. A recently issued supplementary Swedish Report proposes a Bill prohibiting dismissal of employees (men and women) on the ground of marriage and childbirth.

There are new dangers, and we still have to combat this misuse in thought and action of the word "protection." Someone makes a proposal to restrict women's work and calls it "protection." And this proposal becomes a *fetish*. No intelligent questions are raised, no real investigations are made as to whether the proposal will really be a protection to women workers, but everbody falls down and worships blindly the *fetish*. Everybody exoept those who have by thought and study come to the policy of the O.D.I. And they, like that child in the *fairy* tale of Hans Andersen, say "The Emperor has no clothes on."

Yet there is some improvement in the position. a little hint of understanding, here and there, that the problems of the men and women workers are one problem, not two problems: a little hint of understanding that there can be no real progress for the man worker unless there is equality and justice and therefore real progress for the woman worker. It is our task to widen this understanding and to bring home to the men and women of every nation—to Governments, to the I. L. O., the Trade Union movement and the great mass of women workers—industrial, commercial and professional—the value to all men and women and to the whole of the social and economic life of the world of that programme of liberty, equality and justice upon which is founded the Open Door International.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India

Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,

WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,

Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,08,00,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 26,50,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.



(Regd.)

CHEST COLD

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,

Sudama House, 31, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
Bombay.

2-26

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 28, 1939. No. 22

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

CONTENTS.

War in Spain.
War for Democracy.
Rajkot Again.
Wanted a States Purge.
University Amenities.
Dominion or Kingdom?
Ainscough Economics.
A Socialist View of the World.
Congress Presidentship.
Brahmins and Non-Brahmins in Tamil Land.
Hindu Women's Right to Divorce.
Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Divorce Bill.
Schweitzer in Africa.
The "Destruction" of Civilization.
Limits of Service.
My Political Faith.
Untouchability in Bihar.
Rights of Women Workers.

NOTES.

War in Spain :—Barcelona, the stronghold of Republican Spain, has fallen to General Franco's forces. On Thursday, the Spanish Nationalists entered the city and were welcomed by the people of Barcelona with Nationalist flags and songs. The destitution to which the city had been reduced in the past few months was so great that the end of the conflict was in itself a great event. Earlier messages reported the flight of Republican militiamen into France. Hundreds of refugees, women and children, had been sent off across the border. Only those must have stayed behind who felt they could make their peace with the new regime. The fall of Barcelona carries a peculiar lesson. We had all thought that the conflict of ideas was so great between Republican and Nationalist that the two were irreconcilable. Yet the actual change of control in a key city like Barcelona has taken place with, having regard to the conditions, as much order as a parliamentary change of government. The Chinese destroy their cities to prevent the enemy forces from occupying them. The Spaniards seem to hand over their towns whole and intact. And a civil war is always more bitterly fought out and more destructively than a war against foreign aggression. The only inference is that to the Spanish people it does not really matter who rules the State. The contest between Left and Right is over-present in Spain and no war has finally settled the struggle for supremacy. With the fall of Barcelona, the position of Government in Spain becomes decidedly weaker and it will be a question of weeks rather than months before the war ends in a Franco victory. Already the main point of discussion in democratic Europe seems to be whether a win for General Franco will mean the reduction of all Spain to a state of dependency on Italy and Germany or whether the Spaniards will join in a notionalist drive to rebuild the life of the country. Both Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini have repeatedly repudiated any imperialist ambitions in Spain. As a matter of fact the political history of that country is itself sufficient guarantee that no outsider would willingly undertake the work of administering it. Even Spaniards seem to have had little success in governing the country peacefully. But apart from the academic satisfaction of seeing Spain preserved to the Spaniards, the democratic States of Europe have little reason to be pleased with another Fascist gain. For while it is difficult to say exactly how much the Fascist-Nazi allies of General Franco will get out of his victory, it is obvious that for some time General Franco will have to lean heavily on them. France which will be in the peculiarly unhappy position of encirclement by Fascist States, is directly affected and realising this Signor Mussolini has his Italians ready to counter any last minute intervention from France. In the circumstances, there is much less likelihood now of the democracies entering on a war in defence of democracy, than there was before General Franco grew to strength and before Czechoslovakia was handed to the Nazis.

War for Democracy :—"The line between cleverness and silliness is sometimes vague," remarks Mr. Calvin B. Hoover in 'Germany enters the Third Reich.' The *Times of India* in its leading article on Wednesday advises Indians to accept Federation (Hoare model) even though they do not like it, because of external dangers. The *Times of India* which has not only been commending Mr. Chamberlain's tactics at Munich and after to Indian readers as concessions to the realities of the situation, but often has rebuked Indian writers for advocating from the "security of distance" a stronger British support to democracy, now conjures up the bogey of war to frighten Indians in to Federation :

> India cannot regard herself today apart from world affairs.....If war comes, the democracies of the world may find themselves fighting for their very life against the most powerful combination of aggressive nations the world has ever seen.....Nothing which happens in this country escapes the eagle eyes of aggressive totalitarian states. A weak India is an encouragement to them.....

Seeing that the Hoare Federation breaks up a unified India and then seeks to federate the broken bits with some more pieces thrown in, this is about the worst possible argument to support the scheme. The *Times of India* must be touching new high points of political simplicity if it believes either that the retreating

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

democracies will suddenly make a stand in Europe now that they are less favourably placed for resistance, or that the Federation scheme will solve Indian differences along with the satisfaction it will give Britain. On the whole, Lord Linlithgow's own thesis that he is determined to bring in Federation early and so the various parties, groups and interests had better reconcile themselves to it, is by for the most logical attitude. If and when Federation comes, it will come not so much because Indians have been converted, but because the Viceroy was enthusiastic about it. How it will work is a different question altogether.

Rajkot Again :—Commenting on the arrangement come to by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel with the Thakore of Rajkot, we observed that it did not advance by a single inch the cause of constitutional reform in Indian States including Rajkot itself. Little prescience was needed to reach that conclusion. The game of Power is an ancient one. Under different names it has been and is going on around us every day. A revolution is followed by a counter-revolution as surely as the night the day. And this was a wonderful evolution! The Thakore was converted overnight from a believer in his right to rule autocratically to a seemingly fervent devotee of responsible government with his powers strictly limited. It would have been nothing short of a miracle if this had endured. It has not. As the public clamour against the Thakore's administration grew, the *Indian Dewan Viravala*, was dismissed and an *English retired officer* appointed in his place. The new Dewan's advice, however, was not palatable to the Thakore. He dismissed the English Dewan and the Sardar, if we remember, expressed himself disapprovingly of his action in trying to get rid of so experienced an administrator. Mr. Viravala had to leave Rajkot at short notice. The Thakore then agreed to Sardar's terms and got his help in clearing the English Dewan out and in getting back the man whom he had to dismiss in compliance with popular pressure. Now, the Thakore has resumed his authority and upset the arrangement with Sardar Patel who is an amateur in the game as compared with the Thakore Sahib. The Sardar has threatened to revive satyagraha but Mr. Viravala is not Cadell and the Government of India is not likely to supersede him now by an English Dewan. The local leaders are nonplussed, they have sought the advice of the Sardar who himself seems to be taken aback by the sudden turn events have taken in Rajkot, which he thought he had finally and permanently placed on a constitutional footing.

Wanted a States Purge:—Mr. H. V. Hodson, the editor of the *Round Table* who recently visited India, in an article relating his impressions in the *Illustrated Weekly Times of India*, urges, as we have done, the necessity of the well-governed States dissociating themselves from States which have only a travesty of Government, as the surest way of averting attacks on their interests. He notes the existence in this country of several symptoms of political abnormability. One of them is the situation in respect of the States. He writes :

> The second symptom is the disguise that is being cast over the agitation in the States. A debauched prince in a petty State is a good stalking horse for a political campaign in major States where government may be as good as in the British Indian provinces or even better. No doubt both the Paramount Power and the more enlightened Princes themselves are to blame for a state of affairs in which all the principalities and their rulers can be plausibly lumped together as a single bloc of anachronism; for neither has repudiated with sufficient vigour the backward or oppressive monarchs. But one certainly receives the impression that in the larger and better States the main purpose of the agitation is not so much to improve the local lot of the States' subjects themselves, by ridding them of autocracy, as to improve the opportunities of democratic parties in the future federal India, by insisting that the States' representatives shall be popularly elected. It is not the existence of this situation but the thin disguise under which it is cloaked that is abnormal.

We do not think that there is any disguise, as Mr. Hodson thinks, about the immediate purpose of the Congress fostering the agitation for responsible Government in the States. If, as we have suggested, the Federation, so far as it relates to States, is abandoned, and confined, for the time being at least, to British India, the tension will be greatly relieved.

University Amenities :—Pending the issue of an authoritative statement from the Nagpur University of the circumstances in which it has arranged to admit several hundreds of Hindu students who were rusticated by Osmania University, we pointed out the danger of a spirit of non-co-operation spreading among universities by one of them opening wide its doors to students who have been expelled from another for violating its rules. The Vice-Chancellor of Nagpur University has since given an explanation which is not satisfactory. His position appears to be that the ban on Bande Mataram for disregarding which the Hyderabad University has expelled the students, does not exist in Nagpur, the singing of Bande Mataram is quite in order in the capital of the Central Provinces and, therefore, these students have not committed any breach of discipline which calls for notice in Nagpur University. The objection to which the admission of these students, is open does not arise from the nature of the particular rule for which they were expelled from their own University. It must be assumed that the authorities of Osmania University had good reasons for framing the rule against Bande Mataram. The authorities of Nagpur University will be otherwise assuming that the authorities of Osmania University were inspired by improper motives to pass this rule. That is to say, they will be sitting in judgment on the action of another University. If this practice is generally adopted, there will obviously be an end to co-operation between universities. We have seen it stated that a compromise was

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

reached and that the students were about to reopen their University when the offer of Nagpur University made them change their minds. What Nagpur should have done was to get into touch with the Osmania University authorities and in consultation with them, adopt a course which, while preventing injury to the students' future, would have conserved the authority of the University. Such a course could have been easily devised. The Osmania authorities are not likely to have been vindictive. If they could not think of a way of taking back the students without injury to discipline and with due regard to their legitimate sentiments, they would have themselves welcomed the offer of Nagpur to relieve them of a great responsibility.

Dominion or Kingdom?:—In the *Reformer* of January 7, we pointed out that the great expansion which has taken place in the status of the Dominions as a result of the Westminister Statute and happenings since it was passed, made the term 'Dominion' inapplicable, and should be replaced by an etymologically more appropriate designation. A Reuter's message from Ottawa reports that a resolution in the House of Commons introduced by Mr. Lacroix (Quebec, Liberal) proposes that Canada's name should be changed from Dominion to Kingdom of Canada and the Governor-General's title should be changed to Viceroy and that the Viceroy should be Canadian-born and legislation should be adopted to provide a Royal Great Seal for the Kingdom of Canada and the Royal Signet be vested in the custody of the Prime Minister.

Ainscough Economics:—Sir Thomas Ainscough seems to have forgotten his duties in reporting on the trade of the United Kingdom with India for 1937–38. As Senior Trade Commissioner for India and Ceylon one should have thought that his work lay more in telling British exporters what the possibilities are of trading with this country than in advising Indian Governments in economic matters. Sir Thomas, however, has other ideas of his responsibilities. He remarks,

> While Indian public men, both politicians and industrialists, favoured this extension of domestic production, no doubts were being expressed as to how such a policy could be carried out simultaneously with the maintenance of considerable excess of export of agricultural produce on which the whole economic system of India is based. The policy of maximum industrialism, if followed to lengths contemplated by the present Congress authorities and Provincial Governments, must inevitably lead, firstly, to serious clash of interest with the agricultural element, which constitutes nearly seventy per cent of the population, secondly, to a crisis in India's finances as the Government of India rely upon customs receipts for some sixty per cent of the revenue and lastly, to a collapse of the financial and economic fabric of the Government of India, which is dependent upon the excess balance of exports in order to meet India's financial commitments in London and maintain the exchange.

This is more a canvasser's ruse to secure business for his own firm than the serious survey of trade prospects which a commissioner's report is expected to be. It is not, therefore, surprising that the press in Britain has taken Sir Thomas' observations solely as a warning to British exporters, in the words of the London *Times*, to "adjust their perspective to the situation Sir Thomas expounds in the light of his long experience of the Indian market." The happy picture which Sir Thomas Ainscough has conjured up of an India producing everything in such abundance that she has nothing to take in from foreign countries and no considerable supply of raw materials to send out abroad, is no more than an Ainscough vision and we are not aware of any Congress Government which expects to achieve this in a future near enough to dislocate Indian finance. Sir Thomas Ainscough's unorthodox excursions into economics have produced a novel theory: That the economic development of a country must be for ever dependent on her customs receipts and her foreign trade. As for financial commitments abroad and the difficulties of meeting them as well as of maintaining intact the economic and financial fabric of the country, need we remind Sir Thomas, with examples from recent history that, whenever a nation has found it impossible to meet her liabilities abroad without destroying the economic structure of society, it has not been the "economic and financial fabric" which collapsed? The naivete of Sir Thomas' economics almost makes one think that they are specially designed for export to India.

A *Socialist View of the World*:—Mr N. B. Kudalkar's article on "The Destruction of Civilization" is an interesting exercise in Socialist theorising. He has tried to link up the fear of war as a threat to civilization which is being propagandised in democracies with the slogan "Democracy is in danger," into a deliberate policy to hoodwink the masses to continue subservient to capitalists and the ruling class. Unfortunately the two catchwords are used by different political parties. Where the two are united, as it was in the Munich crisis, among French and British Socialists, the fear of war has overcome the passion for democracy. Mr. Kudalkar's article does not account for the attitude of Socialist parties in Europe—in Germany during the Nazi rise to power, and in Britain and France today. We have always been perplexed to see the Communist (or for that matter, the Nazi and the Fascist) admirer look with great leniency on atrocities committed by his party heroes. To the victim it should matter little whether his mouth is gagged by Communist or by Nazi. Mr. Kudalkar condemns the democracies for not stopping the "inhuman massacres" in Abyssinia, China and in Spain. Perhaps their reasons were not very different from that of Russia which in one case at any rate was nearer to the scene of trouble for effective intervention.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, January 28, 1939.

CONGRESS PRESIDENTSHIP.

The Presidentship of the Indian National Congress is primarily the concern of the Congress Party. In view, however, of the position which the Party has come to occupy as controlling the Governments of seven provinces, and which assures it of an influential voice in the Federal Government whenever it begins to function, the election of the next President is also of interest to the general public. The usual practice from the beginning of the movement has been for the leaders to nominate a candidate who was elected by general acclamation at the opening session of the Congress. The first and most sensational departure from this practice was enacted at Surat in 1907 when Lokamanya Tilak opposed in open Congress the election of Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose to the Presidentship. The split was patched up but the Liberals never recovered the position then lost. Dr. Besant started her Home Rule movement which detached many of the younger men and some of the old veterans from the Liberal Party. There was an excited controversy over her election to the Presidentship of the Calcutta Congress in 1917 and it was not unanimous. In 1920 Congress passed under the control of Gandhiji and Congress Presidents were practically nominated by him though there was the formality of a unanimous election. Last year, Mr. Subhas Bose was elected to the Presidentship on Gandhiji's suggestion. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari stood out in order to make his election uncontested.

From the first, there was not much warmth in the loyalty with which his colleagues accepted his presidentship. There were temperamental differences. The Tamils, the Mahrattas and the Bengalis, do not fit in to a ready-made organisation with the same facility as the Andhras, the Gujaratis and Hindustanis. They have rough edges which need a lot of smoothing before they can be made to serve an end which they do not clearly understand. This accounts for the progressive decline of their influence in the councils of the National Congress since it adopted non-co-operation. The suggestion that Mr. Subhas Bose should be elected President for a second term came from Tamil Nad and Maharashtra. Till last week it seemed to encounter no opposition. The precedent created by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's second term, it seemed, would be automatically followed in the case of Mr. Bose. Dr. Pattabhi Sittaramayya's name was not mentioned in connection with the election until a very few days ago. The Andhra monthly, *Triveni*, indeed, after emphasising his claims had taken it for granted that he would not be elected to the Presidentship. A month ago it was the common talk in informed circles that Mr. Subhas Bose would be elected if Maulana Abul Kalam Azad whose election was considered particularly opportune at this juncture, was not available. When the Working Committee of the Congress dispersed at the end of its meeting a few days ago at Bardoli, Mr. Bose, Maulana Azad, and Dr. Pattabhi Sittaramayya, all members of the Committee and present at the meeting, were officially declared to be the candidates nominated by the provincial electorates. The Maulana then comes to Bombay and announces that, owing to the strain on his health occasioned by his duties as a member of the Parliamentary Board during the last twelve months, he can not undertake the burden of the Presidentship. He does not stop there. He commends the candidature of Dr. Pattabhi Sittaramayya who was on the point of withdrawing from the contest. This came on Mr. Bose as a complete surprise. He issues a statement declaring that as a matter of principle and in loyalty to the provincial committees which have nominated him without his solicitation as candidate for the Presidentship, he could not withdraw from the contest. He gives some reasons bearing on the international situation and the impending Federation, as special grounds for his re-election to the Presidentship. This brings forth a counter-statement from eight members of the Working Committee dismissing Mr. Bose's reasons as irrelevant and declaring that the President is merely a figure-head—euphemistically called constitutional monarch—and by implication that Dr. Pattabhi Sittaramyya could play the role as well as Mr. Subhas Bose. They suggest that there were special circumstances which necessitated the election of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru the second time which do not exist now. As they do not mention what these were, the public can not judge whether they existed then and have disappeared now. This has stung Mr. Bose into retorting that he is being kept out because of his Leftist opinions and he calls upon all Leftists to rally to his support. He calls Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya a Rightist and accuses the Working Committee of preferring him as more likely to be pliant in coming to terms about Federation. We do not know what the reasons are which have induced the eight members of the working Committee thus publicly to throw Mr. Subhas Bose overboard. If we knew we would probably not approve of them. But we feel all the same that the election of Mr. Subhas Bose to a second term would have conveyed to the world at large a totally wrong impression about the temper of the prople of India. Mr. Bose has been repeatedly saying that the difficulties of the British Empire which are accumulating are the opportunities of the Indian people. This doctrine is totally repugnant to the genius of India and it has jarred upon sensitive minds every time the Congress President gave expression to it. The second reason why Mr. Bose's re-election would not be in the best interests of the country was suggested

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in an editorial note in *The Reformer* of December 3. He is too intensely provincial to be able to see all India questions in their right perspective At the same time, we cannot help feeling that he has been treated with scant consideration. Dr. Pattabhai Sitaramayya's position is not an enviable one. If he is elected, it will be to a Presidentship denuded of much of its glamour. If he is defeated and Mr. Bose is elected, it will be a slap in the face of the Working Committee.

BRAHMINS AND NON-BRAHMINS IN TAMIL LAND.

In his presidental address to the fourth Madras Provincial Tamilians Conference, which was read by Sir A. T. Pannirselvam who deputised for him, Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker, who is undergoing imprisonment for his anti-Hindi activities, defined a Tamilian thus: "He alone is a Tamilian whose mother tongue has been Tamil for all time and through all generations. No outsider, however learned or proficient in Tamil, can be called a Tamilian." He would not regard Brahmins as Tamilians because, he said, although they settled in the Tamil country and adopted Tamil as their home language centuries ago, they have done so only as a matter of convenience and not because of any love or natural inclination for the laguage. Other reasons why Brahmins should not be regarded as Tamilians, according to Mr. Naicker, are, that they have all through these long ages kept themselves apart and separate from the rest of the people and have given themselves a place of superiority. They look upon Sanskrit as their mother tongue, as a language superior in every way to Tamil, claiming for it even a divine origin and putting it forward as the one language suited for their prayers and for divine worship. No further arguments, Mr. Naicker added, were needed to show that Brahmins have no valid claim to be called Tamilians. Mr. Naicker did not stop here. He went on to declare that Tamils were not Indians. The name "India" was used by Greek historians to denote the country round about the Indus and has become unwarrantably, in Mr. Naicker's opinion, extended to the whole of the country south of the Himalayas. Declared Mr. Naicker, "We differ from them (North Indians) in the language we speak, the dress we wear, and the food we eat. Racially and culturally we are as far away from the North Indian Aryans as from their European kinsmen." Mr. Naicker is wrong in nearly all of his postulates, Brahmins in Tamil land speak Tamil as their mother tongue. Many of them do not know Sanskrit. Even the purohits who officiate at marriage and funeral ceremonies do not know the meaning of the mantras which they intone. Sanskrit was not a spoken language anywhere in historical times. It is the language of ritual and scholarship like Latin and Greek. Brahmins love the Tamil language as much as non-Brahmins. Even in our own time, Brahmin scholars have done as much for the promotion of Tamil learning as non-Brahmins. Tamil is the second sacred language of the Sri Vaishnava sect to which the Madras Prime Minister belongs.

Fifty years ago not much was known about the history of South India and its people were assumed to be a primitive race without culture or civilisation. This view, which is contradicted by the evidence available even in the Ramayana, has, during the last twenty-five years, been shown to be untenable by scholars who have devoted themselves to the unravelling of South Indian history. The artistic genius of the South is attested to by great monuments of architecture and painting. South India as the home of dancing and music has gained recognition within recent years.* The Tamil language and literature have been studied more by French than by English savants though, among the latter, Dr. G. U. Pope's contribution stands pre-eminent. They are unanimous in praise of the power and beauty of the Tamil language. In his preface to his Tamil-English dictionary, Winslow writes: "It is not extravagant to say that in its poetic form the Tamil is more polished and exact than the Greek and more copious than the Latin. In its fulness and power it more resembles English and German than any other living languages." Taylor speaks of Tamil as "one of the most copious, refined and polished languages spoken by man." The crowning achievement of Tamil culture is the Saiva Siddhanta which is enshrined in masterpieces of Tamil sacred literature. The important point to bear in mind, which Mr. Naicker and his friends do not seem to have realised, is that all these great achievements are the product of a synthesis, a wonderfully harmonious synthesis, of the Vedic and the specifically Tamil culture which is often referred to as Agamic in the Tamil classics. "The Vedas are the road, the Agamas are the steeds," is a verse of the saint, Tayumanavar. The Tamil language itself was, according to universally accepted tradition, perfected by the sage, Agastya. Tiruvalluvar, author of the Kural, 2nd Century A. D., revered as the Tamil Veda, was not a sectarian but his precepts bear the impress of Sanskrit culture. He speaks with reverence of the Vedas and Brahmins, and accepts the fourfold division of functional castes, although he himself was born a Pariah. The later saints avow their allegiance to the Vedas and establish the identity between the Vedic and Agamic lore. Brahmins are not and were never regarded as foreigners in the Tamil country. They were there perhaps long before Ramaswami Naicker's ancestors, as his name and caste designation clearly prove. His views are absolutely opposed to history and tradition. His ethnology is equally faked. Reference is made in the Rajatarangini to a pre-historic colony of Dravidians in Kashmir. The Brahuis in Baluchistan speak an agglutinative language allied to the Dravidian group. The Rev Father Heras' researches point to Mohenjo Daro having been the home of a people whose language and ideas had strong affinities to Tamil speech and thought-forms. The cultured Tamil lady who presided at one of the anti-Hindi demonstrations, was better informed than Mr. Naicker when she said that Tamil was once the language of the whole of India, but that it had now become confined to ten districts in the extreme South.

The sociology of the Naicker school is as much fanciful as his history, ethnology and philology. The Brahmins, it was asserted in the Tamil organ of the school, *Vuduthalai*, used Nair women as their mistresses in Kerala. A more stupid and ignorant calumny it is impossible to imagine. It is a worse calumny on Nair women than on the Nambudri Brahmins. What are the facts? The *sambandam* was the immemorial form of conjugal union in Malabar not only between Brahmins and Nair girls but also between Nair men and Nair girls. Under the matriarchal system

*On the walls of the Chidambaram temple, the cathedral of Tamil Saivism, all the gestures and postures are engraved with the appropriate texts from shastra under them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the position of the husband became what the position of the wife has become under the patriarchal. Only the role is reversed: that of the giver instead of the bearer of children. The Brahmins had emerged to the patriarchal stage while the Nairs were still in the matriarchal as they are even today to a large extent. Following the principle of respecting local customs inherent in Hindu legal instincts, and desirous at the same time of establishing kinship with the local inhabitants, the Nambudiris followed the local custom, imposing on themselves the restriction which is now causing grievous hardship to their own daughters, that only the eldest son of a Nambudiri can contract a marriage in his own group. Sociology ceases to be a science when it accepts an explanation tracing the origin of institutions to the depravity of particular groups. Ideas have radically changed and the old custom has become offensive to present-day sentiment. The Nambudiris themselves have awakened to the need of reform and have taken the initiative in introducing them. Another accusation of a similar kind relates to the institution of devadasis. It is the fact that Brahmin girls are not dedicated to temples. On this single ground the Naicker school denounces the Brahmins as inventors of this custom for the degradation of non-Brahmin girls. In the first place, there is no single community known as non-Brahmins. It is a political expression including innumerable Hindu groups with great differences among themselves, and also, lat erly Mahomedans like Sir Oosman and Catholic Christians like Sir Pannirselvam. Not all these groups observe the custom of dedication to temples. Only one or two special groups observe it. In its origin, as the name denotes, the institution of devadasi was the Indian parallel to the vestal virgins of ancient Greece and Rome and the dedication of nuns among Buddhists and Christians, among the latter as the brides of God. This admirable custom has certainly degenerated into a sort of licensed prostitution and the *Reformer* was the first to start the movement for the abolition of the devadasi system more than forty years ago, in a leading article headed, "Is she not a woman and a sister?" Public opinion has since greatly advanced.

In progressive Indian States the custom has been abolished. In British India dedication of minor girls has been made a penal offence. Many Brahmins have given their support to this movement. In fact, the leaders in this and other social reforms have been mostly Brahmins. It is a malicious myth to allege that the Brahmins founded and maintained this evil custom for their own selfish and sensual satisfaction. As if non-Brahmins have never taken advantage of the devadasi! We have from the first been opposed to the introduction of compulsory Hindi in Madras schools. We are of the same opinion still. Our objection is not to the subject but to the method. Mr. Rajagopalacharya is a fervent believer in Tamil culture and civilisation and it is absurd to impute to him the object of destroying it. The imputation that a Brahmin Ministry is introducing Hindi with a view to corrupt the morals of Tamil girls is the outcome of a depraved imagination. It is so self-revealing that Government might well have abstained from paying the *Viduthalai* the compliment of prosecuting it. No less fanciful than the imaginary distinction of race and language between Brahmin and non-Brahmin, is the fictitious antagonism between North and South India. The unique feature of Indian culture is the close and incessant interaction between North and South, East and West. Reference has been made above to the pre-historic Dravidian colony in Kashmir. Though Buddhism and Jainism arise in Bihar they were both well-established in the South, before the beginning of the Christian era. The oldest Tamil classics were the work of Jain authors. By the fifth century after Christ, Kanchi, the modern Conjeevaram, had become an important centre of Buddhism. The first Indian Buddhist evangelist to China went from Kanchi. Hiouen Tsiang, the Chinese pilgrim, travelled to Kanchi on purpose to meet the master of his master under whom he had studied for several years at Nalanda University. Sankara and Ramanuja who between them created the philosophic background of post Buddhist Hinduism were southerners. Numerous other instances can be cited to show that the cultural unity of India transcends the division of North and South.

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHT TO DIVORCE.

(By K. Ramamurti, Aska.)

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill on this subject in the Central Legislative Assembly was circulated for opinion this month to the Bar Associations of Orissa. About two months ago they had the opportunity of expressing their opinion on the two Bills for restraining polygamy introduced in the Council of State by the Hon'ble G. S. Motilal and S. K. Roy Choudhari (Vide *Reformer* 19th November and 10th December 1938). Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan's Bill reported to be pending in the Central Legislative Assembly with suggested provisions for the restraint of polygamous marriages as well as for the grant of divorce to both sexes equally in proper cases, has yet to be received in this Province. Meanwhile, the Bar Association of Aska (Ganjam Dt.) has given its support to Dr. Deshmukh's Bill so far as it goes, but has also reiterated its previous opinion that a Joint Committee of both Houses should consider all these Bills together and bring out a comprehensive and adequate measure to amend the Hindu Law of marriage equitably for the benefit of both the sexes.

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill, however, was conceived independently of the other Bills and deserves to be passed, with necessary amplifications, even on its own merits. Unlike the other Bills it avoids interfering with the powerful 'vested' interests and privileges of the Hindu male. The highly irresponsible power of desertion and unrestricted power of polygamy which Hindu Law permits to him whether he avails himself of it or not, and which hangs like a sword of Damocles on the head of every good wife however kindly treated for the time being, is left untouched as sacrosanct. The Bill seeks only to give a very bare minimum of relief to the Hindu wife after the worst has happened to ruin her happiness and turn her married life into a ghastly farce. This Bill should, therefore, commend itself even to those who may feel inclined to oppose the other Bills.

The Association agrees with Dr. Deshmukh that it is high time to make the present-day Hindu Law recognise "that a Hindu wife has a human personality" and that "cases are occurring frequently in India in which a married Hindu women's life is made unbearable under circumstances brought about by her husband." Even if the cases that are daily occuring may not seem frequent enough to rouse the pity of fastidious minds grown happily accustomed to the woes of their womenkind, the law should not be allowed to remain equally callous to the silent sufferings of the Hindu female, leaving the male absolutely free to neglect or abandon her and marry again without any excuse.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dr. Deshmukh's Bill, however, does not provide a remedy for all cases of marital hardship. It fastens itself upon an irreducible minimum of four which render married life absolutely impossible and make the continuance of the marriage tie palpably meaningless and cruel. Impotency of the husband or a wilful desertion by him in some form or other involving the deprivation to the wife of his companionship and personal protection, inflicts upon her a dreary life of unloved and uncared for slavery which the law should not hesitate to remedy, in the interests of humanity and commonsense.

To avoid undue haste, however, the Bill provides that in the case of a husband's impotency, it should have been found incurable before it could be made a ground for divorce. Even then the wife is placed under no legal obligation by this Bill to leave her husband as some imagine. She remains quite free still to abide by her marriage bond for ever and devote her whole life to his service, if her platonic love for him, or a wise consideration of the balance of convenience and comfort to herself, so dictates. It is only when she feels bitterly that she has been cruelly entrapped and consigned to a living death in the name of marriage, and voluntarily applies for relief, that the proposed measure will come to her rescue and set her free as a human being with as much right as any Hindu male to have a full married life or single-blessedness at her choice. If orthodox Hindu gentlemen view with disfavour the taking of such freedom by any wedded female of their caste, they remain of course at liberty to excommunicate her and also the man who may in spite of their displeasure, venture to marry her. But since the present judicial system has blocked the natural expansion of Hindu Law by denying to the people concerned their ancient right of initiating *new* customs to meet the needs of new times and conditions, the Legislature owes it to them and to itself to step in with ameliorative measures to safeguard the human rights of individuals and of protestant groups of varying cultures and tastes newly forming within the Hindu fold.

There is one point, however, in Dr. Deshmukh's provision in this regard which calls for comment. Besides requiring that it should have been found incurable, he restricts the impotency clause further by limiting it to "impotency acquired after marriage." It is difficult to understand why a distressed wife should be denied any relief if she had been hoodwinked into marrying a man who was impotent even from before marriage and could not discover the misfortune till later. Since the parties to a Hindu marriage are never medically examined and certified for physical fitness prior to the marriage ceremony, undisclosed impotency on the husband's part should rather be deemed a proper ground for declaring the marriage null and void ab initio. At any rate, it should not be placed in a more favoured position than impotency unfortunately acquired later, as the desolating effect upon the wife's happiness is the same in both the cases.

With a view again to give the parties ample opportunity and a fair chance of mutual reconciliation, the Bill qualifies 'desertion' also by providing that it shall be a ground for divorce only when it had continued without break for a period of three years. It is reported that Mrs. Subbarayan's Bill stipulates a continuous period of five years in this connection. But the Aska Bar Association agrees with Dr. Deshmukh in thinking that three long years of resolute abandonment by the husband should be quite sufficient to convince any one that he cares for his wife no longer and that he has found a way of making himself comfortable without her. Three years is also the period fixed under the 'desertion' clause in the Baroda Hindu Divorce Act of 1931. The deserted wife may, of course, wait for any number of years in the hope of winning back her husband if she deems it worth while, even after acquiring the right of divorce under the law at the end of three years.

No time is needed, however, to get convinced of the utter untenability of a woman's position in her husband's household when he estranges himself irrevocably and makes himself practically inaccessible to her either by embracing a different religion and passing thus into an alien community where she cannot happily and safely join him, or by wedding a more favoured woman to supersede her as his wife. Hence, change of religion and remarriage are put down, each by itself, as a sufficiently intolerable and unmistakeable act of desertion to justify immediate divorce by the injured wife if she so chooses.

As observed by the Hindu Law Reform Committee of Mysore in its report dated 1st September 1930,

"The law as administered does not take sufficient account of human nature or of the sensitive feelings of womanhood when it treats the taking of a second wife by the husband, even in the utter absence of a justifying cause, as not entitling the first wife to leave his home. For it regards such a step on his part callously as 'one of the incidents of Hindu married life' even though other systems treat bigamy as culpable."

This law has obviously become a cruel anachronism and can no longer be tolerated. The displaced wife should be free to claim either divorce or only separate maintenance without divorce at her own choice without any time limit.

There is not the least doubt that Dr. Deshmukh's Bill is good and necessary so far as it goes. But it must be clearly understood and recognised that the four grounds for divorce which he advances are too meagre and inadequate fully to meet the needs of this complex human problem, even if the legislature gives up as hopeless the attempt to curtail the unfettered legal power enjoyed by the male to make his wife miserable as he pleases. There may be no open desertion or change of religion or remarriage on the husband's part. But the result is the same to the wife if he wanders off into lands on the pretence of business and makes a home for himself abroad for decades together with the help of women there whom he does not lawfully marry. Or he may renounce the world and become a religious celibate leaving his wife to her fate but kept tied to him nevertheless for life by the legal bond of marriage. There are again physical conditions worse than impotency which have to be taken into account. Insanity, leprosy, venereal disease, tuberculosis, and other contagious or otherwise communicable diseases may render the husband uncompanionable except at the wife's peril and may easily make wedded life horrible and loathsome to her. Then again there are cases where the husband, though he is healthy and does not drive her out of his house, may treat her with unspeakable brutality by physical maltreatment, injuring or causing danger to life, limb or health, or by calculated disregard of her existence in his home except as a drudge and slave, while he disports himself with other women unmarried to him, or even keeps a permanent concubine. To quote the Mysore Hindu Law Reform Committee again: "There is a cruelty of treatment which may be far more galling to a sensitive spirit than physical violence but which the prevailing law omits to take into account. A man may treat his wife with such utter lack, not merely of affection but of ordinary consideration, as to embitter their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

mutual relations and to make life a burden to the woman; and yet she has no alternative (where she can resist the temptation to suicide) between a prolonged existence of dependent misery and the being turned out of home with destitution and ignominy."

A strictly moderate demand on the legislature, be-speaking its favour to the barest minimum of needs in just a few cases, may no doubt have its own tactical advantages. But it is to be feared that the line has been drawn too narrowly by Dr. Deshmukh in this instance. The question of divorce under the Hindu Law has to be boldly faced and fought out in all its bearings with firm faith in its justice and inevitable victory, without minimising the necessary demands too much for fear of wearying or alarming the legislature and provoking their wholesale rejection.

There is another serious defect in the Bill which Dr. Deshmukh could not have failed to notice. The Bill simply declares the Hindu wife's right to divorce under certain circumstances but does not indicate by what procedural law and through what tribunal she has to work out her right. In the opinion of the Association the procedure also should be prescribed in this very Bill, and the lowest civil court of original jurisdiction should be the form to deal with such rights, subject however to appeal. The custody and the maintenance of the children, if any, and the expense of the divorce proceedings and the maintenance of the divorcing wife until she remarries and thereby secures a new protector, are also to be provided for on lines similar to these approved for custody and alimony in the Indian Divorce Act.

Lastly, the term Hindu is to be defined as including Arya Samajists, Budhists, Jains and Sikhs; and the Bill must be made applicable to all *Hindus within British India* and to every *Hindu of British India domicile residing outside* and even beyond it; and its enactment shall come into force immediately on its receiving the assent of the Governor-General.

DR. DESHMUKH'S HINDU WOMEN'S DIVORCE BILL.

(By V. Jagannathadoss, Pleader, Aska.)

The Bill as it stands does not at all improve the position of women, although it seeks to help them.

The Act must be so framed as to prevent the necessity of seeking the aid of courts for the purpose of getting divorce. It is the common experience of every one that it is impossible to get satisfactory evidence in a court of law. The standard of evidence required for a court will not be forthcoming in most cases. Even respectable people are slow to depose in a matter concerning husband and wife.

In nine cases out of ten the wife goes without getting the necessary relief. Whereas the husband can do things with impunity without seeking the aid of the court, the wife is to go from court to court to get redress for her legitimate grievance. No amount of legislation can give adequate relief to a dis-satisfied wife unless the remedy can be had without attending a court of law.

I would, therefore, suggest that the Act may be so framed as to enable the wife or the husband to dissolve their marriage whenever they find that they cannot live together amicably.

This can be done by either party—husband or wife—by sending registered notice by post, or registering her or his intention before a sub-Registrar to divorce the other.

At all cost the courts should be avoided if women are to be given adequate relief.

SCHWEITZER IN AFRICA.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer's slender volume, "From my African Notebook*" is a disconnected collection of anecdotes round the medical mission run by him at Lambarene. Dr. Schweitzer's hospital is on the hill where Trader Horn once resided, and a chapter from the "Notebook" deals with Aloysius Horn and his times. Dr. Schweitzer tells us that Horn's reminiscences are a compound of remarkable accuracy—Trader Horn wrote down his experiences years after they had occurred—and of romantic imaginings. We are further given a picture of Trader Horn as the people who met him in Africa remember him, irritable, very young and with a liking for rum and brandy. It might be the picture of any trader or it might be recollections of Horn himself. But it is not in his chapter on Aloysius Horn that Dr. Schweitzer is most interesting. The Doctor in his medical work has often to interpret the ways of Europe to the sons of Africa. In his writings he reverses the process. As dual ambassador, Dr. Schweitzer is interesting mainly because he is a little ahead of his listeners and readers.

The "Notebook" deals with hospital experiences, the superstitions of African peoples and their taboos, and social customs. Every patient will sympathise with the one in this story—

> After a difficult operation, much anxiety was felt about the patient's condition. Dr. Holm, who had performed the operation, crept to her bed three times during the night and lifted the mosquito-net to feel her pulse and listen to her breathing. And three times came the nurse likewise. In the morning when sympathetic inquiry was made as to how the patient was feeling, she answered crossly, "I should have slept well all night, if I had been left in peace."

There are some experiences that are unique. All of us, for example, are familiar with our own faces. On your own shaving table, at the barber's, in the lift, in the wayside pan-shop, the ubiquitous mirror has brought on us full consciousness of what we look like. There might be one or two individuals who, like Mr. Bernard Shaw, have so rarely looked into mirror that they are at first startled to see "a rascal glaring at them." After the first moment they too recognise their image. But Dr. Schweitzer has a story of the woman whose taboo was that she must never see her reflection. It was left to the Director of a Protestant Mission plantation to exorcise the influence of her faith in taboos by his religious faith. When she took a mirror in her hand and looked for a long time into it after prayer, "she raised her eyes and said, 'And to think I never knew how beautiful I am.'" Even Mr. Bernard Shaw might well envy the woman her great discovery.

Dr. Schweitzer's description of matriarchal society in Africa is interesting. There a man has to buy himself a wife. And often as he cannot pay the full price demanded at once, he buys her on the instalment system. "From the side of the wife's family there begins a process of squeezing which goes on for years. The father of the young woman and his relatives have not the chief say in this affair. The girl belongs to her mother, and her mother's brothers. It is these that get the greater part of the money." If the husband is not able to meet an instalment when it is demanded of him, his wife is kidnapped and until he pays she is kept away from him. "If there are children, they are carried off with the woman.....But a man knows where to look for his wife. Sooner or later he quits his work, and with the necessary cash undertakes the journey to her village." The wife makes no resistance to the abduction even if she has

* George Allen & Unwin, London; 3s. 6d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

grown to care for her husband. It is not strictly correct to speak of her being taken away by her family as abduction. Dr. Schweitzer's observation that the Africans looked on the procedure less tragically than she did, confirms this. Dr. Schweitzer remarks that the wife's family have the right to receive her back if she is badly treated by her husband and to keep her till her husband renders account. "Although the wife is sold to her husband .....she never ceases to be under the protection of her family." The term "sold" again has no application from the context, to the pecuniary side of tribal marriage. The justification for its use in this case is convenience. In books like Dr. Schweitzer's there are glimpses of African life which have more values in them than the ordinary resident can give us. But a real understanding can best come from books written by African intellectuals themselves.

THE "DESTRUCTION" OF CIVILIZATION.

(By N. B. Kudalkar, Bandra.)

Not seldom does one hear that if a second world war were to break out it will end civilization itself. Different categories of people feel differently nervous about the cataclysm of a world war, and prognosticate the same fate. Democratic statesmen, working-class leaders, millionaires, scholars and evangelists, profiting by the experiences of the last Great War, are horrified at the very contemplation of a catastrophe which hangs over the peoples of the most advanced nations of the earth. It is interesting to analyse this anxiety for the destruction of civilization.

The subjective attitude to the present state of the world plays a predominant part in the expression of this fear. The representative spokesmen of the democracies probably mean that a war would be an end of all the ideals that the democratic life stands for, namely freedom of opinion, of speech and of association, and an extinction of individualism and all that it entails in the field of human activity. The leaders of the masses probably mean that untold sufferings would ensue from the devastation and brutalities involved in a great modern war. The evangelists stand aghast at the spectacle of warfare itself vainly believing that a utopia of brotherhood of their imagination will be attained by somehow muddling through the peace that they observe; and by peace they mean simply absence of a state of war.

Different people will, therefore, argue from their different points of view. What constitutes, then, modern civilization, this twentieth century article? A French writer on political economy, Prof. Gide, gives the definition of civilization as the increase in human wants. The more civilized a nation is, then, the more enlarged is the sphere of its standards of living. The Westerner can congratulate himself that his researches in scientific investigation have contributed, to a degree unknown in centuries gone by, to the comforts and the material well-being of humanity at large. Scientific achievements in the domain of electrical energy, heat, gas and minerals are responsible for all the amenities we have become accustomed to in large cities, for example, transport, building, lighting, the telegraph, and the telephone. The list would be inexhaustible when all the branches of human activity are taken into account: these are daily accelerated and widened as a direct consequence of the progress in applied sciences in all their ramifications. If all this is to be reckoned as civilization, is that all going to disappear when the Fascist Powers come into a deadly grip with the great democracies of Britain, France and America, or begin their onslaught on the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia?

It is curious to observe that anxiety for the so called civilization finds expression mainly outside of both the Fascist Powers of Italy and Germany, and of Russia where a Communist state exists. That is a very noteworthy point to remember.

Barring the territories of Russian soviets, the rest of the world is governed by capitalistic organistation of society, and is dominated by the Imperialist democracies of Britain, France and America, and the Fascist and Nazi Empires of Italy and Germany. The smaller nations are either subject nations, or dependencies of nations whose political form varies between the democratic and autocratic. The Fascist and the Communist have been shouting the slogan of the destruction of civilization. The former with his counterpart, the Nazi, is a confirmed beliver in the expansionist role of capitalist imperialism, which it is impossible to play without armaments and a war to break the power of the victims, the present as well as the future victims, of such imperialism; he sees in the socialism of the Russian Soviets an antithesis and an enemy of the capitalist society handed down to his times through centuries of exploitation, and looks askance at the democratic principles of equality, fraternity and liberty, and at the very form of parliamentary democratic government which he has crushed within his own nation and which he will not tolerate elsewhere (*e.g.* in Spain). The Communist in Russia is on the defensive, and elsewhere in the democracies he firmly believes with all left-wing socialists that the capitalist dispensation has outworn its utility, that the tentacles of its policy of exploitation on which alone it thrives, have spread misery, starvation, unemployment and unhappiness among millions in the democratic countries themselves, in spite of the achievements of science and industry, and that its end ought to be facilitated. The great awakening in the proletariat and the peasant masses in capitalist democracies and in the exploited dependencies and small nations is a danger signal for those who have hitherto flourished on a capitalistic organisation of society, and who mean so to flourish in future. These latter people or classes are the governing classes in the imperialist democracies of Britain, France, and the United States, three of the most powerful and prominent democracies of the world.

The governments of France, Britain and the United States of America are the mouthpiece of the ruling classes, who are none other than the great Banking Combines, the Trusts or Cartels in industry, transport and commerce who dictate the imperialist policies of exploitation of these empires. These classes are overwhelmed, on the one hand, by the threats of imperialist ambitions of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany which the latter have determined to achieve at no distant date, and for the sake of which some partition of the existing territories within the empire of Britain and France would become inevitable; on the other hand, these same classes dread the successful reorganisation of society on communist lines in the Soviet Socialist Republics of Russia, and see in it the threatened termination of capitalistic-dispensation, when the proletariat and the peasant of their own countries will be aroused by the policy of conscription for military service in a dreadful war to be waged for keeping the capitalist classes in power in their respective countries.

When the spokesmen in the imperialist democracies strike the note of warning that the ruin of the twentieth century civilization is apprehended, they never mean that the world would pass back into

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a labyrinth of barbarism. They believe by civilization a capitalistic organisation of society in the same sense as the Fascist and the Nazi believe. They do not hate the Italian and German dictatorships on account of the brute force on which they are based and which alone they know in their hearts, rules in maintaining capitalism in all countries; but what they really despise in those dictatorships is the threatened division of the spoils of the globe so long enjoyed by them. The talk of democracy in danger is only a sop for the unwary masses, since the power which the ruling classes exercise is nothing but the power of wealth derived solely through exploitation, which society based on capitalistic organisation enables them to enjoy. The wealthy classes and their governmental spokesmen voice the aspirations not of the real democracy, that is of the masses, but their own class-aspiration to derive ever-increasing wealth based on the ownership of the means of production of wealth, namely land and capital, and the consequent power over the distribution of national wealth. Parliamentary form in the imperialist democracies is not civilization itself, since these democracies have not made it possible to dispel poverty, starvation and unemployment, nor to raise the standard of living of a majority of the populace living therein; nor have those democracies enable the dependencies to stand on their own legs, nor have they succeeded in stopping the inhuman massacres in Abyssinia, China and Spain.

Boiled down, the spectre of the destruction of civilization raised has a magnanimous hypocrisy about it. It is meant to gain intellectual submission from the exploited proletariat and peasant to the present capitalistic organisation of society, and to delay the socialistic ordination of human society. Civilization is merely the degree of progress and development of humanity; the capitalistic phase will give place to the socialistic phase that is all. Civilization will neither decay nor stop nor vanish. Mankind will not cease to march on the road of civilization—a continuous process and, in the last degree, the objective conditions of life in human society.

LIMITS OF SERVICE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It is well-known that inferior village servants like Mahars, were put to great harassment as their duties were nowhere definitely stated. They were often made to render personal services to the Inamdars, Patels, Kulkarnies, Talathis, and other Government officers. The long-standing grievance of these servants that they did not know exactly what was required of them has been now removed and the Hon. Mr. Morarji Desai, the Revenue Minister, Bombay, must be congratulated for defining in clear terms the duties of inferior village servants useful to Government such as Mahars, Ramoshies, chaugalas, Jagyas and Kolies.

In view of their economic bondage, lack of education and low social status it would be appropriate for the Minister to issue an order prohibiting Government servants from employing women of the depressed classes for carrying out any of the duties required to be performed by inferior village servants.

The duties of Mahars who form the most important class of village servants, are described in G. R. R. D. 7420/33 of 13-9-1938 as under:—

(1) To carry Gevernment remittances to the sub-treasury.

(2) To call the villagers at the chavdi to pay Government dues.

(3) To carry the village daftar to and from the Taluka Kacheri.

(4) To keep a watch on Government money and office records at the village and on property attached for recovery of Government dues.

(5) To take Government tapal to and from the taluka office and to take Government post of officers on tour, where there are no facilities for transport.

(6) To accompany village officers and touring officers at the time of crop and boundary mark inspection, and to show roads to officers and other travellers.

(7) To take news of births and deaths to village officers.

(8) To carry distrained moveable property to the village chavedi.

(9) To summon persons on whom notices, etc., are to be served and assist the police patil in serving summonses issued by Magistrates, police etc.

(10) To carry chains and cross-staff, place table and other instruments of the measures to the field for Government work.

(11) To accompany the police patil and police at the time of the night round where there are no Jaglyas appointed to do the work.

(12) To publish Government orders in the village by beat of drum.

(13) To take impounded cattle to the kacheri for auction when necessary.

(14) To assist the vaccinator in collecting children for vaccination.

(15) To help in the disposal of unclaimed bodies found in a village and to help the police in the removal of dead bodies for post-mortem examination whenever called upon by the police to do so.

(16) To help the police patil in case of accidental deaths and fires and outbreaks of epidemics and episodes.

(17) To keep guard over prisoners in the police patil's custody.

(18) To report movements of members of criminal tribes and criminals and assist the police in investigation of the prevention of the commission of crimes.

(19) To set up camp offices in the village.

Poona, January 24, 1939. } Yours etc., K. S. GUPTE

MY POLITICAL FAITH.*

(BY J. H. HOFMEYER.)

I have been trying to formulate in specific terms the things for which I more especially stand in political life. That is something which every politician should do from time to time. And he should not evade the issue by pointing to the programme or principles of the party to which he belongs. After all, rightly conceived, one's party is merely the particular instrument which one finds best fitted for the attainment of one's individual political ideals.

Among those political ideals I would put first the desire that the time may come as speedily as possible when the terms 'Afrikaans-speaking' and 'English-speaking' will very largely have lost their meaning in the political life of South Africa. To-day we still tend to divide South Africans into two

* *Natal Daily News* and *Indian Opinion*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

classes on the basis of the language which they speak. The very fact that in ever-increasing numbers they are able to speak both languages deprives that classification of most of its value.

But there is something more important than being able to speak both languages, and that is the attitude of mind which makes us regard both languages as *our* languages because they are the languages of South Africa.

General Hertzog once spoke of Afrikaans as his language by birth and English as his language by right. The implication was that they were both his languages. That is the true spirit of South Africanism. When that spirit prevails throughout South Africa, we shall no longer need talk of the ideal of national unity, because essential unity will in fact have been realised.

If national unity is my first ideal, tolerance is the second. The two things are inter-connected. National unity implies tolerance as between the two main sections of our European people in South Africa today—but tolerance must also prevail in the relations between those two major elements regarded as a unit and the minority and unprivileged elements in the community.

I think first in that connection of the reproach of anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is to-day stronger in South Africa than in any part of the British Commonwealth. It has been wafted by evil winds from across the seas like the seeds of some poisonous plant but it has taken deeper lodgment in the soil of our popular mentality than, having regard to our national antecedents, one would ever have believed possible.

It is a danger to South Africa—if only because all too often in other countries anti-Semitism has been used to prepare the ground for dictatorship—it is also a reproach, a derogation from our worthiness as a free nation. We must use every effort to ensure that South Africa does not relapse into the new barbarism of anti-Semitic persecution. We must keep the banner of our national honour unsullied by that blot.

But there is also the question of our attitude to the non-European peoples of this land. It is that which presents to our South African nation its supreme, its most crucial test. It is by our response to that test, more than by anything else we shall be judged before the bar of history.

We are told sometimes that it must be the aim of our policy to save European civilisation in South Africa. It is natural that we should wish to do so. But to preserve European civilisation is not the same as to preserve the privileged position of the European living in South Africa. If we seek to do the latter on some basis other than that of merit and desert, if we deny essential human rights to unprivileged elements in our population, then the structure which we are erecting will be found to have the seeds of decay at its base. It is a poor sort of European civilisation which you protect at the cost of the essential principles of justice and tolerance and fair play, which alone can make that civilisation worth while.

The adoption by South Africa of the concept of trusteeship in native policy is a recognition of these facts. But we must be on our guard against the use of the term trusteeship as a conscience-stifling mumbo-jumbo. We must not allow trusteeship to become simply an excuse for keeping the native in his place—a place of inferiority and subjection. The guardian must envisage the day when his ward will grow up, and be able to look after his own affairs. Trusteeship cannot be permanent. We must face fearlessly the implications of that fact.

I think next of my position in regard to social and economic policy. In the sphere of economics our policy has of late been almost entirely the resultant of forces exercised by various pressure-groups. In the conditions, which have prevailed in the world, that has perhaps been unavoidable, but we shall gradually have to build up a freer and more natural economic system.

In the sphere of social welfare there is great work still to be done. There are far too many people in South Africa who have not attained even the meanest standards of health and civilised living. We must work to enable them to attain adequate standards, and that, in as many cases as possible, not by charity or patronage but by right and from the working of a sound economic system. Above all we must reject, and reject decisively, the doctrine that we cannot spend more on social services for non-Europeans than the amount they produce in taxation. No nation applies that principle to the poorest classes of its population.

Finally, there are the questions which arise with reference to South Africa's position in relation to the world outside. I start with the realisation that the barriers of South Africa's isolation have broken down. We cannot, if we would, live unto ourselves alone. That also is a fact which we should be ready to face boldly and without fear.

There is our position in Africa. Ours is the one settled and firmly established European civilisation south of the Sahara. Surely it is not without a purpose that we are here. Surely we are called increasingly to leadership, at least in the southern half of the continent, and that not in any spirit of aggression, nor with any desire to extend our borders, but simply in readiness to lend our aid to other African communities with whom we are united by common interests in a common task.

There is our position in the British Commonwealth of Nations. That I regard as a settled fact, by virtue of the acceptance of the concept of free association. For all practical purposes today there are no legal bonds of Empire. Such as still exist we are in fact free to break at any moment, if we were foolish enough to do so. The real bonds uniting the Commonwealth are freedom, friendship and faith. These we should do all in our power to maintain and strengthen.

There remains our position in the world. Whether we like it or not, we live in a world where there is a conflict of ideologies—a struggle between democracy and dictatorship. Of course we all desire earnestly that the conflict shall not be resolved by war; it is none the less an issue which constantly presents itself to each one of us, one on which we can not evade the necessity of assuming position. And when we have regard to the democratic, liberty-loving traditions of the peoples from which most of us are descended, we can only take a firm stand on the side of democracy. South Africa can have no truck with dictatorship, nor with the ideals of dictatorship.

There then, compressed within necessarily brief limits, are the political ideals for which I stand. I could sum it all up in a few words: National unity, tolerance, freedom, these three—and the greatest of these is freedom.

UNTOUCHABILITY IN BIHAR.

The Muzaffarpur correspondent of the *Hindustan Standard*, Calcutta, sent under date January 15 the following statement which Mr. Vindeshwari Prasad Varma, M.L.A. Provincial Secretary of the Harijan Sewak Sangh, Bihar, has issued to the press:

"We in Bihar have always imagined that the problem of untouchability is not so serious as in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. In the days of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mahatma Gandhi's epic fast, there were so many meetings and demonstrations and so many temples were freely thrown open to the Harijans that we began to believe that untouchability had really vanished from the land. But as the time passes we come across instances after instances in which the Harijans are treated no better than beasts. And in the matter of access to public wells the position remains almost the same. The Government and the workers are forced to relieve their distress by providing them with wells. This removes their difficulty but does not remove untouchability. The question of entry into temples is still more difficult. Even in the temples thrown open to all during the days of Mahatma Gandhi's fast, difficulties are being raised and Harijans are denied entry. The fact is that the Harijans very seldom aspire to visit a temple and a very few leaders or workers attempt to take Harijans with them into any temple, and consequently the problem is never forced on public attention.

"Recently at Bargoan, an Inspector of Harijan Sevak Sangh, who was leading a party of Harijans into the temple was assaulted by the 'Pandas.' In this case, the attitude of the temple authorities was all the more inexcusable because they had got it repaired with funds received from Seth Jugal Kishore Birla on the express condition that all Hindus, Harijans and Non-Harijans would have free access thereto, I believe our workers will meet the same fate if they would try to repeat the experiment in other temples. The mentality of the 'Pandas' and 'Pujaris' and also many other caste Hindus is still of the old order. But surely such a great social and religious iniquity cannot be allowed to continue any further. All public places must remain open to all. All public temples can be visited by all the adherents of the faith to which the temple belongs. These rights have to be guarded by all Governments and our present Congress government in Bihar cannot shake off this responsibility. If the present provisions of law are, in any sense, considered insufficient or ineffective, proper legislation should be made to enforce these rights."

RIGHTS OF WOMEN WORKERS *

(By Anna Westergard.)

The Object of the Open Door International is :—

"To secure that a woman shall be free to work and protected as a worker on the same terms as a man, and that legislation and regulation dealing with conditions and hours, payment, entry and training shall be based upon the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker.

And to secure for a woman irrespective of marriage or childbirth, the right at all times to decide whether or not she shall engage in paid work, and to ensure that no legislation or regulations shall deprive her of this right."

In 1929—nine years ago—the Open Door International was founded in Berlin.

Three years have passed since we last held a Conference, in Copenhagen in 1935.

In the intervening time there have been many developments in our field of work—the economic emancipation of the woman worker.

When a world-wide economic depression set in, the O. D. I. immediately pointed out to those who in many countries, sought to make a new economic reconstruction, that this was a unique opportunity for building up a new and better economic system in which an integral factor must be equality and justice for women.

Our appeal was unheeded. Instead of being able to co-operate in the building of that new and better system, the Open Door International had to fight not only the old resistance to women's right to work and the spreading of restrictive legislation for women by Conventions of the International Labour Organisation, it had also to fight the tendency to use the economic depression as a *new* pretext for depriving women of their right to work for pay.

How well we remember all the attacks on the right of the married woman to engage in paid work in many countries—France, Great Britain, Canada, Germany, Sweden, U. S. A., Australia, Norway and South Africa : and the morally wrong and economically puerile suggestion that prohibiting the work of women would provide more employment for men.

We remember, too, the proposal of the Committee on Industrial Hygiene of the I L. O.—in a report which treated the woman worker not as a human being but as a pathological specimen—that a list of occupations to be prohibited to women of child-bearing age should be drawn up.

We still have to watch and combat the new practice of delegating to a Minister or official the power to prohibit or restrict women's employment, which is, in fact, to put women outside the rule of law, leaving them at the mercy of an arbitrary power—a most dangerous and unjustifiable practice.

During these years, too, the white pages of conventions have been falling from the I. L. O. like sand in a storm over the desert—prohibiting paid night work, dangerous work, paid work before and after childbirth—questionnaires on insurance, suggesting that lower benefits should be paid to women, and Invalidity and Old-Age Insurance-Convention, containing provisions expressy suggesting unequal treatment of men and women.

In these rather sinister circumstance the task of the O. D. I. has been difficult and complicated.

Now what of the new and serious problems which are facing us today?

I chose two as being of great importance :—

(1) The proposed reorganisation of domestic service.

(2) The population problem.

In connection with each of these it is possible, even probable that new dangers for women may arise.

It is without doubt desirable that courses in *domestic* economy should be widely available for women and for men as well, and that the whole subject of domestic economy should be given the place of importance which it deserves.

*From Presidential address at the Opening Session of the Fifth Conference of the Open Door International, Girton College, Cambridge, England, July 25th, 1938.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price :

Rs. 3/8/- India

Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,

WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to :

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,

Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Now Ready.

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Impressions of a tour round Europe in 1937.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Pages 306.

Copies can be had from the office of the *Reformer* at Rs. 3 per copy. Postage 10 As.

The Manager,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(ESTABLISHED—DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	Rs.	3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	„	3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	„	1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds ...	„	94,19,805
Deposits as at 30th June 1938.	„	30,51,94,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
99 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala, KT.,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon („ „).
Satana (District Nasik).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad („ „).
Kalol (District Panch Mahals).

DIRECTORS:

Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, Kt., K.C.S.I., (Chairman).
Principal M. L. Tannan,
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
R. G. Saraiya, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varda, Esq.,
S. S. Malimath, Esq., Dharwar.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. W. Raut, Esq., Bassein.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,96,9

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balance not exceeding Rs. 1,00,00

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS.

The Paper for International Justice.

Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst.

PRICE 2d. WEEKLY.

Weekly Articles by Dr. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London.

Frequent Statements by the Emperor of Ethiopia.

First Hand News of Fascism in Italy, Ethiopia, Spain and elsewhere.

3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, ENGLAND.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches:—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed ..... Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up ..... „ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund ..... „ 1,08,00,000
London Agents:—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches:—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED ... Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP ... „ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND ... „ 26,50,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN
Brings Quick Relief Always
AMRUTANJAN LTD.
BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

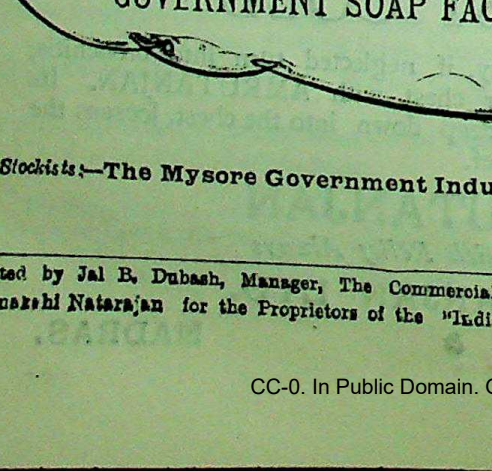
卐

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin, Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents,

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy leather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office:—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editors:— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 21, 1939. No. 21

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

CONTENTS.

Britain in Europe.
Italy's Demands.
The Return of Colonies.
Mr. Patel for Africa.
The Situation in Travancore.
Fantastic Race Theories.
A Menace to Dravidian Morals.
Bengalees in Bihar.
Young Offenders.
Bombay Government and Muslim Interests.
Freudian Sociology.
Problems of an Indian Schoolmaster.
Primary Schools in Dharwar.
Jesus and the Jews.
Satyagraha in Hyderabad.
The Travancore Scene.
Arabs in Palestine.
Dr. R. K. Mukherjee on Hindu Imperialism.

NOTES.

Britain in Europe:—Once more British statesmen have proved their weakness in negotiating with foreign leaders on foreign soil. The Chamberlain-Halifax visit to Rome is described as a success. But what has been achieved by the two statesmen is not so clear. In view of an earlier message to the effect that the talks had ended abruptly and from the fact that the visit was a remarkably short one, one might fairly infer that the Rome talks were passed off as a success because Britain did not care to admit they were a failure. Britain's path, however, seems to us to be clear now. Nobody wants war. Even from the point of view of self-preservation, the time to resist German-Italian advance in Europe is past, after Czechoslovakia. To the heavy toll which a modern war will take of young, old and middle-aged lives, there must be added the further consideration that Germany has tied the whole of Europe, practically, to her foreign policy through alliances against Bolshevism. It is a point worth considering that the growth of anti-Communism in Europe synchronises with the gradual lessening of Bolshevik influence. Public opinion in Britain, at any rate effective public opinion, seems to be decidedly with Mr. Chamberlain. Those, mostly the intellectuals, who are opposed to his methods, are apparently not successful in persuading the country. After the first shock of surprise at seeing Britain give up the job of world policeman, the rest of the world is following Czechoslovakia's example in settling down to the new order; and from all accounts there is nothing to show that a Europe dominated by the Nazi-Fascist combine is any different from the Europe under Anglo-French management. It is only natural that both Britain and France should be more reluctant to sacrifice their own holdings than they were in sacrificing Czechoslovakia. But there is no reason to think that concessions will not be made after a certain amount of haggling. The negotiations between Fascist States and Imperialist powers are all the easier since the Fascists are prepared to accept a little less than the irreducible minimum of their popular extremists. Lacking the will to fight and with many a good reason against war, Britain will not pursue a policy which might lead to a breach of the peace in Europe. And without Britain France is not in a position to assert herself.

Italy's Demands:—The first amusement with which France and other countries received Italy's demand for Tunis, Corsica and Nice, has given place to a graver outlook. The earlier reaction was apparently due to a general feelingthat Italy is not as formidable an opponent as Germany and that there was little chance of the Nazis joining forces with the Fascists on this issue. This optimism was supported by the Italian suggestion that these concessions were needed to counteract German gains in Austria and in Czechoslovakia. The seriousness into which the situation developed in Paris and M. Daladier's decision to visit Tunis, were no doubt because of the realisation that the Italo-German alliance was as strong as ever. It is believed that German interest had been enlisted in the matter by a promise of the Italian Tyrol, if Italy secured her ambitions. It is not known whether Mr. Chamberlain still thinks that Britain and France are held together by identity of interests. M. Daladier's activities in Tunis just before Mr. Chamberlain's talks in Rome, were not calculated to strengthen Anglo-Italian relations. Europe today is very near realising Signor Mussolini's dream of a world ruled by the four great powers. But there is a difference. France seems to be out of the picture, and Britain's task evidently ends with signing agreements drafted by the other two parties. If France and Britain are satisfied with this arrangement, no one should have any reason for complaint. The small nations of Europe never governed themselves in recent years. To them whether Germany or France is the Paramount Power is only a question of adjustment. In Spain, the end of the protracted struggle between Franco and the Government seems to be in sight with a win for General Franco. It is a great deal for Fascism that Spain should at last come into her system. Europe might quite conceivably find it necessary to unite in a League of Fascist Nations. The importance attached by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Nazi-Fascist Governments to individuals—support of Franco in Spain; denunciation of Schussnig and Benes in Austria and Czechoslovakia, as arch-enemies of Germany who must be removed—gives sinister meaning to the Soviet treason trials. Mr. Paul Einzig in an article in the *Spectator* points out the identity of Nazi and Bolshevik economics. There are many who cannot see any striking difference in the two political systems. If the figure of Stalin is all that stands in the way of a German-Soviet alliance, we may yet see Russia, like Czechoslovakia but perhaps not so peacably, change leaders.

The Return of Colonies :—Africa which suffers the most under colonialism, has something to gain from a European understanding. Obviously there can be small chance of an international administration in Africa unless there is agreement in Europe. The League of Nations itself has collapsed because there was little to hold its several members together and a false security had accentuated differences. We must deplore, however, the tendency of the Whites to make pawns of Africans and of Indians in Africa in their own nationalist game. The East African Indian Congress in its recent session at Nairobi seems to have fallen an easy victim to the persuasions of British propagandists. East African Indians outside Tanganiyika have all along maintained that the treatment accorded to their countrymen in Tanganiyika has been far in advance of the treatment meted out to them in Kenya. In other words, the mandates system with all its defects has proved better to Indians than colonialism. Now they are eager, if we can judge by the resolutions adopted by the East African Indian Congress, to join hands with the Tanganiyika League which seeks to force Britain to absorb Tanganiyika in the Empire, a solution which appears to us to be the least acceptable of the possible ones. On the other hand, some Indians are playing the game of Germany in the hope that it will be easier to improve the position of Indians in a foreign colony than in British territory. If they are calculating on pre-war precedents, they are heading for disappointment. Britain before bidding for control had a certain influence and prestige which will fall from her after she hands over power to Germany. And the new administration will resent any suggestion of outside pressure. We can see no alternative to the suggestion for an international administration in Africa fully conscious of its primary obligations towards the native peoples.

Mr. Patel For Africa :—The national press in India and the Indian National Congress have been distracted from the immediate policy of linking up Indians to the Tanganiyika League by a pious resolution of the East African Congress on the rights of all peoples to self-determination. His Highness the Aga Khan who had offered some time back to place his services at the disposal of East African Indians in persuading Gandhiji to take up their agitation against the transfer of the old colonies to Germany, has had discussions at Wardha which have resulted in "complete agreement" on Tanganiyika policy. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, it is reported, will be deputed to East Africa to organise Indian opposition to the surrender of the colonies. It would be an exquisite irony if the leading spirits of the Indian National Congress which fights elections in India on a ticket of independence from the British Empire, should launch a campaign in Africa which hands Tanganiyika over to the British and finally destroys the mandates system. The only possible attitude for Indians is that of supporting an international administration for East Africa with Indians adequately represented on it. Mr. Patel, we are sure, will have no difficulty in convincing our East African Indians of this. We can think of no one whose visit to East Africa would be more helpful to the Indian community there. The most outspoken of Indian politicians, Mr. Patel gives expression to his opinions and impressions in forceful language, and our countrymen overseas will hear many home-truths during his stay among them. To Mr. Patel too, the change of surroundings and the different problems which he will find in Africa, will bring a much-needed relaxation from the arduous duties which, since the introduction of provincial autonomy, have fallen on him as president of the Congress Parliamentary Board.

The Situation in Travancore :—We publish on another page an estimate by a correspondent of the situation on the eve of the Viceroy's visit in Travancore. The withdrawal of the personal allegations against the Dewan in the representation made by the political party in the State corresponding to and drawing its inspiration from the Indian National Congress, and the subsequent withdrawal of the prosecution instituted against the signatories to the document, both on advice of Gandhiji, has not produced a peaceful atmosphere. It has created a split in the Travancore Congress party. The section which acted on Gandhiji's advice having withdrawn the personal allegations as a tactical step and not because it admitted them to be false and malicious, finds itself on the horns of a most unconfortable dilemma. Eventually it will most probably retire from the contest. Gandhiji's motive in advising as he did was, of course, the very highest. He wanted the movement for constitutional reform to be carried on free from personal recrimination. But the Travancoreans are evidently unable to work for a principle without personifying it. Much has been said of the educational progress of Travancore. Although there is a higher proportion of literacy in the State than in British India, politically the population is yet in the elementary stage. Responsible citizenship is a pre-requisite of responsible government and the first thing in responsible

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

citizenship is respect for the rights of one's fellowmen. We have recently seen what purports to be a representation to the Maharaja by the youth of Travancore. We do not know how many young people read the contents of this document. Not many, we trust. We are sure that few educated Travancoreans will endorse the impertinence of demanding, in the name of ancient Travancore tradition, that the Maharaja should live in a separate palace from his mother! The dragging of the Maharani's name in a controversial context, is bad taste and worse politics. This discourtesy to Her Highness who is held in high esteem as a sagacious leader of the Indian women's movement, will be resented all over the country.

Fantastic Race Theories :—Mr. Ramaswami Naicker, leader of the Self-Respect movement in Tamil land, now undergoing imprisonment (commuted immediately to simple, A class) is a man of strong character ready to stake his all in advancing any cause which appeals to him. Such a man in any country or community is sure to stand out of the mass of his fellows who would find in him their natural leader. But such men are not always well-informed in matters not directly concerning their leadership. Unfortunately, too, they do not know their limitations. Mr. Naicker, for instance, has not studied ethnology. His knowledge of the subject is derived merely from hearsay. In his statement before the Court when he was prosecuted for his activities against compulsory Hindi, he maintained that his purpose was to oppose the Aryanisation of the Dravidian people who had a distinctive culture and civilisation of their own. He maintained that the Brahmins of the Tamil country were the kith and kin of the Brahmins of Hindustan and both were the racial kindred of White men, and that the spread of Hindi was calculated to fix the yoke of British-Brahmin imperialism irrevocably on the necks of the Dravidian people! The Madras Prime Minister publicly repudiated any kinship with white men. He said that some of his relatives were black as pitch, while others were fair, and that he himself happened to be neither black nor fair purely by accident. There is no accident in heredity. The facts mentioned by the Premier are readily explained by Mendel's law as the result of the fusion of two races, one dark and the other fair. Anthropometrical measurements, which are more fixed than the colour of the skin, disclose non-Aryan types among Brahmins and Aryan types among antyajas. The fact is that the division of Aryan and Dravidian, fanciful everywhere, is fantastic in the Tamil country.

A Menace to Dravidian Morals :—The Prime Minister of Madras has advanced various arguments at different times in justification of his scheme of compulsory Hindi in middle schools. They are all too abstruse and far-fetched for the man in the street who placed the Congress party in power. A democratic leader should never use arguments which are beyond the grasp of his constituents. In India at present the latter are mostly illiterate peasants cherishing their land and cattle and women as their most precious possessions. The royal road to their favour is to promise them reduction of land tax, scaling down or complete wiping off of their debts, and free grazing for their cattle in the forests next to their villages. The readiest way of turning the popular mind against them is to allege that their policy is directed to undermine the fidelity of women to their lords and masters. A Tamil daily with a considerable circulation founded and owned by Mr. Naicker has been convicted of the offence of promoting hatred between classes for writing that the Brahmin Ministry—there is only one Tamil Brahmin among ten Ministers—in compelling Tamil children to learn Hindi, was inspired by sinister designs on the chastity of the women of the Tamil country! The naive defence was that it was intended merely to promote the candidature of Self-Respect Party, candidates at a Municipal election.

Bengalees in Bihar :—The Congress Working Committee has at long last reached a decision on the grievances of the Bengalees domiciled in Bihar. The Committee has condemned the requirement of domicile certificates which it could not possibly have approved. Otherwise, the resolution of the Working Committee, while paying a theoretical homage to the idea of Indian unity, has left open the door to administrative discrimination which may be exercised in a way which would nullify the effect of the abolition of domicile certificates. Mr. P. R. Das, the leader of the domiciled Bengalees, qualifies his acceptance of the Working Committee's decision by adding that it should be carried out in the spirit as well as in the letter. In the natural course, the great majority of posts in the public services always and everywhere goes to natives of a province by birth or domicile. The only issue before the Committee was, whether the Government of Bihar which at present is of the Congress party, should continue the distinction made by previous Governments between natives of Bihar who speak Bihari and those of them who speak Bengalee. There was only one answer which the Committee could have given without flagrant violation of the principle of Indian unity and it is the one which it has given. Not content with this, it has included a general pronouncement on the question of the right of provincial Governments to discriminate in favour of their own and against other provincials. This part of the resolution of the Committee, strange to say, falls far short of the emphatic and forthright declaration of the Government of India Act.

—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, January 21, 1939.

YOUNG OFFENDERS.

In the course of the editorial note on "Hyderabad Press Policy" last week, we referred to a statement as having been made in the course of a debate on Prison Reform in the House of Commons. As a matter of fact, the passage we had in mind occurs in an admirable little volume on "Young Offenders, Yesterday and Today" by Geraldine S. Cadbury*. Before 1838 the treatment of all offenders, and young offenders among them, in Great Britain was characterised by extreme brutality. The criminal law abounded in savage punishments. For petty thefts offenders were hanged. A picture in this volume of Miss Elizabeth Fry visiting Newgate in 1818, shows a small boy sitting at a rude table with his head bowed down on his folded arms. An old man, apparently a prison official, is pouring out something from a jug into a cup for himself or the boy to drink. The boy, it is stated, was under sentence of death.

The very savagery of the penal law gave the first impulse to prison reform. One of the pioneers of prison reform, Joseph Sturge, when he was a young man living at Bewdley, had his house broken into and £3 stolen by a youth. Sturge did not prosecute the boy as he would have been sentenced to death. Instead, Sturge started the first school for the reclamation of young offenders at Birmingham. John Howard's is the most illustrious name in the annals of prison reform. Mary Carpenter in whose home at Bristol Raja Ram Mohan Roy died and who was deeply interested in India and her people, was also an assiduous worker in the cause. The Quakers who had themselves often been imprisoned in the early years of their movement, took the leading part in and were the great supporters of prison reform. The need for separating young criminals from elderly ones and giving them educational training, was earliest realised in Germany. The first institution for young offenders, Pankhurst, was founded in England in 1838 on the model of Raus Haus at Hamburg established in 1833. Pankhurst proved a failure because it was in name as in fact a prison. At about the same time a reformatory was established at Mettrai, near Tours in France. Mettrai was planned on the liberal lines of a French school. It was a boy who had been in the Mettrai institution and subsequently entered Pankhurst, who replied, when he was asked why he had not tried to escape from Mettrai as he had twice tried to do from Pankhurst, "because there are no walls" at Mettrai.

Since the middle of the last century the subject of reclaiming young offenders has been frequently the subject of legislation in England. Sir William Harcourt, described by John Bright as the most humane Home Secretary he had known, tried to find alternative means of dealing with young delinquents. His measures met with opposition from no less a personage than Queen Victoria who expressed herself as "disturbed by what she felt was undue tenderness to offenders." Sir William, as became a descendant of the Plantagenets, stood his ground. He gave instances of boys and girls of tender years, being again and again sent to prison with criminals, coming out every time with their hearts hardened. He wrote:

> Sir William humbly begs leave to represent to your Majesty that protracted imprisonment in such cases has an injurious effect both upon the physical and moral nature of children of tender years. The child who has been guilty only of some mischievous or thoughtless prank which does not partake of the real character of crime, finds himself committed with adult criminals guilty of heinous offences to the common gaol. After a week or a fortnight's imprisonment he comes out of prison tainted in character amongst his former companions, with a mark of opprobrium set upon him, and he soon lapses into the criminal class with whom he has been identified.

The Queen surrendered. Her Private Secretary wrote to Harcourt:

> H. M. was really interested in all you said about the youthful criminals. She would like to whip them, but it seems that cannot be done. What she objected to was not being forewarned of these numerous remissions.

Mrs. Cadbury comments on this, "One wonders what punishments were used in the royal nursery."

Mrs. Cadbury's book brings the subject up to date but she had not the proposals before her of the Prison Reform Bill since introduced in Parliament by Sir Samuel Hoare, the present Home Secretary. In her concluding remarks, Mrs. Cadbury suggests that some thing should be done for young offenders who would laugh at probation but who do not need the long training at a Borstal institution. Sir Samuel has tried to meet this need by his scheme of Howard Houses. Offenders will be sent in the first instance to these State hostels under "residential control." They will go out every day to work in normal conditions in factories, shops or offices, earning the normal wage and contributing towards the cost of their maintenance. This scheme has attracted much attention in the English Press though there seems to be felt some doubt as regards its effectiveness for the purpose intended. The *Economist's* comment may be regarded as typical. It observes:

> The attendance centres provide for young offenders from seventeen to twenty-three the punishment which we used to know and hate in our school days as being "kept in;" and juvenile centres will perform the same office for offenders aged from twelve to seventeen. While their innocent companions are enjoying the pictures or watching football, these young people will go to their centres and submit themselves to "appropriate occupation and instruction"—and how they will detest it. There will be no glamour about this punishment and, if the scheme can be made to function, it will, we may hope, have solved the problem of an unpleasant discipline free of prison taint.

The success of the scheme, as of all schemes of social reform, depends entirely on finding the right type of men to take charge of its working.

* George Allen and Unwin, Price 3s 6d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mrs. Cadbury insists on the persons entrusted with the work, having a deep knowledge of spiritual values and there being complete honesty of purpose. "They must also possess the power to make the child understand that behind all the strange procedure is an earnest desire to help him and that the action taken is in his own interest."

BOMBAY GOVERNMENT AND MUSLIM INTERESTS.

The Government of Bombay have issued a lengthy Press Note rebutting allegations against them in a Muslim League pamphlet of neglect of Muslim interests. We have not seen the pamphlet which is said to run to 82 pages, five and a half of which are devoted to Bombay grievances. Several of the "grievances" put forward are trivial, some are no grievance at all. But a few are substantial defects affecting not Muslim interests only but detrimental to administrative integrity and efficiency. Of the last class is the circular issued by Government directing district officials to consult the Presidents of district Congress committees regarding nominations to local bodies and municipalities and the allocation of seats on different bodies. The complaint of the Muslim League is that no similar orders have been issued about consulting Muslim League officials. If the issuing of the circular was right in itself, not only the *Muslim* League but every other communal organisation may justifiably regard it as a grievance that it was left out. But the circular itself is a violation of the principle of responsible Government. District officials and all other civil servants are responsible only to the Government—the Ministers in charge of their respective Departments—and should not be required to exercise the powers vested in them in consultation with political parties of any complexion whatsoever. The civil servant must be kept out of politics, which it is practically impossible for him to do if he is required to accept the local party leader as his consultant in the execution of some part of his duties. In plain words, the circular makes district administration a part of the machinery of the political party which is in power. The action of Government is, as we have said, objectionable in principle. In practice, it is open to grave abuses. Every one knows how seats on local boards and municipalities are eagerly sought after from personal objects. In recent municipal elections in some places the public was startled and scandalised at some of the names inscribed on the Congress ticket. The direction to the district officers to consult the chairman of the local Congress committee, is virtually a direction to him to nominate the man recommended by that functionary. Local Congress Committees are not in all places manned by the most disinterested or most respected persons in the place. There are sometimes rival factions. To interlock the administration with a political party organisation is always a dangerous and, in the present circumstances, a calamitous course for any Government to adopt.

Of the second group of grievances which are no grievances at all, the objection to the singing of Bande Mataram by schoolboys is a conspicuous example. Our opinion of the singing of this song in public has been more than once stated. It is that the singing of it as a war-cry or challenge in places where it may hurt any one's feelings, is improper and should be avoided. But we can not understand the Muslim objection that the song should not be sung on any occasion because it is, according to its view, offensive to Muslim ears. Some local bodies in Bombay Province, it would seem, have prescribed the singing of this song at the commencement of the day's work in the schools conducted by them. If the order is made applicable to Muslim schools it should be withdrawn immediately. But in schools where the song is not only not offensive but gives pleasure, there should be no objection to its being chanted, and if the objection of the Muslim League be to this, it is not only factious but an affront to those who do not share its prejudice. Minority rights do not include the right to dictate to the majority what it should sing and what it should not. The Muslim League objection to Bande Mataram seems to be that it savours of idolatry. Four-fifths of the people of India are and have been for centuries avowed idolators. He would be a bold man who would assert that all those who do not worship idols are better men and women than all those who worship them. The writer himself has not felt for many years past the need of images as aids to his devotions. But he has known many men and women, living and dead, of whom he can truly aver that he was unworthy to untie the latchets of their shoes. Another grievance of the League was that during a time of riots some Muslim papers were suppressed. Government's reply is that two Hindu newspapers were also suppressed. Suppression of newspapers and other such repressive measures are proofs that Government have failed in their duty of preventing causes of public discontent from accumulating. But if under special circumstances coercion has to be resorted to, surely it is absurd to urge in answer to the League's grievance that Hindu papers also have been penalised. The attitude of mind on the part of a Government that it must, in order to defend itself against the charge of communal bias, take some action against Hindus whenever it finds itself obliged to take action against Muslims and *vice versa*, can not but lead to injustice being done to one or the other community. One really wonders whether the two Hindu papers against which action was taken, suffered wholly for their sins or partially at least as a set-off against the action against the four Muslim papers. Government turn the tables on the Muslim League by showing that in the Services during its regime Muslims have received preferment in excess of their population proportion. Here, again, we ask,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

do Government allocate its posts on a consideration of the needs of the administration and the merits of the candidates or even partly as a solatium to communal claims? Congress by its latter day attitude to communal questions is too deeply committed to view administrative questions from the communal standpoint. But we do hope that the time is not too far off when Indian Ministers will refuse to justify or defend their conduct on any but the highest plane of public interest.

FREUDIAN SOCIOLOGY.

We saw last week that Professor Pryns Hopkins in his book on the "Psychology of Social Movements," reduces the five or ten Commandments of the main religions to the expression of certain utilitarian ideas. The idea underlying utilitarian philosophy is that Man's only motive in life is to avoid pain and to achieve pleasure. There is really not much distinction between the two. Avoidance of Pain is itself Pleasure—perhaps the only pleasure achievable by man. For the hungry man a meal is the height of pleasure. For a sick man to be well again is the be-all and end-all of existence. Habitual sufferers from constipation experience and manifest when they have a free motion the ecstacy of a mystic who has seen God face to face. When you have mislaid your spectacles or false teeth, there is no joy equal to that which you feel on finding it. It may be urged that this Pleasure-Pain theory does not account for the satisfaction one feels in acts of altruism. The supporter of this theory is ready with his answer. Altruism is only an extension of egoism. Bacon has pointed out that the precept, "Love your neighbour as yourself" postulates your love of yourself which is the pattern model for your love of your neighbour. If you do not love yourself, if you despise yourself, you can not, according to this theory, love your neighbour. You must rather despise him as you despise yourself. Hedonism thus falls under two heads: Psychological Hedonism and Ethical Hedonism. Psyshological Hedonism may be equally aptly termed Physiological Hedonism because Psychology to this school of thinkers is only a reflection of Physiology.

Adam Smith wss the precursor of the hedonistic or utilitarian school of thought. His Wealth of Nations was its earliest gospel. Mrs. Webb in her autobiography puts its teaching in the form of an eleventh Commandment: "Whosoever sells a cow cheap goes to hell." Ruskin described the gospel and its author in a comprehensive anathema, "The half-bred half-witted Scotchman who taught the deliberate blasphemy: 'Thou shalt hate the Lord, thy God, damn his laws and covet thy neighbour's goods'." Adam Smith made Wealth in goods and cash the sole criterion of happiness. Bentham's "good" included other things besides "goods". It was thus an improvement on Adam Smith's philosophy, rather it was an extension of the definition of Wealth to cover satisfactions other than the purely economic. Bentham substituted Happiness for Wealth as the aim of life. A man may derive 'happiness' not only from his own physiological satisfactions but also from doing good to his neighbour. It made room for the Good Samaritan who had been left out of Adam Smith's philosophy. Sigmund Freud has reduced Adam Smith's as well as Bentham's categories to the single category of the libido. Pryns Hopkins' summary of the Freudian Gospel is the tersest and clearest we have seen. Freud as doctor had to deal with mental aberrations and he started with the hypothesis that there must be one cause underlying all aberrations and that it must in some way be connected with Sex. In order to fit in his facts to his theory that mental aberrations could be traced to some kind of sex repression, he resorted to forced explanations of which the following taken from Dr. Hopkins' book is a fair sample. Freud had found that in several cases of neurosis, mostly of women whom he had treated, there was a story of a violent sexual assault upon the patient by an older male relative while the patient was still a child. We quote Dr. Hopkins:—

> Freud had sought for outside confirmation of these stories, and he had been able to see that in most cases they were quite untrue. Yet their importance in the patient's emotional life was clearly profound He concluded that the 'memories' of these imagined events, since they could not relate to fact, related to childish dreams. Now day-dreams, it is notorious, are born of unsatisfied desires. These stories then furnished evidence not of what *had* happened to the patient, but what the patient as a child *had desired* to happen.

Gandhiji did not enquire whether the incidents reported to him by some college girls, on which he launched his indictment of college girls as a class, did happen to the reporters or were only desired by them to happen to them! Freud came upon another factor, personally disconcerting to himself, namely that several of his female patients had fallen in love with himself and had made up stories to excite his sympathy.

Whatever we may make of the Freudian philosophy, we are at a loss to know how Dr. Hopkins expects to explain social phenomena by this peculiarly individualistic doctrine. Society consists of individuals but the social mind is not the arithmetical total of the minds of the individual men and women who compose it. Every individual has his aptitudes, tendencies, temperaments and motives, inherited and acquired, and when these are thrown into the social cauldron, many of them destroy or cancel each other. The ruler and the ruled, the judge and the criminal, the robber and the robbed, the employer and the worker, together constitute the social organism and it is plain that the organism itself must have a mind in which all contradictions are eliminated and fused into a living whole. How can the Oedipus complex, for instance, help us to understand the outstanding social movements of the day, Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and Bolshevism in Russia? What particular complex impels General Franco with Moroccan troops to invade the land which the latter once ruled and from which they were expelled later by Christians? General Franco is now engaged in restoring Spain to Christianity with the help of the Moroccans. Or take Japan. Japan got her religion and civilization from China. What libido now impels her to repay the Chinese for their generosity by bombs and bullets? Dr. Hopkin's theory that men join armies and go to war for the pleasure of being in physical contact with numbers of other men under the impulse of homosexuality, does not tally with the fact that in most countries in times of peace and in all countries in times of war, men have to be conscripted to the army. There is something in the statement that the slogan of protection of their women as a motive to war, may be traced to a sexual impulse.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PROBLEMS OF AN INDIAN SCHOOLMASTER.

(BY S. V. KAMAT, SIRSI.)

It is deplorable that the importance of a teacher's functions is not yet fully recognised in India. Here and there a minister or a politician indulges in high sounding phrases about the onerousness of teachers' responsibilities and the importance of their place in society, but the talk rarely fructifies in action. The teacher, even after two years of office-acceptance by the Congress, is left where he was; his prospects are as gloomy as before and his status is still worse than that of a menial. Many leaders of fame and almost all the education-ministers of the Congress provinces, have not been slow in singing the glories of the teacher's profession, but they have not been able yet to help the teachers to improve their lot.

The regeneration of a nation mainly depends on its teachers; they are the main props of a country's civilization. The half-fed, imperfectly trained and semi-cultured teachers, grovelling in poverty, will never be able to raise the nation higher: Just as an edifice, if it should stand firmly requires to be erected on a sound foundation, so the education and culture of a country if they should be deeply-rooted, should rest on teachers of efficient training and highest culture. The teachers must be made free from worries by supplying to them the necessities as well as the amenities of life. Unless this is done, mere sympathetic talk of ministers will end in smoke.

Many persons might be under the impression that Indian education has suffered for want of a sound scheme. "Prepare an ideal scheme, and that will bring about the educational salvation of India;" this is what many leaders might think. But to attach more importance to the scheme than to the teachers who are expected to handle it, is as absurd as to concentrate all attention on a carriage paying no attention to the feeding of the horse that is expected to draw it. A half-starved horse is rarely expected to draw successfully the carriage, however ideal the carriage may be; but one can be sure of reaching the destination with the help of a well-fed horse, even though the carriage is half-broken and clumsy. Similarly, an educational scheme, however bright and sound it may look, will hardly be able to carry the country farther unless it is worked by teachers who possess the strength of mind and body.

For the last one year the attention of Congress ministers is concentrated on schemes; they have paid no attention to the amelioration of the teacher or to the alleviation of his hardships. In this respect the ministers have put the cart before the horse. "First of all try to strengthen the teacher by improving his lot and then introduce an ideal scheme." This is the advice that any sane man can offer to the Government. But the Government, it appears, wants to dazzle the country by talking about lofty schemes without doing the necessary spade-work in improving the status of teachers, which is so very essential for the educational uplift of India. Happy will be the day, when the Government realises that the success of an educational scheme lies not in the scheme itself but in betterment of teachers' prospects, and begins to work in that direction by improving their salaries and by multiplying their facilities for receiving the right kind of training.

The All India Educational Conference that met at Bombay recently, passed an important resolution that the country should be prepared for democratic Government by the teachers. This is really good, and the teachers who do not try to make their students democratic in their outlook are not worth the salt. But the present teacher who is low paid and low levelled in culture cannot be expected to drive the country on democratic lines. A meagrely paid teacher with a large family depending on his support and surrounded by an illiterate and unsympathetic public, will more often think of dragging his miserable existence by fair or foul means than of inculcating the high ideals of democracy in the minds of his students. The Government requires full-fledged citizens imbued with the spirit of democracy to run the administration of the country. How can such citizens be produced by starving teachers, whose outlook is narrowed down by the severe strife for existence? Democratic reforms cannot be effected by mere talk or resolutions. If the Government and leaders mean to do something solid to promote the growth of democracy in India, the lot of teachers should be substantially improved.

Another thing that is necessary for the growth of democratic ideas among the students is complete freedom of speech for the teacher. Without this nothing can be done. The teacher should be treated as of a higher position than the legislator and should be given full freedom to express his views either for or against any leader or political institution or the Government. The teacher must be looked upon as the real moulder of the future society and he must be conferred upon special privileges to criticise the national leaders and the dominating political parties of the country. I am afraid that such privileges are denied to teachers even under the Congress regime. There are instances of teachers being gagged by Congress Committees for having adversely criticised the Congress leaders and their activities. Such unsympathetic attitude of the Congress will hinder the growth of democracy in India and reduce the teachers to the position of slaves. How can such slaves be expected to develop democratic spirit among students is a question. Unless the Congress governments make a public declaration that the teachers have full freedom of speech, the hands of teachers will not be free and they will be much handicapped in their endeavours to help the democratic uplift of the country.

Hence, I press for two immediate steps to be taken to improve the educational and democratic tone of India. One is improvement of teachers' salaries and the other is the complete freedom of speech for them. Before launching these two reforms, talking about educational and democratic upheaval is a cry in the wilderness.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN DHARWAR.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I give Dharwar's experience of holding Primary Schools in two sessions, from 7-30 a. m. to 10 a. m. and from 3 p. m. to 5 p. m. from 1-7-1938. Prior to this, these were held in one continuous session from 11-30 a. m. to 5 p. m.

Only about 20 per cent of the children from each class are present on every morning at prayers. The evening attendance is also low. Poor students, the largest number attending these schools, suffered great hardships in the rains. Is it in the interest of the children that they should be required to make two trips in the rains without any adequate protection against it?

Late and small morning attendance was traced to the late rising of the children. W. D. Halliburton, M. D., says in his Physiology, "It should be recognised by the public that sleep is the period of anabolism, repair and growth and a large allowance

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is therefore necessary in growing children, who amongst the lower classes are seriously harmed by loss of sleep." Gandhiji's views are also similar and strong on this point. Medical books say that a minimum of ten hours sleep is essential for growing children. Every mother's experience is that the children have got to be forceably awakened from their morning slumber. Is it in the interest of the children that they should be awakened from their sleep for attending morning schools?

Statistics collected repeatedly and recently on 30-12-1938 from boys and girls' schools have revealed that not only the attendance is low, but excepting a few boys and girls who had come with a cup of tea or with a mouthful of fried rice, the rest of them all had come with hungry stomachs. Very few had observed the hygienic rules such as teeth-brushing, etc. Is it in the interest of the children that they should attend morning schools with hungry stomachs and with uncleaned teeth?

Nearly four thousand boys and girls of tender age are bearing these hardships for the last six months.

A monster application bearing the signatures of about a thousand parents and guardians of all castes, creeds and denominations from every part of the city against the present system has been sent under the signatures of:—

H. R. Desai, B. A. LL. B.
D. S. Kulkarni, B. A. LL. B.
S. R. Sunthankar, B. A. LL. B.
G. R. Side ur, B. A. LL. B.
S. B. Karandikar, B. A. LL. B.
V. S. Kulkarni, B. Ag.
S. R. Kirloskar, M. B. B. S.

to the Chairman of the School Board, and copies have been forwarded to the General Body, Inspector of Schools, S. D. Dharwar, Director of Public Instruction, Poona, and the Hon. Prime Minister, Mr. B. G. Kher, Minister of Education, without any effect. I have just received an acknowledgement from the Senior Assistant Secretary to Government of Bombay, to my petition of 25-12-1938.

The question of timings of primary schools, seemingly insignificant, is really of vital importance as it seriously affects the health, growth and education of India's future generation.

Is there no remedy to redress the hardships of these children?

Dharwar, January 15, 1939. } Yours etc
S. R. KIRLOSKAR

JESUS AND THE JEWS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

May I correct a very serious mistake made in your issue of December 17th? Under heading, "A Suggestion for the World Missionary Conference" is seen the sentence "The plain reason is that every Christian child is taught from its infancy to hate the Jew as belonging to the race which killed Jesus Christ.' No doubt this statement is made in good faith but one wonders from what authority: There are cranks, fools and fanatics to be found in every community, even collections of such people scattered here and there over Europe. Beyond these few exceptions, the above sweeping assertion has no foundation in fact. Some Christians may dislike the Jews in the same way that they might find Germans, Italians and other races uncongenial to them, but not for the above-stated reason. Those blessed with truly Christian parents will have learnt the "Gospel Story" from their lips. They would have been told that the Jews were a people "chosen of God" to be the race in which God Himself was to take human form. We have just been celebrating the birth of the Jewish Babe. The horror with which our childish hearts might have been moved against those Jews who were responsible for the Crucifixion of our Lord (whatever may have been the part taken by the Roman Government in the event) was stilled by His dying prayer,

"Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Cambridge, 2nd January, 1939. } Yours etc,
I. J. PITT.

II.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Your editorial comments on the crucifixion of Christ, which appeared in your issue of 24th December, 1938 have just been brought to my attention and I hasten to offer a few remarks thereon.

You assert that the Gospel accounts are false because they say that the Hebrew priests demanded the execution of Christ. Not a shred of evidence is offered in support of your assertion. Merely to say that the authors of the Gospels were indulging "in vilification of their kith and kin" is to beg the question. Where are the historical documents which contradict the Gospel story?

That the Gospels are genuinely historical is seen from the following:

1. All the four Gospels agree that Jesus was accused of blasphemy by the leaders of Jewry, and sentenced to death by Pilate at the instance of the Jewish mob, which clamoured for his blood.

2. The Gospels are early documents, the oldest of them, St. Mark, having been written about 65 A. D. only thirty years after the events in question. So then there must have been many who were in a position to contradict the accounts, if they were false.

3. The Gospel story already existed and was being circulated long before the Gospels were written, thus giving contemporaries an opportunity to contradict the apostolic testimony.

4. The facts concerning the trial and death of Jesus are recorded with such fulness of detail, giving the names of the persons involved and the public nature of the events that had they been false, their falsity could have been easily exposed.

5. The Jews demanding the death of Jesus is not stated as though it were a matter admitting of doubt, and therefore, requiring proof, but as if it were a well-known and accepted fact.

6. Till quite recent times the Jews never denied their ancestors' complicity in the execution of Christ. On the contrary they admitted it. Even to-day many Jews regard Jesus as an impostor, who was justly accused of blasphemy and executed as a criminal. To quote another: "Little is said about Jesus in the Talmud, except that he was a scholar of Joshua Ben Perachiah (who lived a century before!), accompanied him into Egypt, there learned magic, was seducer of the people and was first stoned, then hung as a blasphemer, after forty days during which no one came forward to speak in his favour." (Farrar, Life of Christ, p. 656).

Happily a different view of Jesus prevails among enlightened Jewry today, who in the light of his historical importance as a world force, have come to

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

regard him as a great teacher and reformer. The late Claud Montefiore called him the most influential figure of history. Among other Jewish writers who have eulogized Jesus might be mentioned Spinoza, Paul Goodman, Klausner, Grattner and Einstein. There have also been many distinguished Jewish converts to Christianity in modern times, such as Felix Mandelssohn, the composer, Heine, the poet, Neander, the great church historian and champion of orthodox Christianity against the rationalism of Tubingen, Benjamin Disræli, the statesman, Adolph Saphir, David Baron, F. C. Gilbert, Sir Leon Levison and others.

Bombay, 11-1-1939. } Yours etc., HARRY W. NISSANKA.

To those who like our correspondent believe that the accounts of the crucifixion in the Gospels are historically correct, we have nothing to say. But there has grown up a considerable volume of opinion in favour of the belief that Jesus was crucified not for his heresy from orthodox Judaism but for sedition against the Roman Power. This view was accepted and adopted by the Poet Laureate, John Masefield in his "Good Friday." We quoted his lines. In view of this growth of opinion, we suggested that the account of the Crucifixion in the Gospels should be revised, and that the revision would remove the chief source of anti-Semitism in Christian countries. The Indian Christian weekly, the *Guardian* of Madras, supported our suggestion. "We join the *Indian Social Reformer*," it observed in its issue of the 23rd December, "in the appeal to the World Missionary Conference to urge the Christian Church to take definite action for mitigating the racial virus. For some years now, the importance of presenting the story of the crucifixion without the customary accusation of Jews has been realized. So ancient a prejudice will not die easy and a campaign of unusual vigour must be conducted to repair past wrong."—Ed., *I. S. R.*

SATYAGRAHA IN HYDERABAD.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It is three months now since suddenly the Satyagraha movements were launched, within a few days of each other, by three different organisations styled "the Hindu Civil Liberties Union"; the "Arya Defence League" and the "Hyderabad State Congress", respectively. During this period a hundred and fifty persons have offered themselves for arrest as a non-violent disobedience of law and have been charged for a breach of peace and order. The mild lathi charges and stern action by the police have drawn a lot of criticism and been dubbed as "repression" and the whole tranquility of the city has been disturbed. But allowing even for the exuberances of nationalist writers and speakers one cannot call the present outburst a political awakening.

The first two organisations are avowedly communal and sectarian. They also make no effort to hide the fact that they rely on agencies outside Hyderabad for inspiration and guidance. The Hindu Mahasabha and the International Aryan League are said to be sponsoring their activities. The Satyagraha of these two bodies is supposed to be the outcome of religious disabilities, though their demonstrations are not based on formulated grievances but are carried out by sentimental appeals to the religious susceptibilities of an otherwise peaceful public.

While responsible Hindu public opinion appears to be in sympathy with the demand for redress of some religious disabilities, it is felt that, apart from minor local difficulties which could well be removed by constitutional representation, the alleged disabilities are common to all citizens of the State. They are generally held not to justify the Satyagraha demonstrations which are being periodically staged, and are likely to mar the communal harmony so essential to political advancement in the State. These activities are decried by the State Congress which is professedly non-communal and by the large majority of clear thinking yet politically minded members of the Hindu community. Such activities are seriously looked upon as an aggression by the Mohamedans who have denounced the activities through the local press. It is not surprising, therefore, that a Government which recognises its responsibilities to its law-abiding subjects should firmly resist this flagrant defiance of established authority.

What is further resented by the Government and the people alike is the fact that outside agitators—individuals and institutions availing themselves of the opportunity for unbridled license offered by a communal press and uncontrolled public platforms—are indulging in misrepresentations likely to cause considerable communal disharmony and are delighting in vilifications calculated to bring the Government of the Nizam into disrepute. This Government, though averse to offending national public opinion, feels itself embarrassed by such outside activities and is compelled to denounce them, while it is left with no option but to put down firmly, in the best interest of society, any inflammatory activities even though they are characterised by non-violence.

It is necessary to add that about a year ago Sir Akbar Hydari received a deputation of leading Hindu citizens and assured them of a sympathetic consideration of their representations. That consideration to such representation was given without outside interference, is evident from the facts that Sir Akbar and his Government have recently introduced several measures calculated to ameliorate the condition of the agricultural classes of the State, the bulk of whom are Hindus. To mention a few, liberal remissions of land revenue have recently been given; an enquiry has been instituted for the reduction permanently of the rates of land revenue assessment. Legislation has been introduced to mitigate the indebtedness of the agriculturist and rural development scheme of a very comprehensive nature have been worked out. The Co-operative Societies, the Agricultural Department, the Industries Department, the Veterinary Department and the Medical Department have all contributed their quota to the ryots' welfare. Further to conciliate Hindu public opinion a Hindu Assistant Director of the Ecclesiastical Department has been appointed to safeguard the religious interests of the Hindus; a Committee which will later take on the duties of a Public Services Commission has been appointed to regulate entry into services and meet the Hindu demand for larger representation in Government service and other efforts are being made in educational and other fields of nation building activity to give due consideration to Hindu requirements and claims.

The State Congress Satyagraha stands on a different plane. Though in common with other subversive movements it is at present being put down by Government, it commands the sympathy of a large number of politically minded people and once the suspicion that clouds its activities is dispelled it will, if run on broad national lines, eventually be a potent influence for good in the country. It is professedly a purely nationalistic and non-communal institution. Its creed is the attainment of responsible Government under the aegis of the Nizam. Unfortunately the State Congress came into existence at a time when the political atmosphere was charged with communal feelings. Government felt that because of its one-sided membership it had communal potentialities and at the time had the making of a communal institution in the guise of a political one. Before this suspicion could have been allayed by the Unity talks which

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were going on between accredited spokesmen of the two important communities (the Hindus and Mohamedans) the State Congress launched out its Satyagraha campaign and thus precipitated a crisis. This action was looked upon by the Government as a flouting of authority and by the Muslim community as a definite aggression calculated to overpower them and deprive them of their long enjoyed interests.

The fact that most of the well-known Hindu leaders have abstained from participating in the State Congress activity gives evidence to the belief that the present form of the State Congress organisation and its aspirations are such as to mar rather than speed up national political advancement in the State. It is pertinent to add that no Muslim, Anglo-Indian or Parsi has so far associated himself with the movement implying that its bona-fides is still questionable and that it does not enjoy the confidence of all communities. At a time when the Nizam's Government were doing much to implement their nation-building and social services; when a scheme of reforms calculated to give the people a greater share in the Government is being devised and when the Government has shown in more ways than one its desire to meet the wishes and redress the grievances of the people, the starting of a Satyagraha movement to obtain political redress is looked upon as a aggressive and dictatorial interference in the process of Hyderabad's political evolution.

Notwithstanding the clouded outlook of the political situation one cannot help feeling that the peaceful manner in which civil disobedience is being carried out and the moderation and restraint shown by the authorities are indications of the underlying goodwill which may lead to an amicable settlement of the large issues involved. A gesture of tolerance was recently made by the Government when on representation that some Satyagrahists were maltreated by the police while in custody, a public judicial enquiry by a Parsi Magistrate has been ordered. An effort is being made through spokesmen of the Hindu and Muslims to conduct "Unity Talks" with a view to presenting a common national demand based on mutual understanding and a spirit of accommodation.

Yours etc.,
J. T. FERNANDES

THE TRAVANCORE SCENE.

(BY A CORRESPONDENT.)

The political scene in Travancore presents intricate features. Though some days ago the Working Committee of the State Congress accepting Gandhiji's objective view of the matter withdrew the personal allegations against the Dewan and though, following this wise and fair-spirited step of the Working Committee, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja has brought to an end the judicial proceedings *apropos* these allegations the political atmosphere in the State still remains overwrought with personal animosity. The purification of the movement achieved by the Working Committee by the revocation of the allegations, has led to a division within the State Congress itself. The dissentients professing to speak for the bulk of the State Congress following, vehemently maintain that the withdrawal of the allegations if generally acquiesced in is bound to take 'the wind out of their sails' and have, therefore, set at nought the action of the Working Committee. Mr. E. John Kuruvilla, the leader of the secession, and the Travancore Youth League, who apparently seem to be now working in close collaboration with him, make no secret of their conviction that the ways of the Indian National Congress are inapplicable to their movement and that Mahatma Gandhi and his pet notions concerning truth and non-violence can only impede its progress. They have no faith in any of the categories in the 'constructive programme' of the parent Congress and loudly arraign the prohibition propaganda arranged by the State Congress Council of Action as an appropriate addendum to the withdrawal of the allegations, which, by the way, they are doing all that lies in their power to revive and drive home with truculence to the minds of the unsophisticated people of the State. And whereas the Council of Action has set its face against any sort of demonstration during the viceregal visit, the Kuruvilla Party and the Youth League want to let loose a storm to convince his Excellency of their strength and the desirability of placating them.

To those who knew the ins and outs of the Travancore agitation, it was clear from the very beginning that personal and communal prejudices formed the predominating forces in it and that the cry of responsible government adopted by the leaders only served to cover these forces from public observation. The 'masses' in the State whose participation in the agitation was acclaimed by interested parties as an incontrovertible proof of their imperative hunger for a 'fuller' political life, probably know as much about responsible government as of conditions on the other side of the moon. Indeed, the people of Travancore have far too little experience of misrule and far too much of orderly progressive and benevolent administration to make them actively desire a change in the method of the State's government. The idea of responsible government has never been crystallised in their minds by political disabilities or economic sufferings such as might be prevented by forethought or benevolence on the part of the authorities. It may be that responsible government is the birthright of every man in the world, let alone the belying conditions rampant in a major part of Europe itself; and that monarchy, however enlightened, progressive, parental and responsive to the needs and wishes of the people, is outmoded and debunked beyond redemption. Fortunately, the people of Travancore know little of either the one or the other and look upon the Maharaja as the visible embodiment of the excellent and unique progress which have now become almost a tradition in the State.

It is absurd to speak of a 'freedom movement' in Travancore because in no other part of India are people more free in political or social life. It is equally absurd to presume that the now so-called autonomous provinces in British India occupy a more advanced stage in political evolution than such well-governed and highly prosperous States as Travancore or Mysore. In fact, the monarchical principle cannot be said to be intrinsically inferior to the democratic one and a corrupt or a communal democracy can no doubt be as bad as, if not worse than, the misrule of a tyrant. Both monarchy and democracy have existed on this planet from the very dawn of history and both exist today, perhaps with slight terminological differences, and displaying different degrees of excellence or the opposite. The common assumption that the States as a class are 'backward' and the provinces 'advanced' and that therefore it would be a 'come-down' for the provinces to federate with the States is highly nauseating if not positively mischievous. And Travancore, for instance, may well turn to Madras and say, "Physician, heal thyself!" in more than one matter.

There is absolutely no ground for any determined struggle for responsible government in Travancore,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and there is, in fact, none going on in the State. The movement in Travancore is personal and communal with a certain admixture of economic causes emanating from unemployment of educated youths and depression in agricultural market. It is personal in more senses than one, being partly directed against the Dewan for his imaginary interest in the downfall of a bank and partly actuated by the politico-official aspirations of the principal leaders. It is communal because these leaders have each his communal following and since they belong to different communities some colour was lent to their contention that their movement had brought about a wonderful unification of the warring communities in the State. Today, Kuruvilla has seceded, bitterly proclaiming his grievance about the withdrawal of the allegations against the Dewan, and it remains to be seen how many Syrian Christians would still remain faithful to the State Congress to-morrow, though he is not the only Syrian Christian leader in the movement. It is communal again in the sense that the leaders have fully capitalised the communal passions of their respective followers in order to set their minds against a man belonging to another community. It is an artificial movement in every sense and bolstered up by lying propaganda amongst simple-minded folks living in a highly-strung communal atmosphere and incapable of thinking for themselves, an artificial movement engineered by a few astute individuals with axes of their own to grind.

Undoubtedly, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar has deserved well of Travancore. The Temple Entry Proclamation, that bright great morning star of a new socio-religious era not only in the State but throughout India, will ever testify to his nobility, greatness and courage. His far-sighted industrialisation plan for the economic rehabilitation of the State has been impeded by this sudden and distracting political storm, but there is no reason to doubt that he will apply himself to it with redoubted vigour directly conditions swerve round to the normal. Under him the general administration of the State has acquired a new efficiency and expanded its day-to-day activities in not a few significant directions. Nor should we forget the Travancore University, that abiding monument to his energy and vision, which given a few years more he is bound to make into an example worthy to be followed by the other universities of India.

ARABS IN PALESTINE.

We the undersigned non-official British residents of long standing in Palestine, wish to emphasize certain points, an understanding of which we feel is essential to a just solution of the present problems.

1. The failure of Government to take into account Arab opposition to its policy in Palestine during the last 20 years has led many Arabs to believe that the only way in which they can call attention to their grievances is by the use of violence. Many of them deplore such methods; yet we believe the vast majority of the Arab population, both Moslem and Christian, is in whole-hearted sympathy with the national rebellion.

The injustices inflicted on many innocent persons through the imposition of collective fines, demolition of houses and arrests, have further embittered them and strengthened their unity. Consequently the Arab population as a whole is dominated by, and at the mercy of, the orders of the rebel leaders. Unwillingness to conform to such orders has, in many cases, resulted in a distressing loss of life.

2. The Arabs' continued friendship towards individual Britishers uninterrupted during the strife of the past two years, despite their repeated disappointments over Government's policy, offers hope that there is still a basis of mutual goodwill upon which confidence in H. M. G. can be rebuilt.

3. Now that the Arabs are genuinely dominated by the fear of eventual Jewish control of the country, it is essential for H. M. G. to give some definite assurance that in no circumstance would they permit the percentage of Jews in the country to exceed 40% of the total population, as was suggested by Viscount Samuel in the House of Lords on July 20th, 1933. This is not far from the proportion suggested by Arabs on numerous occasions. The Arabs feel that in agreeing to accept some such figure they would be taking more than their share towards solving the problem of world Jewry.

4. Peace by negotiation is in every way better than an imposed solution. Any effort to brow-beat the Arabs unto submission before negotiations are undertaken, will but further embitter Arab feeling and make the task more difficult in the end. Negotiations, however, in our opinion, cannot begin until some way is found out of the impasse created by the deportation, exile or flight from Palestine of the recognized leaders of Arab opinion and the imprisonment of many other leading persons. The declaration of some sort of amnesty would, we believe, immediately relieve the present tension and create the atmosphere essential to the finding of a solution equitable to all concerned.

5. Finally we would call attention to the statistics of casualties from 1st July to 31st October of this year which, as published in the *Palestine Post* of the 1st November, 1938, amount to no less than the appaling total of 2,461 made up as follows —

Arabs	killed	1,089	—wounded	504
Jews	„	219	— „	454
British	„	42	— „	133
Others	„	9	— „	6
		1,359		1,102

To this must be added the immense loss of property which has taken place in the country.

Yours faithfully,

A. I. Macrae, General Secretary, Y. W. C. A. 1922—1926.

Harry F. Key, Civil Engineer, 1917—1933.

Charlotte Ellis, Bishop Gobat School, 1894—1925.

Janet W. MacInnes (widow of the late Bishop R. MacInnes) Secretary, Church Missionary Society.

Winifred A. Coate, Principal, Jerusalem Girls College.

J. F. Thornton Duesbury, Headmaster of St. George's School, Jerusalem.

M. C. Warburton, Joint Secretary, Diocesan Board of Education.

Richard Hughes, Ex-Government Land Valuer and Arbitrator.

Kenneth L. Reynolds, Headmaster, St. George's School, Jerusalem, 1904—1929.

Eric F. F. Bishop, Principal, Newman School of Missions.

DR. R. K. MUKHERJEE ON HINDU IMPERIALISM.

"Ancient Hindu Imperialism" was the subject of an interesting lecture delivered to the studen and staff of the Andhra University Colleges in the University Assembly Hall, by Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee who came to Waltair in connection with the visit of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission, of which he is a member.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dr. C. R. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, who presided over the meeting, in introducing the speaker to the assembly, observed that Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee was one of the best known researchers of the present-day in Indian History and was his colleague in the Mysore University twenty years ago.

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherjee, in the course of his speech, suggested that they were hearing much about the anti-Imperialist front and in these anxious times all lovers of peace and harmony should hold together and stand against those tendencies of Imperialism which were really based on ideas of exploitation and domination. Dr. Mukherjee averred that the conception of Imperialism was indigenous to India and was not an importation from the West. Even as early as the Vedic period, they found distinct and concrete references to this idea of Imperialism, which was not a mere abstract speculation of theory; because considering the details with which the idea was elaborated, they had to conclude that Imperialism was a live idea. In fact it was the Hindus who had developed the idea for the first time in the world. If they carefully examined the Vedic literature, they found that even in those early days they had very clear ideas as to what Imperialism should stand for. In one of the authoritative Vedic texts in *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, they had passages describing what the ideal for the Kshatriyas or the ruling caste should be. That ideal was that a king in India should try to make himself the King of Kings and it was suggested that the king should embark upon a scheme of conquest, when only he would be able to fulfil his ruling mission and his duties towards the mother country. It was felt that a multitude of kings were not conducive to a stable political equilibrium and what was required for the stability of the political system of the country was a kind of united domination. In the old conception of polity a conception which should have modern application, it was pointed out that the ruling sovereign in Indian polity was not the king in flesh and blood. The real ideal sovereign was Dharma. The ancient law-givers took up the position that the king should not be regarded as a source and fountain of law. He could be the source of law only in a very formal manner. But the ultimate source of law was the conscience of the community and this was embodied in the highest works produced by the best brains of the community. The Vedic texts had always placed before the kings the ideal of bringing the whole of India under the umbrella of one authority.

Just now, Dr. Mukherjee continued, they were talking very much about Federation, but the Federation of the whole of India into an organic unity had been the dream of every Indian through the ages. The Hindu mind had deified the mother-country and presented it as India the mother of culture and civilisation. They had a series of national prayers based on the conception of the Mother-Goddess and in all these national prayers an aspect of the mother-country was presented, which was to cultivate a world conception of what constituted their Motherland. Finally this ordering of ideas was fixed philosophically and in a scientific manner by Sankaracharya, who established his four mutts which were the centres of his philosophy at four different places, at Sringeri, Dwarka, Puri and Hardwar, so that every disciple would be able to traverse the whole country, and create an awakening in the mass mind of the political consciousness of what constituted the mother country.

Dr. Mukherjee then referred to the days of Asoka whose record of work had impressed Mr. H. G. Wells so much that he had described him as the greatest of kings. Asoka came into inheritance of the West of the Indian territory and his empire extended from Persia for the first time, and practically the whole of India, though formally speaking, the southern limit was drawn up to Mysore. He waged only one war and that was, as he himself stated, to inaugurate a new type of Imperialism. It was not a mere polity to remain as an abstraction or as a dream or only as an ideal. It was given effect to by him as the Emperor, not only within the limits of his own Empire, but he even sent out ambassadors to Western countries with a view to spreading this doctrine. His imperialism was to be based on the ideals of having a kingdom of righteousness on earth, an empire of righteousness to be based on non-violence. It was his aim and object to abolish all those bloody wars and conquests that were disfiguring the modern annals of democracy. He inaugurated a system of Dharma Vijaya.

It was right to hunger for domination, provided that domination was the domination of spirit. In the Sanskrit literature, they had three types of conquests described and all the modern attempts could be described as one of the three types. The first was Asura Vijaya, the hunger for territory for its own sake, the second was Loka Vijaya, conquest for economic gain like the colonial ambitions of European Powers, and the third was Dharma Vijaya, the conquest of righteousness, the spread of truth, which Asoka had defined as nothing but non-violence, Ahimsa, so that there might be perfect peace.

Asoka felt so much for the war he had waged against the Kalingas, continued Dr. Mukherjee, that he turned from the spectacle of violence towards a system of non-violence. Therefore, in the practical field, he said, there should be no war for him or in that part of the world where there was his paramount voice. The result was that the whole of the country was not formally under his sovereignty, and he was giving imperial recognition to those people whose freedom he respected as a matter of ethics and not merely as a matter of politics. Asoka's scheme gave the utmost local Self-Government to the various people. He took resort to extensive decentralisation whereby many centres of authority were created, but centres from which authority was exercised according to his own rules, so that each particular part was governed on the same model.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India

Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,

WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,

Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Now Ready.

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Impressions of a tour round Europe in 1937.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Pages 306.

Copies can be had from the office of the *Reformer* at Rs. 3 per copy. Postage 10 As.

The Manager,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Subscription Rates.

Inland ... Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign ... Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 6 annas each, exclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please apply to :–

THE MANAGER,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA,

BOMBAY 20.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar (" ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha (" ").
Nandurbar (" ").
Shirpur (" ").
Shahada (" ").
Sakri (" ").
Sindkheda (" ").
Taloda (" ").
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satana (" ").
Kalwan (" ").
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kaloi

DIRECTORS:

Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, Kt., K.C.S.I., (Chairman).
Principal M. L. Tannan,
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
R. G. Saraiya, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varda, Esq.,
S. S. Malimath, Esq., Dharwar.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. W. Raut, Esq., Bassein.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,96,91[illegible]

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,00

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS.

The Paper for International Justice.

Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst.

PRICE 2d. WEEKLY.

Weekly Articles by Dr. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London.

Frequent Statements by the Emperor of Ethiopia.

First Hand News of Fascism in Italy, Ethiopia, Spain and elsewhere.

3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, ENGLAND.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,08,00,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. *No credit* will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897)

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad. Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	..	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 26,50,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon ; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent. per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.



Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 14, 1939. No. 20

"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

CONTENTS.

A Garrison Letter.
U. S. A. and Europe.
Hyderabad Press Policy.
A Common Problem.
Freedom of the Press.
Indian Christian Conference.
Resolutions.
The Modern Paradox.
Lord Hailey on Indian Administration.
Adult Education.
The Government of England.
The Psychology of Social Movements.
Hindu Society and Divorce.
The Meaning of Minorities.
Whither The Refugees?
Raising the Standard of Living.
The Social Welfare Society (Bombay.)
The Dnyanodaya and The Reformer.
News of the Week.

NOTES.

A Garrison Letter :—Professor George P. Conger of the University of Minnesota sends us in original a letter written in his own hand more than sixty years ago by William Llyod Garrison, the great leader of the Anti-Slavery movement in the United States, whose words taken from the *Liberator* which he edited, have stood on the *front* page of the *Reformer* for nearly 45 years. Mr. Garrison's handwriting is one of the finest we have come across and the letter itself is fresh as if it was written last month. We value this gift very much. The letter has also a topical interest. It was written to a young man who had applied to Garrison, then resting on the laurels of his hard-won struggle, to find a job for him. We regard unemployment as a peculiar visitation of our day but it was acute sixty years ago in the United States. We reproduce the letter :

Boston, Jan. 9, 1877.

Dear Sir:

Your letter is received. In answer to it I can only express my regret that I am not in a situation to offer you any kind of employment; nor do I know of any one in the whole range of my acquaintance who would be likely to meet your wishes in this section. There are thousands here who can get nothing to do steadily, though eager to work, and, consequently, the appeals for charitable aid and friendly sympathy are multitudinious and incesant. You are a stranger to me, but I do not doubt your statement as to the satisfactory recommendations you can bring with you ; nevertheless, if you were an old acquaintance, I should be obliged to write in this manner.

Respectfully yours,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

J. W. Weik.

U. S. A. and Europe :—We published last week extracts from the address delivered a few months before his early and lamentable death by the Rev. Frederick B. Fisher who was for some time a Bishop of the American Methodist Church in India, and who resigned because he felt that in the conditions under which Christian Missions are allowed to work in India, the message of Jesus Christ can not be delivered in all its fulness and that, therefore, in practice they must acquiesce in, if not become active apologists of, events which they are bound to condemn consistently with the precepts of their Master. The address which was kindly sent to us by Mrs. Fisher has been with us for several months past. We were prompted to publish the extracts from it, as some recent utterances of American statesmen including the President, the tone of them more than the language, strongly confirm Dr. Fisher's characterisation of American politics, social life and even religious outlook as pale reflections of European conditions without originality, without anything creative about it. The United States has been all along declaring that she will not entangle herself again in European quarrels. But suddenly and without any obvious context, the Minister of the Interior and the President himself publicly denounce the heads of Germany and Italy in language which no responsible European statesman would indulge in even under grave provocation. Nothing can better illustrate the inferiority complex from which, Dr. Fisher said, Americans suffer in their relations with Europe. Even the Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, who as a Labourite and a Catholic, has good reasons to feel aggrieved against Fascist and Nazi Governments, has felt it his duty to administer a sharp rebuke to Mr. H. G. Wells. Contrary to his wise abstention in India from personal judgments Mr. Wells spoke wildly in Australia of Herr Hitler as a lunatic at large and Signor Mussolini as a renegade from socialism. The Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth issued a statement regretting Mr. Wells' indiscretion and suggesting that Mr. Wells should exercise his undoubted gifts for international understanding rather than misunderstanding. Mr. Wells had ample opportunities of expressing his opinions of the dictators in England. But he would have had to choose his words more carefully. Perhaps he thought that the Australians are impressed only by Billingsgate. Mr. Lyons has told him he was mistaken.

Hyderabad Press Policy:—The Government of Hyderabad have issued a Press Note explaining the circumstances which have obliged them to adopt, in respect of entry into the State of newspapers published outside, the rule, observed in prisons, of banning all except journals which

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are scheduled as admissible. Much subversive propaganda in the shape of newspapers and pamphlets from British India, particularly from Bombay Province, has been imported into the State. When one paper was banned, another name was adopted and when that was proscribed, the same publication appeared under a fresh designation. Specimens of the most objectionable writings were brought to the notice of the Bombay Government who acknowledged that they were calculated to create ill-feeling between Hindus and Muslims and severely warned the publishers. But this, according to the Hyderabad communique, has not proved effective. As a last resort, the Nizam's Government are obliged to adopt the policy of proscribing all newspapers except those specially noted for admission into the State. We doubt whether this will prove more effective than the practice hitherto followed. As we said, the method has been followed in prisons but it was known in the Civil Disobedience days to have been more honoured in the breach than in the observance. A rule which can not be strictly enforced within the four walls of a prison, will not be easy to carry out over some thousand of miles of open frontiers. Violations can not be prevented and there is bound to be hardship to innocent people, corruption and blackmail.

A Common Problem :—The problem which confronts the Hyderabad Government confronts other States not only in British India but in other continents also. Nazi propaganda in British territories is becoming obnoxious. Several distinguished publicists have written on the evil. The consensus of opinion, however, is that it is best to work itself out. All the writers agree with Aldous Huxley that "the propagandist is a man who canalises an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water he digs in vain." Counter official propaganda, if it steps out of the line of demonstrable fact, only helps the propagandist. "Lies need competition if they are to retain their vigour." In the recent debates in the House of Commons on Prison Reform, the answer of a confirmed jail-breaker to the question why he did not try to escape from an experimental open prison was quoted with much effect. It was "because there were no walls to climb over." The great majority of citizens in Hyderabad as elsewhere are sensible persons who are not likely to be carried away by lying propaganda. They must be trusted to judge wisely. All writers agree that violent, false propaganda defeats its own ends. The Bombay Government has its own grievances, particularly against the Marathi Press which is also the cause of worry to Hyderabad. If it could take stronger measures than severe warnings, it would have gladly taken them. We also to think that the fears of administrators regarding the effect of false propaganda are greatly exaggerated. Many people who buy and read highly spiced criticisms, seldom accept them at their face value. If Governments pay due heed to the sober and responsible sections of the Press who have no axes of their own to grind, they will greatly minimise the popularity of the partisan section. But as a rule they pay more attention to violent writings than to sober suggestions.

Freedom of the Press :—Referring to the apprehensions felt in journalistic circles in England, regarding the effect of some recent proposals on the freedom of the Press, the *Spectator* somewhat airily remarks : "Pressure by Ministers is only effective so far as editors and other journalists choose to let themselves be pressed, and for the most part their reverence for the average member of the average Cabinet is not such that they are prompted to surrender their own judgment the moment a Minister looms in sight." This is quite true but even in Great Britain the Government, however poor the esteem in which individual Ministers may be held by journalists, can bring pressure to bear upon journals in various insidious ways. The journalist can, of course, preserve his independence by resigning his job. But that is not the point. In India Ministers play only a minor part—they are guided by the High Command in all important questions of policy. But a Government can demand a heavy security from a newspaper without reference to any judicial authority or giving the journalist the opportunity of justifying his writings. It may surprise the *Spectator* to know that proposals have been seriously mooted to penalise criticisms of the members of the Congress hierarchy even in their personal capacity. The *Spectator*, however, considerably blunts the edge of its remark by adding that eterna vigilance is the price of liberty and that that was never truer than at present.

Indian Christian Conference:—We have received a copy of the resolutions passed at the All-India Indian Christian Conference at Madras during Christmas week. The strong support given to the Prohibition policy in one of these resolutions will be welcomed as bringing Protestant Indian Christian opinion in line with that of the sister communities, Hindu and Muslim. It will be particularly useful in convincing Europeans in this country that their apprehensions regarding the adoption of an all India policy of Prohibition, are not shared by their Indian co-religionists. The resolution recommending that converts to Christianity from among the depressed classes, should be given the same concessions as Harijans who have escaped conversion, raises a question of principle. The great majority of converts were persuaded to quit their ancestral religion by being given to understand that only by conversion can they secure redemption from their depressed condition. The representation to the World Missionary Conference on behalf of these converts, which we published in the *Reformer* of December 24, clearly says so and it also says that the expectations raised have not been fulfilled. Are we to understand that in the considered opinion of the leaders of the Indian Christian Community,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

conversion has had no effect by way of bettering the condition of the converts, that they are much in the same plight as they were before conversion, and that they must be raised in the economic and social scale by the same means as the unconverted scheduled castes? If this is the case, Christian converts must be included among the scheduled castes as the first step towards extending to them the special measures adopted for helping the main body of their unconverted kinsfolk. It will also be necessary, as a logical corollary, to stop further conversions from these classes. We do not know if the Conference realised all the implications of its recommendation. If it did, it should have also defined its future policy towards the proselytising Missions.

Irresolutions:—In two other resolutions also on questions of current importance the same hesitation to take a definite stand is painfully evident. The resolution defining the policy of the Conference affirms that the Conference is not an organization pledged to the policy of communalism, that it is not a separate political party. Its members are free to join any political party. As there are only two non-communal political parties, the Congress and the Liberals, and as the latter are a small minority with small chance of forming a Government in any province or at the Centre, this is practically a recommendation to Indian Christians to join the Congress, notwithstanding that Sir Maharaj Singh has indicated his preference by lately joining the Liberals. As a matter of fact, Congress Government have been sympathetic to Indian Christians, one of whom, Mr. C. J. Varkey, has recently been promoted Minister in charge of the important subject of Education in the Madras Cabinet. Christians will always find the place to which their character and merits entitle them in every nationalist government. Indian Christians will naturally feel specially drawn to the Congress because of the Sermon on the Mount being one of the principal avowed sources of Gandhiji's inspiration. The first part of the resolution on Policy, however, is wiped out or almost wiped out by the second part where Indian Christians are exhorted to work and think as a community because they have been recognised as a separate community in the Government of India Act. Surely, if Indian Christians or any others really believe that they should not act as a community, no Act of Parliament can oblige them to do so. They can represent to Government that they do not want to be treated as a separate community and if the representation is supported by a large number of Indian Christians, we do not see how Government can insist on their acting as a community. Instead of adopting the line of protest, the Conference has surrendered its better judgment to the exigencies of the political situation. In the circumstances, its protest that it does not want to be a communal political party is half-hearted and must be ineffective to influence the attitude of the non-communal political parties. The same indecision is apparent in the resolution expressing the desire of the Conference to do without communal electorates. Its application is made contingent on all other communities composing their differences and agreeing to merge themselves in a single electorate.

The Modern Paradox:—One of the paradoxes of the age in which we live, is that, while on the one side many scientific and social workers are engaged in popularising the limitation of families by birth control, efforts are made by others to popularise means of making old people young. "Practical Rejuvenation in Men and Women," is the title of a book by Dr. K. V. Mathew of the Travancore State Service. In it he has brought together the several means tried in Europe and India for the purpose. After enumerating these, Dr. Mathew recommends the simple life as the best method of attaining sane and healthy old age. These are, fresh air, physical exercise, daily bath, interesting occupation, simple diet, adequate sleep, avoidance of worry, and abstinence from drink. People who observe these rules, however, are not generally speaking the people who want to be rejuvenated surgically. The people who do want it, do not want to observe any rule; they wish to follow their momentary impulses and inclinations, and expect the surgeon to keep them fit for the purpose. This desire in Europe for a protracted old age is one of the morbid cravings of post-war mentality. The *Kaya Kalpa* and other methods of Hindu and Unani medicine were the inventions of a degenerate age. If the prolongation of any man's life would have been a blessing to humanity, it was Lord Buddha's. But we do not read that he tried to dodge old age by *Kaya Kalpa* or any other device, although his personal physician was one of the most illustrious products of Taxila which specialised in medicine. None of his disciples, not even the beloved Ananda, suggested that the Master's life should be artificially prolonged by his being subjected to any rejuvenation process. The Hindu scheme of life excludes any such idea. Childhood, youth, middle age and old age have all their appointed duties and it is not permitted to extend one stage at the expense of another. Sanyas which is the prescribed rule for old age, should not be retraced for the purpose of lingering on the scenes of middle age. Neither can the middle aged man or woman by *Kaya Kalpa* or otherwise seek to prolong the delights of youth; nor can the youth sink back into the helplessness of puling childhood. Dr. Mathew's book is useful for the information it has brought together in the space of less than 150 pages. It can be had for Rs. 3-12 from Mrs. Annie Mathews, Kottayam.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, January 14, 1939.

LORD HAILEY ON INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

Reference has been made more than once in the *Reformer* to Lord Hailey's valuable book on the territories in Africa south of the Sahara which are under British rule, and, in the case of the South African Union, constitute a self-governing Dominion. Before he went to Africa on retirement, Lord Hailey was a brilliant and very distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. He was Finance Member of the Government of India and later Governor of the Punjab and the United Provinces. He was, it was rumoured, considered for the Indian Viceroyalty on the expiry of Lord Irwin's term. We believe that he was associated with the group of British writers who founded the quarterly review, the *Round Table*. He read a paper last month before a joint meeting of the Royal Empire Society and the Royal African Society on "Some African and Indian Analogies." This was a singularly inappropriate title for Lord Hailey's lecture, as the gist of it was that there was no analogy between Indian and African conditions. In India, he said,

> there was no great gulf between the civilisation which they (English administrators) saw before them and that which at that time existed or had existed within historical times in Europe. In British India they had ready to their hands institutions which strongly resembled those which they already knew. As a consequence administration had the character of adaptation, co-ordination, rationalisation rather than of innovation or change.

This similarity of institutions and ideas generally accounts not only for the comparatively easy establishment of British rule but also for the ready acquiescence of the people in it. The early British administrators, it may be added, found not only similarity between Indian and their own institutions. They found that in some respects Indian civilization was superior to their own in the homeland. Sir Thomas Munro's observations in reply to a question during his examination before a Parliamentary Committee one hundred years ago, have been often quoted but they bear repetition. He was asked what he thought of Indian as compared with European civilization. He replied :

> I do not exactly understand what is meant by the civilization of the Hindus. In the higher branches of science, in the knowledge of the theory and practice of good government, and in the education which, by banning prejudice and superstition, opens the mind to receive instruction of every kind from every quarter, they are much inferior to Europeans. But if a good system of agriculture, unrivalled manufacturing skill, capacity to produce whatever can contribute to either convenience or luxury, schools established in every village for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, the generous practice of hospitality and charity among each other, and above all, a treatment of the female sex full of confidence, respect and delicacy, are among the signs which denote a civilized people—then, the Hindus are not inferior to the nations of Europe, and if civilization is to become an article of trade between the two countries, I am convinced that this country will gain by the import cargo.

British rule was thus built largely on foundations laid by previous generations and was developed by adaptation of the institutions raised by them. Its achievements are the joint product of Indian and British effort. In the words of the historian, Seeley, the British never conquered India and could not rule her as conquerors. It was only in the third quarter of the last century that British rule took on the colour of a dominating imperialism under the influence of Hegel's philosophy, Darwin's biology and Bismark's politics.

Lord Hailey observed that if the British Government had been willing at a much earlier date to associate Indians with the administration, they might well have found themselves able to make political concessions in a form more satisfactory to Indians and to themselves. This is true and has been said of the settlement with Ireland. It was said of the break-away of the New England colonies and the formation of the United States. A war preceded the concession of self-government to South Africa. Even in Canada, there had to be something like a revolt before self-government was discovered to be the remedy for her political malady. Mr. Malcolm MacDonald mused loudly only the other day that the Dominions might cut loose from the Commonwealth before he quitted the office of Dominions Secretary. As he could not have thought that he would remain at the post for the next twenty years or even ten, the public naturally understood him to suggest that the separation of the Dominions was no longer outside the range of practical politics. Lord Hailey's remark has a special interest because he himself was partly responsible for the postponement of constitutional reform by his quibbling attitude on the meaning of the Declaration of 1917. Lord Ronaldshay (now Lord Zetland) shows conclusively in his biography of Lord Curzon that Dominion Status was definitely intended by that Declaration which was drafted by Lord Curzon himself, although he later repudiated it.

Lord Hailey's remarks on the Indian Educational system have revived a controversy which had been almost closed. He said:—

> Whatever doubts may be felt on other points, there will be many who will readily agree that our conduct of education is one of the less happy features of our rule in India. But I am not sure that they will agree with me as to the exact point on which we erred. There were not too many people educated but too few. Our fault did not lie in accepting Macaulay's famous Minute of 1835 and adopting education in English instead of Oriental languages. His policy was not unsuitable for the small circle of candidates for government employ, of whom he was chiefly thinking. Our mistake lay in a wide expansion of academic and secondary education, before we had laid a sound basis of primary education.

Sir Atul Chatterjee who spoke after Lord Hailey, pointed out that even in Great Britain there was no organised system of primary education until fifty years ago and that the criticism of

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian education, on the ground that it was not based on popular education, was not just to the early administrators. As a matter of fact, those administrators thought that the only way in which they could further popular education in the circumstances of the time, was by creating a class of educated Indians. Macaulay plainly said so in his famous but little read and much misrepresented Note. Even now, and notwithstanding Lord Hailey's criticism, the British Government has seen no better way of educating the Africans. There is no system of popular education there as yet but a *Reuter's* message published on Wednesday reports the appointment of Mr. George Turner, for thirteen years Master of the important English Public School, Marlborough, to be Principal of Makrere College in Uganda, and adds that the College is designed to provide advanced education for Africans mainly from Uganda, Kenya, Tanganiyika and Zanzibar, and is intended to attain full university status in a reasonable time as recommended by the Commission on Higher Education which visited East Africa last year. There is no lever more effective for raising a people in their own estimation, the first step in training them to responsible citizenship, than higher education. As Lord Hailey was speaking of University education, we quote from the despatch on the establishment of Universities in this country :

> *It* is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages, and not English, have been put by us in the place of Persian in the administration of justice and in the intercourse between the officers of Government and the people. It is indispensible, therefore, that in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to.

No one who peruses the numerous despatches and reports on education which preluded the establishment of Indian universities, can fail to be struck by the earnest desire of the authorities to provide the best means of conveying the results of modern thonght to the people without neglecting the development of the vernacular languages and indigenous culture.

ADULT EDUCATION.

Commenting on the Report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to consider the training of Primary teachers, we observed, "The Committee for reasons of economy recommend that the primary school teachers should also do the work of adult education. The child mind is not the adult mind and the approaches to the two require different tempers and techniques." In a volume entitled "Towards a Literary World" by Dr. Frank Laubach published by the World Literacy Committee Foreign Missions Conference of North America (price 1.75 dollars), the question is dealt with at some length. Dr. Laubach has visited India and the book gives brief accounts of the systems followed in various countries including that of Mr. Bhagwat in Bombay. We quote a few of Dr. Laubach's observations. " Lessons and teaching methods which fit the minds of children are not suitable for adults. In the first place an illiterate adult knows a great deal more than a child of six knows. The adult is not a grown-up child but has a different type of mind." "Swift progress is necessary because the illiterate adult has a sense of inferiority and is easily discouraged." "The subject matter of a lesson must not only remain within the vocabulary of the adult, and consist of grown-up material. The lesson must be so built that the adult student can take the lead as soon as possible for he does not like to follow long. There must be the fewest words possible on the part of the teacher and the greatest possible activity on the part of the student. Nothing so annoys an adult as for the teacher to get in his way." "Teachers of adults need to have their voice under control. They must avoid speaking louder or more emphatically than usual, though pronunciation must be clear. It is the nature of all of us to remember a whisper better than a shout. We forget a shout for it is disagreeable and disagreeable experiences must be forgotten as soon as possible." "One should teach illiterates only when one is at his best...If we have been out late at night before, or have a headache or a cold or indigestion or irritating troubles, we should go into hiding until life sings for us again. The advice needed in this case is quite the contrary of that given in other undertakings. Instead of saying, 'Work hard and you will succeed", we say 'Do not teach at all when it seems like work, or you will spoil your cause."

Many or all of these may be dismissed as counsels of perfection, but surely the Government of Bombay's scheme issued this week errs at the other extreme. By the offer of a small stipend which for the poorly paid village teacher is a temptation which he can not well resist, it is left open to any primary school teacher to get himself registered as an Adult Education worker and to start and conduct an Adult Education class in the school in which he is employed. That is to say, the teacher, after he has worked five or six hours in a children's class, should teach another couple of hours or so to adults. Apart from the fact that the teacher will have little energy left to work up the necessary enthusiasm for work among the adults, the technique in the two cases is so entirely different that except in rare cases it will be impossible to switch on from the one to the other after a hard day's work. The same privilege is extended to the Secretary of a Village Panchayat, Co-operative Society such other organisation. For individuals as for Governments it is a good maxim that what is worth doing is worth doing well According to Dr. Laubach, five of the thirty-two and more experiments tried in this country have proved more or less successful. These are, in Tamil, the Daniel and *Devasaha-*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

yam methods; in Marathi, the Bhagwat method, Miss R. Dongre's Bombay course; in Hindi, the Lawrence series of lessons: in Gujarati, the Bhadekar series and in Urdu Chapman's "Gospel Primers," McKee's "Little Red Hen Stories." We learn from Professor Richardson of the Lahore Government College who is Honorary Secretary of the All India Adult Education Conference Committee, that he is bringing out within the next few days on behalf of his Committee a Bulletin giving an account of the work which is being done in various parts of the country. We hope that the Bulletin will contain information bearing on the points noted above, chief among them being the method by which suitable teachers qualified for the special requirements of adult education are recruited and trained. Of special interest is the means whereby the knowledge imparted in an intensive course of education is retained and applied in after-life. There are of course books and magazines. But as Dr. Laubach points out books for children which alone partially literate adults can easily read, are unsuitable because illiterate adults are not children.

> They are quite as adult as literate people, for they have suffered more than the rest of us and they look at life through the sad eyes of disillusioned and often defeated men. Childish reading is as repugnant to them as it is to a college professor. Indeed they are likely to be offended at the teacher who offers it to them.

We are not so sure of this last observation. Old people and perhaps adults also often enjoy re-perusing the books which provided them with their first reading. But there is a difference between people who choose such books voluntarily and those who are obliged to read them because there is nothing else they can read. There is another point. The Bombay Committee on training of primary teachers, stressed the desirability of employing more women teachers as predominantly suited to the teching of little children. Women teachers, speaking generally, will not be much good in the education of adults. The illiterate adult has usually no great opinion of women and will feel his self-respect hurt by learning from them. This difficulty is common in the case of both men and women. In the case of the male adult this is further complicated by the distraction caused by the difference of sex which is totally absent in the case of children.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND.

Two questions which are closely allied are, How a country is governed and By whom it is governed. English writers on constitutional history have dealt faithfully with the first but few have devoted much attention to the second question so far at any rate as Britain is concerned. On China, Russia, the U. S. A., Japan, Germany or Italy we have had explained to us in great detail where the real power resides. In Britain the assumption is that power resides in the people. How far this is true is discussed fully by two writers, Mr. H. J. Laski in his "Parliamentary Government in England*" and Mr. H. R. G. Greaves in "The British Constitution."†

* Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London. 12s. 6d.

† Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London. 7s. 6d.

The identity of views on every issue raised in these two books would indicate the growth of a definite school of political thought associated with London University. Both writers who cover very much the same ground, argue a dual thesis: That the calm waters of British politics have been greatly disturbed by the development of fundamental differences between the Labour Party and the two traditional political parties on questions relating to property; that in the existing political machinery there is already available a rudimentary instrument for effecting the transition from Capitalism to Socialism without the agonies of revolution and counter-revolution. To achieve this end the authors suggest the levelling of two obstacles. The House of Lords, now inaccessible to parties of the Left, should be deprived of its power to obstruct the reform measures of a Labour Government. Mr. Greaves points out that "it is not until the nineteenth century that the peers who hold their seats by virtue of birth seriously outnumber those who have been ennobled for their own services;" while Mr. Laski tells us that "half the membership of the House of Lords date from the last fifty years, and the vast majority of recent creations have been no more than a tribute to plutocracy as such." Read together this can only mean that the ennobled plutocrats were not young enough to enjoy their titles long and that by their elevation to the peerage the country had not even gained the benefits of business experience for the Upper House. Mr. Laski seeks to paralyse the obstructive powers of the Lords by depicting the prospect of revolution and civil war and the extinction of the Upper House. Mr. Greaves would reform the House into a body elected by and dependent on the House of Commons. But it is obvious that the first is the only Left policy in the absence of political power, while the second is the programme which a Left Government might put into effect.

Equally interesting is the method adopted to surmount the other obstacle, the King. Both Mr. Greaves and Mr. Laski argue that the King has no alternative but to follow the advice of his ministers and, by demanding that the officials of his household should also be recruited from the Services, they seek to reduce the sphere of his influence, in short to make the British King a king in chess. Mr. Laski writes:

> My argument is that the King's public acts must be of an automatic character; he must in the public view accept the advice of his ministers. In private, no doubt, he can use to the full those rights of advice and encouragement and warning for which his supreme position assures him full consideration. He cannot go beyond them, once ministers have decided upon action, without descending into the full glare of the political arena.

Both writers maintain that in pressing on Mr. Asquith a second general election to find out if the country approved of the policy of restricting the Lords' powers, George V had acted unconstitutionally. Mr. Greaves seems to regard Edward VIII's acceptance of Mr. Baldwin's advice on his choice of a wife as an important precedent which, he fears, will not be followed in a conflict between Labour and Reactionism:

> We are entitled to draw an important conclusion from the abdication crisis It was then argued on all sides that the King's constitutional duty was clear and undoubted—to follow the advice of his ministers. But if that be true of his choice of a wife, it follows *a fortiori* of the creation of peers to overrule the House of Lords.

In view of this it is not easy to understand why Mr. Laski, in particular, should denounce the late

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

King's action in the crisis of 1931 as a Palace Revolution. It is unfortunate that the general bias of the Labour Party against Mr. MacDonald has combined in this matter with the assumption that the British Royal family is opposed to Labour, to confuse Mr. Laski's mind. For we are told in one place,

It is not known whether his (Mr. MacDonald's) emergence as head of the National Government resulted from advice tendered by him to the king—in view of the tiny minority of his party that he could command, this is difficult to believe—or from a suggestion made by the king to him. (Page 402.)

And on the other hand elsewhere,

Professor Keith.....omits any connection between the formation of the Government and previous rumours of Mr. MacDonald's desire for a coalition. (Page 405.)

All that we know of the facts of the case are that Mr. MacDonald, after tendering the resignation of his Cabinet to George V, advised him to call the two other party leaders; that Mr. MacDonald did not inform his party members that he was contemplating the formation of a National Government; and that at a subsequent meeting with George V, the two leaders, Mr. Baldwin and Sir Herbert Samuel, agreed to form a Government under Mr. MacDonald. If, as it would appear, Mr. MacDonald as leader of the Labour Party (which he still was then), advised George V to follow this course, we do not see how Mr. Laski can censure the King for not calling Mr. Henderson who was not then leader of any party. In view of the fact, moreover, as Viscount Snowden pointed out in his autobiography, that at least half the Labour Cabinet had been willing "reluctantly" to agree to a 10 per cent cut in unemployment payments, it might well be argued that it was difficult to anticipate the total withdrawal of Labour support from Mr. MacDonald. It is not improbable that Mr. MacDonald expected too much from his premiership. He probably looked to, what Lord Halifax in Indian contexts used to call, the "magnetic force of a working Government to attract all responsible men to it." In any case without knowing what Mr. MacDonald represented to George V, it is useless to talk of Palace Revolution. On the face of it, it seems as though an appeal to Mr. Henderson would have been highly unconstitutional, whatever Mr. Greaves might urge us to believe. In the normal course it was expected that Mr. Baldwin would form the new ministry and that he did not do so, implies that, whoever first thought of it, he too preferred a national government.

As the authors argue that the dice is loaded against the Labour Party both so far as the House of Lords and the King are concerned, they go on to maintain that, even with these two forces neutralised or paralysed, Labour only starts its battle for existence. But Mr. Laski is tender with the other parts of the machinery. He often disguises his object under the cloak of making the constitutional machinery more efficient. It is in this sphere that both Mr. Laski and Mr. Greaves are at their best and one almost wishes at times that the authors had divided their double theme and given us different disquisitions, on the two aspects. Mr. Laski discusses the possibilities of lightening work in the House of Commons by devolution of authority through federation. In rejecting the solution Mr. Laski remarks of all federation,

All over the world federation is breaking down by reason of the fact that any division of power which leaves important subjects in the hands of the subordinate legislatures, also leaves the federal Government thereby unable to handle its problems efficiently. It is ironical to suggest that a system which attempts to make Great Britain a quasi-federal society would be helpful at a time when the validity of federation itself is open to grave doubts.

Mr. Laski has a valuable note on economic committees in his chapter on "The Cabinet" the whole of which we recommend to our Governments. His advice has a peculiar application in India after provincial autonomy. Mr. Laski strongly urges the formation of committees presided over by the Prime Minister:

> His chairmanship of the Committee gives the one effective assurance available that, when he is impressed by its inquiries, their result will be properly considered by the Cabinet. Its composition under his presidency, moreover, is the best guarantee we can have of two important things: first, that the subjects it considers will be sufficiently real in character as, to be directly relevant to foreseeable policy and second, that, apart from outside experts, the men who will be called into consultation will be those who, under their respective ministers, will be responsible for applying the results of its deliberations.

The importance of these considerations force themselves to the front as we consider the rambling questionnaire issued by the National Planning Committee set up by the Congress.

The problems set forth by Mr. Laski and Mr. Greaves as regards the personnel of the administration, are very similar to what Indian politicians expected to find after office acceptance. Some opposition from civil servants who have been trained in the older tradition, there is bound to be. But there seems to be an unexpected strain of adaptability in the British official, which will assert itself even more strongly in domestic differences than it has in dealings with an alien people. The thesis that because they are staffed by men from a certain class, the Services, the Defence forces, the Church, the Educational Department, and so on are in permanent opposition to Labour aims, is to our mind on a par with Gandhiji's dictum in the Khare episode that British Indian ministers under provincial autonomy are ruling on the sufferance of the Governors who at one word can turn the police and the military on them. After all the argument that many men in the administration, even the vast majority, come from Oxford and Cambridge, means nothing very much except that a certain sum of money has been spent on their education. Some of the fiercest Socialists and many rabid Communist have come from the old Universities. The sections dealing with this phase of British life is valuable in that it shows the deep-cut divisions between class and class. All will agree that it is immensely wasteful for the country to have the large bulk of the population excluded from the plums of office; and singularly unfair to the individual. But can it be fairly urged that such an exclusion will strengthen reaction? If it were so, the Civil Service and the Army would not have waited to see if the first Labour Government was revolutionary in action. The standard of reactionism would have been raised on the declaration of the election results. There is another point of view which is ignored by the authors. The respect for British institutions is more deeply ingrained among the people of all parties, than any burning ardour for political principles. With less support than Mr. MacDonald had, Signor Mussolini took the reins of office and changed the very basis of the Italian Government. The Russian movement had not more supporters than the British Labour movement and was not as well organised. Herr Hitler's election to office was from all accounts a last resource, but that did not prevent the Nazis from using the force of office to carry them into supremacy. The British Labour Party, the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

only group in Britain with a revolutionary tinge, on the other hand, has been less Labour than British. There are three instances that leap to the mind: Indian reforms, in which the Labour Party acquiesced in the measures of a *de facto* Conservative Government; the abdication where for the sake of asserting the subservience of constitutional monarchy (which, we are told, has never been accepted in their favour), the Labour Party refrained from any attempt to overcome the supposed opposition of British Royalty to Labour interests by winning its gratitude in a grave crisis; and Czechoslovakia, where Labour practically 'lined itself behind Mr. Chamberlain. More than this because it underlies it, is the feeling recently expressed by eminent Trade Union officials that the Unions ought not to allow their political views to colour their economic problems—a feeling all the stranger because the Labour Party was the outcome of Trade Union realisation that without political power economic rights were endangered.

Mr. Laski and Mr. Greaves in saying that British political differences today have a fundamental cleavage unknown in the past few centuries, tend to minimise the past and exaggerate the present. Even a cursory persual of Mr. S. Maccoby's thoughtful study of "English Radicalism 1853-1886" ‡ will tell them that what seem trivial disagreements to modern Socialists were vital differences at the time. Mr. Maccoby has done for British political history what Mr. Laski and Mr. Greaves seek to do for the British Constitution. His book which bears the marks of painstaking research, is a clear exposition of the stages which have brought the struggle for power to its present position. As Mr. Maccoby explains it, there were several periods in English history when the Conservative elements felt the future of the country threatened by the radical forces. As a matter of fact, in 1863 and round that date, the feeling of the British middle classes in favour of intervention in foreign countries on the side of "freedom and democracy," forms a striking contrast to present-day isolationism. The people had turned from political interests at home to schemes for social betterment but their interest in foreign politics was so strong that it threatened peace. The middle classes, wrote the *National Register*, were opposed to grant the poor any political power but they sympathise with the lower class in their "crave for social comfort." Under the circumstances, it is not difficult to see why such strong opposition was raised to radicalism. It is clear from Mr. Maccoby's book that the working classes had to fight through more difficult times than the Laski-Greaves thesis envisages in the future. It is far more difficult to secure the first concession from vested interests than to win subsequent rights. In view of this, Mr. Laski's facile assertion that since 1689, "we have had but one party in control" does not bear scrutiny. After all it is not what Mr. Laski thinks of party squabbles in 1700-1918, but what the main participants thought of them then that counts. For all we know, someone in 2600 might well exclaim at the smoothness of British politics today where there is a still small voice in opposition and a "national government" in office.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS.*

Dr. Pryns Hopkins gives his book the sub-heading "A Psycho-analytic view of Society." He attempts to do for society what Freud has done for the individual, to find the common ultimate impulse which creates and actuates social movements. He thinks, and one can not but agree with him, that while there has been especially during the last ten years a vast mass of thinking and writing on all kinds of social questions and the best way of solving them, the central figure in them all, namely, Man himself has remained almost completely unnoticed. The proposers of social panacea assume that the human mind is a constant, unchanging entity and that all that is needed to improve social conditions, is a change of systems. Their opponents base their opposition on the same assumption and say in addition that human nature is not only unchanging but also unchangeable. Dr. Hopkins observes,

> Whatever the right panacea for our ills may be, it is certain that it will involve a great deal of effort on the part of man himself; and if, for a variety of reasons, man may be incapable of that effort then the panacea will never be tried. Now it is often asserted that a painfully large number of panaceas fall within this category. How often is the stock reply to the persuasive arguments of Socialism, for instance, the bald statement, "All very nice, but you cannot change human nature," and although I for one would never subscribe to such a view, I do recognize what so many of our would-be reformers too easily forget, that human nature can only be changed very slowly, and at the price of taking well-directed pains; and that until it is changed, there are some things it will never do. It is pertinent to tell a man who is being chased by a bull that he should run faster, but if he has a wooden leg, or is already running as fast as he can, the advice is a little silly. Few of our problems are as simple as this, but unfortunately many of the solutions proferred for them are.

The Ram Mohan Roy-Ranade school of reformers in India fully recognised this and chose the slower method of reform by patient effort to change the mentality of the Indian people in respect of the institutions, customs and practices which, they felt, stood in the way of national progress. The Gandhian school, by contrast, seeks to do the same reforms quickly by shock tactics, organised propaganda and legislation. This distinction marks every field of activity: politics, social reform, industrial reform. Swaraj is to be attained in one year; untouchability is to be abolished in the same period; prohibition is to be enforced throughout the land in three years; in five years the Indian peasant's income is to be doubled.

The object of his book, Dr. Hopkins says, is to answer the question, "What is man able to do?" This leads to three other questions. What is human nature and what may we expect of it? What are the mainsprings of human behaviour and how can they be controlled or directed? To what ends should man's energies be directed? The co-operation of the psychologist and the social philosopher is necessary to find a satisfactory answer to these questions. Dr. Hopkins is an out-and-out Freudian and he accepts the doctrines of his master regarding the mainsprings of human behaviour and the means of controlling them. The social philosopher to whom he acknowledges his allegiance is the illustrious Utilitarian, Jeremy Bentham. He writes:

> My own conviction is unshaken that Bentham's principle is the safest and the least objectionable of all ethical rules. It has, for me at least, one overwhelming merit, for while many philosophers may urge that the Good and the greatest happiness of the greatest number are not indistinguishable, no philosopher is likely to urge that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is not good.

This is not the place to undertake an examination of the Benthamite formula. But we may observe in passing that if "happiness" is to be understood in the utilitarian sense, the Benthamite doctrine would cover the judicial murder of Socrates, the crucifixion

‡ George Allen and Unwin, London. 16s.

* George Allen and Unwin, London. 12s. 6d.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Christ, the Spanish Inquisition, and the Jewish pogroms of Eastern Europe—in fact every crime and excess of mob fury. Bentham himself was the gentlest of men and had a very refined idea of happiness. Just because he could not imagine that any one can have a less exalted idea of it, he could not see that his formula lent itself to be grossly abused in the hands of less ethereal minds men.

Starting with the theory that man is so constituted that he is incapable of desiring anything but his own happiness, and that, as a consequence, his actions are all determined by his desires to acquire pleasure or to avoid its opposite, Dr. Hopkins interprets the Commandments of the principal religions as prompted by this desire. These he classifies under five heads: against lying, stealing, adultery, intoxication and murder. His rendering of these prohibitions in terms of desire for enjoyment, are forced and even contradictory to every-day experience. For instance, he derives the prohibition against lying from the desire to enjoy knowledge. But surely many people enjoy telling lies more than acquiring knowledge! The rule against adultery, he explains as being due to enjoyment of marriage or "at least of a sex life involving the minimum of jealousy and heartache." The Commandment against stealing, is explained as indicating the enjoyment of security in the material necessities of life as a form of happiness. Considering that the greatest number of people in every country are poor and that only a small minority is rich, the greatest good of the greatest number should make stealing a virtue rather than a sin. The rule against murder is prompted by the primal necessity of life, enjoyment, as Dr. Hopkins puts it, of freedom from violence. The rule against intoxicants is attributed to enjoyment of unbefuddled sensibility. The religions which do not include this rule certainly do not enjoy befuddled sensibility. However that may be, the fact remains that all the Commandments, except that against murder, are at least as often honoured in the breach as in the observance. Man enjoys the forbidden things and, as enjoyment is the utilitarian's test of happiness, finds happiness in them.

HINDU SOCIETY AND DIVORCE.

(By K. B. Gajendragadkar, Satara)

The question of Divorce affects indeed a very small minority of Hindus. Amongst most of what are termed "Backward Classes" divorce is acknowledged by long standing custom. The right of Divorce has been repeatedly affirmed by the Bombay High Courts. In this connection the text of Narada, Koutilya and other liberal minded sages were lost sight of and divorce was banished for ever from Hindu Society. Nevertheless, the communities which recognised divorce still practice it and since Hindu Law, as we conceive it today is not confined to particular higher classes, it would be fatuous to pretend that in advocating this reform it is sought to introduce an innovation hitherto unknown.

There is no doubt that the later Dharmashastra literature as a whole, while liberally permitting the husband to remarry during the lifetime of the first wife, refuses the remedy of divorce to the wife even completely forsaken by the husband. If, however, we examine carefully the earlier Dharmashastra Literature we find that divorces were permitted before the beginning of the Christian Era under certain well-defined circumstances. Dharmashastra writers (400 B. C. to 100 A. D.) lay it down that a Brahmin woman should wait for her husband gone out on a long journey for five years. Koutilya reduces this period to ten months only. Similar permission is given by Koutilya which require judicial permission before contracting the second marriage. Jurists differ only about the period of waiting. Paeswara's permission to remarry given to the wife of a person, who is impotent, or has become a religious recluse or is boycotted, clearly presupposes the possibility of divorce from the earlier marriage.

Divorce is intended to mitigate hardship where for special reasons the continuance of marriage is felt to be intolerable. The essential function of marriage is procreation and the accidental function is recreation. In cases, however, where both these objects are unattainable it would be nothing short of utter inhumanity to keep the woman in bondage.

In a strictly monogamic family the demand for divorce would necessarily have been put forth by the stronger sex; because, after all, even if one may reject the view that divorce is an alternative to monogamic marriage, the continuance of marriage would necessarily have been abandoned by both parties, once it was felt to be intolerable. Hindu Law and usage, however, allow polygamy; and one of the most unfortunate and regrettable consequences of this has been that the demand for divorce has been necessarily confined to the weaker sex. The absence of divorce does not in the least put the Hindu male to disadvantage, and as yet public opinion in these days is primarily the voice of the male. A measure of reform of divorce fails to carry with it strongly the force of public opinion.

In recent years, however, some educated ladies have begun to advocate the legal recognition of divorce in Hindu Community. This demand is to a large extent a natural outcome of the present Hindu law of marriage which is very unfair to women: Man is permitted practically to divorce his first wife by contracting a fresh marriage. He can even evade his legal responsibility of maintaining the discarded wife under the plea that she refuses to stay with him. How can a self-respecting woman stay with a husband who has transferred all his affections to a new wife? The deserted wives cannot remarry for neither law nor religion consents to sever their nominal marital tie with their heartless husbands. Some of them even go to the length of changing their religions in order to contract a new legal marriage.

This state of affairs is undoubtedly unsatisfactory; it is against the spirit of what is best in Hindu culture. There are two ways of improving the situation. The first and the best is to render polygamy altogether illegal. The second way is that divorce should be allowed in cases of proved and extreme hardship. Fortunately Bills are brought forward in both these directions.

THE MEANING OF MINORITIES.*

Few issues have more far-reaching implications than that of national minorities. In the superficial view, it is largely an issue of humanitarianism; but other aspects reveal more deeply the tactics of power which is the ruling motive of European national conduct at this stage of affairs.

Until the question of minorities can be solved, no thoughtful observer can expect a lessening of nationalism itself. For not only do the distressed and resentful minorities incessantly clamour for satisfaction, thus emphasizing nationality beyond any basis it could find in normal human relations; they furnish a constant excuse by which pompous and imperialistic

*No Frontier News Service.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

reactionaries in national states can fan a grievance into so great a flame that it ignites even the less aggressive forces among their fellow-nationals. Yet one must, of course, be profoundly and warmly sympathetic with many of the minorities and their demands.

Besides the factor of exaggerated nationalism, which is important enough, the national minorities themselves often become so inextricably interwoven with issues of economic privilege and needs that the psychological drive, which might be reduced by fair treatment and the passage of time, is kept alive and even accelerated. Natural trade routes are blocked; non-geographic ones are artificially created. Agricultural and mineral resources are at stake in many minority conflicts.

Not without significance is it that the rise of modern machine industrialism, starting with the emergence of the Industrial Revolution at the end of the nineteenth century, has been almost precisely paralleled by the rise of modern nationalism. The economic motive has given weight and momentum to nationalism's natural fervour, and the growing emotionalism of nationality concepts has attached glorifying symbols to what might otherwise have been merely a sordid race for gain and economic power.

Historically, the idea of federalism, with minorities free to use their own forms of expression—as in Switzerland—has not been as common as strongly centralized authority. And tragic is it in the extreme that often-times the first thing a long-oppressed minority seeks when liberated and given authority of its own, is the revenge—oppression of its erstwhile overlords. Find a land that itself has been over-run and victimized, and you usually find a state that holds its own minority groups in tight and unrelenting subjection.

Objective figures are hard to obtain, for statistics are frequently padded. But without doubt, at least 30,000,000 inhabitants of Europe are held under government controls contrary to their traditions or desires. In South Tyrol, under Italian rule, are more than 400,000 German-speaking Austrians. In Poland are some 4,500,000 Russians, 70,000 Lithuanians 2,000,000 Jews, and almost a million Germans. These are only a few cases out of many in Europe.

Valiant efforts have been made to meet the minority question constructively many times by enlightened individuals and countries, largely through the League of Nations. The Scandinavian countries have often put forward proposals for minority commissions to make studies and report suggestions to the League and the countries involved. Minority treaties were accepted, shortly after the end of the World War, guaranteeing certain minimum standards of justice for minority populations, by Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary, Albania, Turkey, Greece, Lithuania, Esthonia, Latvia, and Finland. On the other hand, certain countries which acquired minorities through the War were not so bound: France, Belgium, Denmark, Italy. From the rise of Fascism in 1922, Italy became conspicuous for the cynical treatment of the minority question. But most of the states involved fought against open negotiations through the League; most found excuses for delays in carrying out promises; many held their minorities as hostages against fellow-nationals inside rival states.

Three governments, however, did not need pressure to grant cultural autonomy. Soviet Russia, despite its intense political regimentation, set an example invariably praised by experts on minority problems; while required to submit to the Communist dictatorship, a large degree of cultural autonomy was received by Volga Germans, Jews, Ukrainians, Tartars, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Poles. Both Esthonia and Latvia have granted a considerable measure of cultural self-rule to their comparatively small minorities.

But the minority populations, always restive, now have no League machinery they can even remotely respect. Their hope must be through threat of force or alliances with external "deliverers"—a potent source of war, when it was war in the first place that more often than otherwise caused their present unhappy lot.

Any positive solution now must await, it seems, a general international economic readjustment, if it can be forced on the imperialistic Powers, that might remove some of the power-pressures which more than anything else at present characterize the diplomacy of the Old World.

— —

WHITHER THE REFUGEES?

The most recent measures adopted in Germany against the Jews have resulted in doors being opened to them which had hitherto been closed. The European Continent is still today of course almost hermitically closed for refugees. But, on the other hand, the British Empire is remembering its possibilities. The Bishop of Chichester mentioned in the House of Lords the dominions of South and East Africa. Australia and New Zealand are now offering to admit a quota of refugees. The great obstacle, of course, is the large precautionary sum required, of two hundred pounds, and the enormous cost of the journey. Palestine had become a danger spot for Jews and for the British Goverment; nor does Cyprus offer many prospects in this connection.

The English and Scottish churches are offering hospitality for the time being to a number of pastors' families, until their further transport is assured. The Home Office seems to be raising no objection to these invitations, but points out the need for re-training, especially for young people, who must turn their attention to concerning themselves with manual work. In this connection people are looking to America, whence came the initiative for the summoning of the Evian Conference.

The immigration laws of the United States provide a quota for each country, which is determined, not according to where a person lives, but according to the place of birth. Only parents, married people and grown up children are not subject to immigration restrictions through the quotas. Professors, scientific specialists or outstanding artists who are invited under contract, are in any case not affected by the decisions of the immigration quota. The quota figure for Germany and Austria together amounts, from July 1 to June 30 of next year, to 27,370. At present there are 61,300 applicants on the quota list, so that it is filled in advance for two years. It is also possible to visit the United States as a "temporary visitor" or as a tourist or for purposes of study. Many people attempt in this way to get into Cuba and Mexico. That means that they must support themselves for two years. Cuba gives no permission to enter the country.

Evangelical pastors do not come under the quota if they are appointed by a parish, and show the consul a "non quota vise". But each case is treated entirely individually. Admission on the basis of an affidavit is very difficult, for only very few people could undertake for quite unknown persons the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

required financial guarantee for a longer period. Scientific institutions, such as universities, will give such affidavits only to extremely well-known scholars. The consuls are instructed to find out whether an immigrant is likely to become a burden on the public charge. At present in the American Churches a systematic enquiry is going on into persons who would be able to undertake a guarantee. Intellectuals find it more difficult to obtain admission than trained workers and technicians.

South America has greater possibilities of immigration, but is surrounded with precautionary measures. A settlement of fifty persons, established in Columbia by the British Church Relief Committee, has come down to twenty-six persons, but they will very soon be self-supporting. Individual settlements have also hitherto been possible in Venezuela and the Argentine. Here it is a matter for the most part of agricultural and technical work. In Paraguay and Brazil, Russian evangelical refugees from China found shelter a short time ago. Recently possibilities have been heard of in Chile, Guatemala and Porto Rico. All these states have a good deal of land suitable for settlement, and also land that does not first require cultivation. But the conditions of immigration include for the most part the payment of caution money, and it has to be reckoned that settlement families require to be supported for a whole year.

Individual settlers and groups of refugees and their patron organisations can hardly break through the embargo measures which the States in South America have set up. It is hoped that the new High Commissioner of the League of Nations, Sir Herbert Emerson, with his expert assistant, Dr. G. Kullmann (Zurich), will build, in the preliminary negotiations with the Governments, the bridges which must in the first place be there before individuals will dare to venture on emigration with any sense of security or of being adequately covered and advised. Sir Herbert Emerson, as Governor of the Punjab for over thirty five years, has gained considerable experience in matters of administration, and Dr. Kullmann, through the work which he has already done in the League of Nations, is thoroughly well-informed on all these problems. The private international organizations, whose co-operation, in the view of the president of the Evian Conference, Myron Taylor, is indispensable for the solution of the refugee question, are looking with great hopes to this necessary preliminary work, which will make their detailed work in the first place possible.

In the Near East it is hardly possible to provide for German refugees. The greatest efforts are being made here in connection with Armenian and Assyrian settlements. But since the Sandjak was handed over to Turkey, thousands of Armenian settlers are abandoning their homes and are withdrawing towards Syria. Through the League of Nations High Commission 9,000 Assyrians have been settled along the Khabur.

A principal condition for the success of a settlement is not only the state of the soil and a healthy climate, but the right composition of a colony. The ideal mode of procedure in forming a settlement is that followed by those colonies which led, on a religious basis, to the founding of the states of Massachussetts, Pennsylvania, or possibly the settlements of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren.

I. C. P. I. S., Geneva.

RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING.

On the instructions of the Economic Committee of the League of Nations, a Sub-Committee of economic experts met in Geneva early in December to study the problem of raising the standard of living. The memorandum by Mr. N. F. Hall—"Measures of a National and International Character for raising the Standard of Living"—was taken as a basis of discussion, and the contributions to the problem made by the technical organisations of the League and the International Labour Office were reviewed.

The situation with regard to the standard of living is quite clear: in all parts of the world the vast majority of people live at a level of life which is much below that necessary for their optimal well-being. The greater part of the world's population have not enough to eat, a still greater proportion have not enough of the right foods to attain perfect health, while the majority of people need better housing, clothing, sanitation and means of communication and transport.

If the poorer sections of the population of all countries were to be supplied with the extra foodstuffs, clothes, housing and so on which they need for their physical well-being, the demand for these commodities would be enormous. The potential demand is practically inexhaustible, and yet producers are unable to sell these very commodities which the poorer consumer so urgently needs, and the world is suffering from apparent over-production.

If the standard of living of the majority is to be raised, means must be devised to sell to the consumer the commodities which he at present lacks at a price which he can afford; but, in recent years, Governments have concentrated their efforts on helping the producers by artificially raising prices by taxes, subsidies, restrictions on production and tariffs against imported goods. The interests of the producer have been favoured at the expense of those of the consumer.

While the Sub-Committee did not anticipate any immediate reversal of this policy, it emphasised the importance of a frank realisation that such measures for maintaining artificially high prices, however neccessary or desirable they might be deemed, are made directly at the expense of the consumers' standard of life. It is important that the interests of the consumer should carry more weight with Governments than hitherto and, to this end, it is of great value to stress the evil effects of under-consumption on the health and efficiency of a nation.

The newer knowledge of nutrition has revealed the vast amount of ill-health which exists throughout the world because of under-consumption of such foodstuffs as milk, butter, eggs, vegetables and fruits. It is now known how much of different foodstuffs a family or an individual needs to prevent ill-health, and similar standards can be set with regard to housing and clothing. There are the physiological basic needs of a human being, that are essential for his health and well being, and the realisation of these standard requirements gives added weight to the demands of the consumer.

Members of Sub-Committee stressed the fact that the raising of the standard of living is a dynamic problem which cannot be settled finally. As Mr. Hall had said in his Memorandum, it calls for action in all spheres of economic activity. It requires the application of technical knowledge to increase production, both in agriculture and industry; it needs greater efficiency in distribution and retailing of goods to the consumer, and finally it needs wisely-planned economic co-operation

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

between nations to reduce the present trade barriers. All such measures both national and international, which have the effect of increasing consumption amongst the poorer half of the world's population should be encouraged, and the vital importance to nations should be stressed of raising the standard of living of their people to a level which would enable every individual to attain his optimal health and well-being.

THE SOCIAL WELFARE SOCIETY (BOMBAY)

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The Social Welfare Society having its office at Dadar has been started in Bombay North with an influential body of social workers such as Sir Jehangir B. Boman Behram, Kt., President, Mrs. Urmila Mehta, Messrs. Jamnadas Mehta, K. F. Nariman and others as Vice Presidents etc. It has laid out a useful programme of work for the new year. One of such activities is the starting of a monthly magazine called "The Social Worker" to be edited by an influential and competent board of editors. The object of the management is to make it an official organ of the Society in order to further all its activities. It is hoped that the public of Bombay will co-operate in this endeavour and make it a success. The office of the magazine is 10, Madhav Wadi, Naigaum Cross Road, Dadar, Bombay.

Yours etc.,

N. C. NARSIMHA ACHARYA

THE DNYANODAYA AND THE REFORMER.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I have no desire to interpose in an editorial quarrel but the statement by the editor of *Dnyanodaya*, the organ of six missionary institutions, that missionaries do condemn evils in their own country will be greatly welcomed by all Indians. I had thought that they kept up referring to the "seamy side of Indian life" with an eye to the business of proselytising. Mr. Edwards would be the last to deny that the Western missionary is far more conscience-striken at the "wrongs" he finds in India than he is at the abuses which exist in his own country. He is often dumb in the West and eloquent in India. Even to the missionary who spends his lifetime preaching to Indians and only his furloughs reforming his fellow-countrymen, I would warmly suggest a reversal of the process. For has not the Master said, "First cast out the beam out of thine own eye and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

Yours etc.,

INDIAN.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

A Jewish Legion for Britain:—An important hint of what may happen if conscription is put through in Great Britain, as a result of the present drive for it, is given in the Manchester "Daily Dispatch," which asserts that genuine consideration is being given by the authorities, at London, to the formation of a Jewish Legion, instructed in military drill, but to be used only in case of war. The "Dispatch" asserts that two reasons lie behind the possible move: first, to have Jews ready for warfare in the event of conscription; second, to arrange matters so that Jews, in the event of conscription, would serve together instead of being interspersed with other troops.

Canadian School of Missions:—The Canadian School of Missions, which is now entering upon its eighteenth year's work, was established in 1921 by the Foreign Mission Boards of Canada for the specialized training of their furloughed missionaries and missionary candidates. The eight Boards which are responsible for its maintenance and control represent the Anglican, Baptist, Disciples, Presbyterian and United Churches. Four Theological Colleges in Toronto are also co-operating units. Lectures and other privileges are open, without charge, to all candidates and furloughed missionaries of the co-operating Boards, provided they have registered in the school. The courses of study are planned with a view to the requirements of both missionaries and candidates. Some of these courses continue throughout the academic year, while others run for varying periods during the year. A number of the courses are recognized as a electives by the co-operating Theological Colleges. The Session of 1938-1939 will begin on October 11th.

The Bank of India Limited:—The Profit of the Bank of India Limited for the year ended 31st December 1938 including the sum of Rs. 7,64,577-12-4 brought forward amounts to Rs. 29,46,235-10-4. Provision for Income Tax and Super Tax for the current year will absorb Rs. 3,75,000-0-0; and the payment of an ad-interim dividend at the rate of 10 % per annum made on 30th June 1938, absorbed Rs. 5,00,000-0-0; leaving a balance available for distribution of Rs. 20,71,235-10-4. The Directors propose to pay a final dividend for the half-year ended 31st December 1938 at the rate of Rs. 3/- per share (making 11% for the whole year) on the paid up capital of Rs. 100 Lacs free of Income Tax which will absorb Rs. 6,00,000-0-0, to place to the Bank's Property A/c Rs. 3,00,000-0-0; to place to the Bank's Reserve Fund, Rs. 2,50,000-0 0; and to Carry Forward the Balance subject to the payment of a Bonus to the Staff Rs. 9,21,235-10-4.

Hindu Women's Right to Property:—Miss Jethi T. Sipahimalani, M. L. A. (Congress), has, it is learnt, decided to sponsor in the present session of the Sind Assembly a Bill to amend the Hindu Law governing Hindu Women's right to property so far as it obtains in the province of Sind.

Dr. Holmes:—John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Community Church and noted liberal and friend of Gandhi, is now being honored in the United States by thousands of friends of all creeds and races, as his church conducts a drive for funds with which to build a new edifice for the advancement of religion. Led by Mayor LaGuardia, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, and other leaders in civic, educational and religious affairs more than 1,000 friends and members of his congregation joined recently at the Hotel Astor in celebrating his fifty-ninth birthday. More than $75,000 was raised through pledges before the dinner and contributions given at that time toward the total o $250,000 required for the new church. More contributions are coming in daily to the New York offices of the Fund.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India

Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,

WHEELERS BOOK STALLS,

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY,

Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Now Ready.

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Impressions of a tour round Europe in 1937.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Pages 306.

Copies can be had from the office of the *Reformer* at Rs. 3 per copy. Postage 10 As.

The Manager,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(ESTABLISHED-DECEMBER, 1911.)

Authorised Capital	Rs.	3,50,00,000
Subscribed Capital	„	3,36,26,400
Paid-Up Capital	„	1,68,13,200
Reserve & Other Funds ...	„	94,19,805
Deposits as at 30th June 1938.	„	30,51,94,000

HEAD OFFICE:—Esplanade Road, Fort, BOMBAY.
99 Branches and Pay-Offices throughout India.

DIRECTORS.

Sir H. P. Mody, K. B. E., *Chairman*,
The Rt. Hon'ble Nawab Sir Akbar Hydari, KT., P. C.,
Ardeshir B. Dubash, Esqr.,
Haridas Madhavdas, Esqr.,
Dinshaw D. Romer Esqr.,
Vithaldas Kanji, Esqr.,
Sir Dossabhoy H. Bhiwandiwala, KT.,
Noormahomed M. Chinoy, Esqr.,
Bapuji Dadabhoy Lam, Esqr.,
Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau, Esqr.

LONDON AGENTS:—Messrs. Barclay's Bank Limited, and Messrs. Midland Bank, Limited.
NEW YORK AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
PARIS AGENTS:—The Guaranty Trust Co. of New York.
BERLIN AGENTS:—The Deutsche Bank.

Banking Business of every description transacted on terms which may be ascertained on application.

H. C. CAPTAIN, *Manager*.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, BOMBAY.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad („ „).
Tasgaon („ „).
Satara („ „).
Kirloskarwadi („ „).
Shirala („ „).
Koregaon („ „).
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon („ „).
Ahmednagar („ „).
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar („ „).
Kalyan („ „).
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha („ „).
Nandurbar („ „).
Shirpur („ „).
Shahada („ „).
Sakri („ „).
Sindkheda („ „).
Taloda („ „).
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satana („ „).
Kalwan („ „).
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol

DIRECTORS:

Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, Kt., K.C.S.I., (Chairman).
Principal M. L. Tannan,
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
R. G. Saraiya, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varda, Esq.,
S. S. Malimath, Esq., Dharwar.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. W. Raut, Esq., Bassein.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,96,9[illegible]

1. DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,00

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS.

The Paper for International Justice.

Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst.

PRICE 2d. WEEKLY.

Weekly Articles by Dr. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London.

Frequent Statements by the Emperor of Ethiopia.

First Hand News of Fascism in Italy, Ethiopia, Spain and elsewhere.

3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, ENGLAND.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,08,00,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897).

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad, Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol, Kapadwanj, Karjan, Mehsana, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 26,50,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, (Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I., (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B, Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

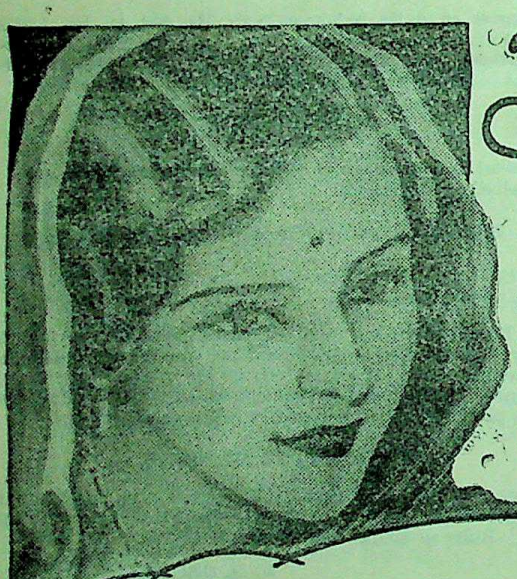
THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.

Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.



For BEAUTY SEEKERS

Mysore Sandal Soap is definitely the soap for all Beauty seekers.....it is used by beautiful women throughout the country. Its rich, creamy leather cleanses and refreshes the most unusual skin leaving it smooth and clear. Mysore Sandal Soap is delicately perfumed with the fragrance of the choicest Sandalwood.



MYSORE Sandal SOAP

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY, BANGALORE

Stockists:—The Mysore Government Industries, Prospect Chamber, Hornby Road, Bombay.

Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

Office :—KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA, BOMBAY, 20.

Editors :— K. NATARAJAN, S. NATARAJAN

Annual Subscription (Inland) Rs. 7-8-0 (Foreign) Rs. 10-0-0.

Vol. XLIX. BOMBAY—SATURDAY JANUARY 7, 1939. No. 19

"I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—*And I will be heard.*" WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

CONTENTS.

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's Return
Anti-Hindi Prosecutions in Madras.
The Issue.
Return of German Colonies.
Indians in Tanganiyika.
Bombay Public Information Series.
Suggestions.
Inter-University Amenities.
America's Problem: Isolation or Alliance.
Federation Problems.
Europe's Population Problem.
Welfare Work in India and the Empire.
Germany and African Colonies.
The Placing of Children in Families.
World Christianity.

NOTES.

Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar's Return :—The great political event in Madras during the last few days, is the return to active politics of Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar, who presided at the Gauhati session of the Indian National Congress, and left it in disgust at what appeared to him the tortuous ways of Gandhiji's politics. The happy event actually took place at a public meeting on New Year's Day at Tilak Ghat, Triplicane Beach. Both Mr. Rajagopalacharya, the Madras Premier, and Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar were present and spoke at the meeting. Mr. Shaffee Mahomed and Mr. G. Rangiah Naidu, says the report in the *Hindu*, welcomed Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar back to public life and said that the presence of the "two jewels of Tamil Nad" on the platform augured well for the future of India. Mr. Aiyangar was the principal speaker at the meeting. The Prime Minister who followed him, referred to the differences supposed to exist between them. He denied that there were any serious differences between them at any time. "I merely took up," said Mr. Rajagopalacharya, "the place that Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar had of his own accord vacated in 1930." Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar, however, is no diplomatist and he made it clear in the public speeches which he made during the last few days that he left the Congress owing to fundamental differences with Gandhiji. On the 18th December, at the anniversary of a Library, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar gave what the *Hindu* described "a public exposition" of the main reasons which led him to retire from "public life." He had his own views, he said, and Mahatma Gandhi had his own, and when there was no clear understanding between them it was not possible for him to contribute his mite to the service of the country. He agreed with Lord Snowden that politics was oftentimes a dirty game, that it required a considerable amount of ambition, some want of scruple and some capacity for intrigue. Mr. Aiyangar regretted that he did not possess these qualifications in a sufficient measure to be a day-to-day politician. Everyday politics required that one should make the worse appear the better reason, was another aphorism which he dropped in the course of this intensely self-revealing utterance. Speaking a week later at the Sowcarpet Congress Sabha, Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar referred in warm terms to Mr. Subhas Bose, "my old and valued friend and steadfast fellow worker," whom he announced, he would join in welcoming to Madras. But there has been a fatality about Mr. Bose's projected visit to Madras. Repeatedly they have had to be postponed for one reason or another. In the Sowcarpet speech, the Rajagopalacharya Government came in for sharp criticism for using the Criminal Law Amendment Act. "The Act is absolutely unnecessary and we can get on without it for maintaining peace and order," declared Mr. Aiyangar. In his Tilak Ghat speech on New Year's Day, he deprecated Indian energies being dissipated by sympathy with the Spanish, Czechs, Abyssinians and Palestinians. It is clear from the concluding appeal to non-Brahmins not to raise the bogey of Aryan and Dravidian differences that his entry into active politics has been rather precipitated by the resurgence of the Justice party on the back of the anti-Hindi movement. He said:

> I beg of them to desist. Once this kind of communalism is started—a few leaders can start this for political purposes—there was no knowing how it would affect the masses, women and others. I, therefore, beg of them to retrace their steps. At any rate, let them not carry it further. This last request I make of them as an old man (Mr. Aiyangar is only sixty five) who most sincerely wishes well for Non-Brahmins and builds his faith on Non-Brahmins more than on others in this land.

Anti-Hindi Prosecutions in Madras :—For a politician to discredit a movement as a "political stunt" is to foul his own nest. Yet this was the burden of the criticisms made at a public meeting by the Prime Minister and his supporters against the anti-Hindi movement in Madras. Another frequent criticism is that the class of people who are carrying on the movement, are beneath contempt. When these very people and their kith and kin gathered in their thousands to acclaim the Ministers a year ago they were the public, their voice was public

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

opinion, the voice of God. This kind of thing is is among the conventional lies of democratic politics in all countries and nobody attaches any value to these declarations. Behind these words, however, it is evident that the Madras Government is not quite happy in the position in which it finds itself. The use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to prosecute and imprison the anti-Hindi agitators, evoked complaints from the first. The conviction of Mr. Ramaswami Naicker, a man of outstanding character and independence, who was once the colleague of the Prime Minister in his Civil Disobedience days, has brought matters to a head. The Justice Party which has been lying low since the last General Elections, saw its opportunity. It convened a special Conference and elected the incarcerated Naicker as president. We are not sure if they applied to Government to release him on parole to enable him to guide the deliberations of the Conference. If they did the request was evidently refused. Mr. Naicker's written address was read by Sir A. T. Pannirselvam, a Roman Catholic ex-Minister in the late unlamented diarchy. As it was in large part a virulent tirade against Brahmins for whom Naicker had from early days cherished an insensate animosity, Sir Pannirselvam must have found the task congenial as combining religious with political propaganda. Mr. Naicker chose to forget that many Brahmins are against the compulsory *Hindi in schools and that Brahminism had nothing to do with the question.* The attempt of the Justice Party to hoist itself into public favour by means of the anti-Hindi agitation, has very poor chances of success. It only shows to what straits it is reduced. But the compulsory Hindi stunt—for it is nothing but one—has undoubtedly aroused sleeping dogs which prudent statesmanship would have gone far out of its way to let lie undisturbed.

The Issue:—The Congress successes at the polls at the last elections were hailed by many in Madras who do not worship at the Charka shrine, as it put an end to the Brahmin non-Brahmin fend in the province. The Prime Minister was warned that he was fanning smouldering embers of the controversy by his ill-considered insistence on forcing Hindi down the throats of small boys in the lower middle forms. A strong man would have recognised the inexpediency of pushing on with this minor measure which had no direct bearing on education or administration. But weak men in trying to seem strong only become obstinate. If the High Command at any time favoured the scheme, it withdrew its support when the first imprisonments under the Criminal Law Amendment Act took place. The use of the Act in this context has been condemned by the President of the Congress. It was condemned recently by ex-President Srinivasa Aiyangar whose frequent appearances on the platform of late, are arousing considerable interest in the country. The President of the Liberal Federation condemned it in his address. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel some months ago announced at Karachi that the Act would be repealed in two months. Prosecutions are nevertheless still going on and several women, as we noticed the other day, have been put in prison for taking part in the agitation against compulsory Hindi. The issue is no longer whether compulsory Hindi in schools is right or wrong. On that, Mr. C. F. Andrews made some illuminating observations at a Students' Conference in Allahabad last week. The issue now is whether a Congress Government can use a penal law which it had condemned in opposition to support itself in office.

Return of German Colonies:—We reprint elsewhere the comments of the *Economist* on the restoration of the German colonies in Africa which have been administered under mandates of the League of Nations by Great Britain and the South African Union since the Treaty of Versailles. After pointing out that economically these colonies will be a burden rather than a relief to the depleted finances of the Reich, the *Economist*, with the detachment which characterises its writings, goes on to point out that it is not for Britons with their colour bars and Americans with their negro problem, to object to the German demand on the score of the racial doctrines of Germany. "It does not follow as the night the day," it adds, "that Jew-baiters will oppress natives." This is exactly what we said in our comments on the retrocession of Tanganiyika in the *Reformer* of December 24. The *Economist* favours the suggestion that all the British African colonies should be placed under international control, as the most effective answer to Germany's demand. This question was raised in Parliament by Mr. Noel Buxton last month and has found support in the English press though, for the time being, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald's plea that political considerations stand in the way, has prevailed. Those who are interested in the question in India will do well to support leaders in England like Mr. Noel Buxton, and Sir Stafford Cripps, in popularising it. The support of Indian opinion will greatly help the cause of internationalising the African Colonies with the British public. The *Economist* and other important organs of English opinion are not averse to the return of the colonies to Germany if the peace of Europe can be definitely assured thereby.

Indians in Tanganiyika:—The position of Indians in Tanganiyika is summed by Lord Hailey in his "African Survey" thus;

> Here Indians hold a position materially different from that in South Africa or Kenya, in that the terms of the mandate secure them against any form of administrative discrimination. The Germans appreciated their value as traders, and, subject to payment of a deposit, Indians had been freely admitted to the protectorate. At the date of the War a large part of the retail trade was in their hands. With the end

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the War, their economic position greatly changed, for they managed to secure a considerable proportion of the German land sold by the British Government, and largely took the place of German firms in the import and export trade.

We can not expect the Reich Government to be more considerate to the present Indian owners of the pre-war German land or business than the Congress Government to the owners of land confiscated during the Civil Disobedience movement in Gujarat. If compensation is to be given, as it should be in fairness to the Indians who invested their money trusting in the permanence of the League of Nations and the mandatory system, it should come from Great Britain. The Reich will certainly refuse to buy at a price what it claims to be its own, and the League will not be able to persuade the small nations who mostly constitute its present clientele to contribute towards the compensation to Indian purchasers of escheated German property. Great Britain may find plausible reasons to transfer the burden to India. The only way of avoiding all this, is to give our strong support and get the Government of India to give their strong support to the scheme of internationalisation. India will, of course, have adequate representation on the international committee set up to see that no administrative discrimination creeps into the affairs of the internationalised territories. Finally it should be borne in mind that it is the League authority, not the British control, which prevents discrimination against Indians in Tanganiyika. With the disappearance or weakening of that authority, Tanganiyika will perforce fall in line with the racial policy of South Africa and Kenya.

Bombay Public Information Series:—The Government of Bombay have begun publishing a monthly record of their principal activities under the title Public Information Series. Apart from the utility of such a publication which is much, we welcome it as evidence of the desire of the Bombay Government to interest the public and invite its co-operation in shaping their course in the labyrinthian field of administration. It is all to the good that Government do not shun publicity but court it. The first number is necessarily something of a hotch-potch. The "messages" of the Ministers may be taken to represent the dominant purpose which inspires each one of them for the time being. The Prime Minister is keen on the Wardha scheme, the Finance Minister on rural reconstruction lately assigned to him. The Home Member has a small homily on the importance of the Police; and the Excise Minister, who is also Minister of Health, commends Prohibition as a measure of sanitation and personal hygiene. The Revenue Minister affirms his determination to root out corruption altogether from his department. The Minister of Public Works begins with a piece of interesting information. He tells of some Turbo-generating machinery which for many years has been lying idle, being now utilised for supplying power to electric pumping machinery in nearby towns. It is lucky that the machinery had not rusted during its long holiday. The Minister for Industries begins by saying that the policy of his predecessor has had only the effect of stifling initiative and hampering the growth of industries. It is not 'good form' to begin by decrying those who have gone before us. There is an imposing array of Committees instituted by the Government. If the Information Series does nothing else, it will serve at least to remind the Ministers and the public of this numerous progeny which otherwise might be difficult to remember.

Suggestions:—We looked for some information regarding the order of Government for withdrawing licenses from hostels refusing admission to Harijans. We found it there all right. But we should have liked something more definite than that "there is no reason to believe that they (Ahmedabad hostels) are refusing admission now." In the next number, we expect to be told that scheduled caste guests are being admitted in the hostels without discrimination. There have been complaints that the orders of Government have remained a dead letter. Even so, their educative value is considerable and for our part, we should have more hope of the permanance of a reform which is preceded by an educative period than of lightning changes. We should like also to know, how many temples have been thrown open in pursuance of the Temple Entry Act and how far the Hindu community has responded to the appeal of that Act.

Inter-University Amenities:—Without more information than is so far available regarding the circumstances in which the authorities of Nagpur University thought fit to interest themselves in the dispute between the students and the authorities of the Osmania University, our comments have necessarily to be tentative. It may be—we hope it is—that the Osmania and Nagpur authorities consulted together and agreed on the transfer of the rusticated students of Hyderabad to Nagpur Colleges as the best way in which the interests of University discipline can be vindicated without ruining the career of some hundreds of young people. Such arrangements have been effected before, though not on such a large scale, between Colleges. We presume that this has happened here also. Otherwise the action of the Nagpur University authorities in offering to accommodate the students sent down by the Osmania University, might have not only frustrated the efforts of the Osmania authorities to arrange a settlement. It would gravely affect the comity of Universities which is essential in the best interests of higher education in India. If following the Nagpur example, the Madras or Andhra University were to offer to admit the students of the Annamalai University whom the Vice-Chancellor was forced to suspend, it will be putting a premium on insubordination on the part of students.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER
BOMBAY, January 7, 1939.

INDO-BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

The address which the Hon. Mr. P. N. Sapru delivered as President of the twentieth session of the National Liberal Federation of India on the 30th December, is a pronouncement of first-rate importance. In marked contrast to the generality of political pronouncements, it is characterised by a breadth of outlook and clarity of vision which will commend it to thoughtful people. It points out, broadly speaking, the ways in which the present system of Government can be modified so as to lead naturally to self-government in this country, with the least dislocation of existing arrangements. On the question, whether India should remain with the Commonwealth or seek separation from it as a necessary step to the achievement of Swaraj, Mr. Sapru said:

> We are as determined as any other political party in the country that our country shall be free, but we feel that this full freedom which we seek is reconcilable with loyalty to the objective of an Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations to which we may have something distinctive to contribute when we have reached our political maturity.

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru also spoke of the Indo-British Commonwealth in one of his speeches some months ago. The phrase was suggested as the most appropriate for a union of which India may continue to be a unit, eight years ago in the *Reformer* (March 9, 1930). The *Reformer wrote:*

> There is no escape, we think, from the condition that, to begin with at any rate, India will stand out distinct from other dominions in the British Commonwealth of Nations. That being so, it would, in order to bring the designation in conformity with fact, be necessary to change the style of the Commonwealth into the Indo-British Commonwealth of Nations. This, we think, should go a great way towards meeting the scruples of those among us who apprehend that the distinctive identity of India, racial and cultural, will be lost, if she were merged in a sea of White nations.

None of the present Dominions admit Indians to their citizenship. India's connection is exclusively with Great Britain. India, therefore, is entitled to have her position definitely indicated in the designation of the Commonwealth. Mr. Sapru does not want to remain in the Commonwealth merely for what we can get from Great Britain in the shape of protection from aggression. He wants to remain in the Commonwealth because we have something distinctive to contribute to it and through it to the world. He did not indicate what the nature of India's distinctive contribution would be. But anyone who has followed the cultural history of India, can easily guess what it can be. The quest for the unity underlying diversity in the world of phenomena, has been the agelong preoccupation of Indian philosophical speculation. To find it and apply it to solve the problem of uniting in one fold groups of human beings in varying stages of spiritual and cultural evolution, is the task which Indian sages and statesmen from immemorial time set before themselves. This is also essentially the problem of the British Commonwealth and of the League of Nations today. The Indian by virtue of his inherited culture has a special aptitude for perceiving the common factor in a world of variety.

Mr. Sapru congratulated the Liberals on having set before themselves Dominion Status as defined in the Statute of Westminister as their objective, in view of the world situation and of what the new imperialisms are and mean for the weaker races of mankind. That Statute was passed in 1931. The Imperial Conference resolution of which it is the legal expression was passed in 1926. It ran as follows: "They (Dominions) are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic and external affairs, united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." Since the Westminister Statute was passed, far-reaching developments have taken place, the latest being the British Premier's statement in Parliament regarding the position of Great Britain and the Dominions in the event of war. Except for a self-imposed and unilateral obligation on the part of Great Britain to defend the Dominions in the case of invasion, there is *nothing* now to show that the Dominions are bound by a common allegiance to one another and to Great Britain. Such being the case, there is nothing to justify the term "Dominion" being continued to be applied to them. Kipling happily described the relation between a Dominion and Great Britain in his couplet,

> Daughter am I in my mother's house
> Mistress in my own.

At the present time, the daughter relationship has completely ceased. It is time, therefore, that the term Dominion as describing the relation arising out of the Westminister Statute, is dropped and some other adopted which may not seem grotesque in its application to India. The theory underlying self-government in the old colonies was that an Englishman carried with him this right as a part of his personal law. The French Canadian and the Boer were, for constitutional purposes, regarded as Englishmen and even the Irish, whom the late Lord Salisbury grouped with Hindus and Hottentots as being congenitally incapable of governing themselves, were also invested with that right. But all these are Whites and Christians though of different and antagonistic races and sects. More than that, every self-governing Dominion has a much smaller population than Great Britain. To call India, a country having six or seven times the population of Britain, and having no affinity with her in race or religion, a British

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Dominion is an etymological atrocity. India's history, moreover, is long anterior to that of Britain. She might be a great grandmother or a more remote ancestress, not certainly a daughter of Britain. If a less grossly inappropriate word can be substituted, the difference between Independence and Dominion Status may not seem so antithetical.

AMERICA'S PROBLEM: ISOLATION OR ALLIANCE.

(By Frederick B. Fisher.)

My main contention today, as I think of ourselves, is this: that in the United States of America we have only a colonial mind. We do not have an independent American mind. We are a mere echo of Great Britain and a mere echo of Europe. We are colonial-minded. We cannot get over the fact that Great Britain is a great country and we are not, that Great Britain can think big thoughts and we cannot, that Europe has a great civilization and we have not. It is decidedly an inferority complex. National self-respect, that is our great problem today.

The World War greatly added to that inferiority of thought and belief. I have said this vigorously, rapidly, and bluntly, but I believe it is positively, true. There is no independent American mind.

The idealism of America was drowned by several things. May I just indicate them as briefly as I can:

First: the idealism of America that followed the days of John Quincy Adams and the men that led up to that period was drowned, by the desire to have world trade and money aristocracy. We built up an aristocracy in Boston, and in New York, and in Philadelphia, that was based upon the dollar—how much a man was worth. We had not developed at that particular time the great railways that came westward and made possible the internal development of the heart of America. For a while, then, the trade went to Europe, the investments were in Europe and the bulk went back and forth across the Atlantic. We were bound by unbreakable ties to Europe, and therefore, the independent, idealistic American mind was subdued by trade and money aristocracy.

Second: It was drowned by the millions of industrial labourers that came from every country of Europe into the United States of America. They came more rapidly than they could be absorbed: our factories developed around Pittsburgh and other centres, and later on here in Detroit, until we have become a polyglot nation without unity. We are heterogeneous and we have no unified American mind. It is almost impossible for us to say that we are American. We are either German-American, Lithuanian-American, Polish-American, French-American, Anglo-American, or some other kind of an American. We are not just Americans. I believe that is one of the greatest difficulties that any nation has to face. Russia faced that problem more than a thousand years ago when the great hordes poured in but Russia has had one thousand years to build her various races and languages into a national unity. England faced that as long as eighteen hundred years ago, and then sixteen hundred years ago, and especially twelve hundred years ago, and England now has had at least a thousand years in which to build a homogeneous nation, whereas we have had not even one generation. We have had scarcely a decade.

Here we are with all our various ideas, and every last one of us bringing something different from Europe: a language from Europe; we have no original language; we do not even have an original religion; we do not have an original educational system; we have no original military system; we have no original system of any kind whatsoever. Biologically by the very process of reversion, to our ancestral type, we belong to Europe and we have scarcely got over it. That's our problem. Europe knows that all the vast wealth of America, all the resources of America might be dragged in on one side or the other. That's the reason we're so propagandized. England is not propagand zed the way Am rica is. France has no propaganda as compared to America. Why? Because you can't get into England with any propaganda that is anti-English; you can't get into France with any propaganda that is anti-French. They're homogeneous people; they're all Frenchmen, they're all British. But in America anybody can get in and he can start almost any kind of a social nostrum group; the tendency in us to revert to ancestral type gives him an opportunity. We are no different from any other nation when it comes to our psychology, our life, our organism, but we have this heterogenous background and we have never been unified as a nation.

This American idealism was once very strong; it won the war of the Revolution; it won the War of 1812; it formulated the Monroe Doctrine; and it set America on an absolutely separate national basis. But then it began to die, firstly because of trade and money aristocracy, and secondly because of the rapid influx of industrial labour that was brought into the country by those who wished to exploit other's labour for the sake of gigantic personal profits. And since then there has been growing amongst us a sense of inferiority through propaganda. We are in that position today.

There is another thing I believe that has also helped drown our American idealism, that idealism that made America a nation and maintained her down through that early formative period. It happened after the time that John Quincy Adams and his colleagues ceased to have influence—and that is no reflection upon Andrew Jackson, who defeated John Quincy Adams. But beginning with that period, a new element entered into our American politics and into our American life. That was our foreign investments. We invested billions of dollars in foreign securities and we invested those billions under the British flag and under the French flag, for the most part; therefore when wars came, we followed our dollars; our bankers saying, "We've got to go into the war on the side of the country that owes us money so that at the end we can collect our money." And even today it is a foregone conclusion that if we have any allies, we are going to have allies that satisfy the bankers in New York and satisfy the international bankers in London, Paris, New York, and Washington, and satisfy also what we might call the post-ally mind.

It is interesting that two years ago right here on this platform, we had people in this forum that stormed and raved to us to boycott Italy, almost to join Britain and France in a war against Italy to keep her out of Ethiopia. Here they stood, and I felt that I was committing a sin by disagreeing with them. They have now turned around, and they want us to co-operate with the very people whom they insisted we boycott or fight in a war two years ago. That is it—if we form alliances with European countries under the present circumstances we will be jumping from one hot plate to another. I am not aware of any moral obligation on our

*Extracts from last address at Central Church Forum, Detroit.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

part to try to cure the political problems of Europe but if we do get into the moral field, we must get in on the basis of the person who is dispossessed and not the person who possesses the dispossessed. The only ethical responsibility I feel is to plead the cause of the victim.

Complete isolation, of course, on a permanent basis is impossible for any organism; and I would be foolish to say that any country or any individual or or any group can maintain complete isolation a permanent basis. That can not be done. But to enter into any treaty that favours one nation more than it does the others, is a mistake. That treaty idea of a favoured nation has got us into trouble down through all the ages. Open door, absolutely open door, free competition everywhere, so that anybody from any country can buy, anybody from any country can sell; it is the only way you will ever have world peace. As long as there is a favoured nation clause in any treaty, there is going to be trouble. That necessarily binds those two nations in each other's defence.

There is nothing about this proposal of isolation and neutrality in war that would keep us from having every kind of trade with relationship with other nations. Why can not we trade with somebody even if we have no agreement with them? We have no permanent agreement with the grocer. There is no favoured store arrangement. If there were, we would be in trouble; and so would you, if you entered into that kind of an agreement in any phase of life. And one cannot do in international fields what one cannot do as an individual or a neighbour. One cannot do successfully on a big scale what would not work successfully on a community scale. That we may safely put down as a principle. It is an axiom because it is true. Therefore I do not favour permanent favoured nation treaties—even though it might mean trade for America; and I certainly would not favour any military alliance with imperial powers, nor would I even enter into the League of Nations under the present arrangement. The League of Nations is a compact dominated by a few strong powers that rule over mandated and conquered peoples who have hardly any voice at all.

Just think of our country coming out of a war, the United States of America, with all of American idealism and altruism, just think of our having our representatives go to Versailles and actually agree to put Iraq and the rest of Arabia and all of Africa and all of India and the great portions of China to remain under European domination, and then write into a treaty that we would guarantee the integrity of those Empires for all times to come.

I visualise America as a lovely, magnificent, living, pyramidal organization with its one hundred thirty millions of people, bounded on the east by the Atlantic, bounded on the west by the Pacific, bounded on the north by Canada, and bounded on the south by Mexico and the Gulf. Maintaining our life within these boundaries, I would have our people build up the following things: class freedom, that's the American ideal. Build up class freedom. Build up government by and for the common people. Build up an ethical creativity in a literature of constructive protest. That is the most needed thing today. A literature of ethical protest, protest against what is wrong, protest against imperialism, protest against militarism, protest against exploitation, protest against all these evils. What we want is a literature of ethical protest, to be done on a creative plane as did the old pamphleteers of France, or the pamphleteers of early America, and like that of the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence. That kind of creative literature of constructive protest. Then we need diplomats that are rugged, that apply American standards to actions and to proposals, like Jefferson, like John Quincy Adams. We dare not, in this modern day in America, have a loss of our national identity. We must not have a merging of our protoplasm into the European spore. We have got to have a vertebrate nation with an attitude of good will, but good will that is based on self-respect and maturity of soul and not on some jellyfish idea that other nations are better than we are, and that only if we copy them will we be great. The United States of America is not in a position today to help any world, for the simple reason that we have got ourselves entangled by alliances, that we cannot help the world without doing it the way France or Great Britain or the other European imperial powers want us to do it. The only time we are going to be able to help the world is when we are free from every entangling alliance and have developed our own homogeneous American soul.

I close with just this sentence—and I do not want you to regard it as epigrammatic; and I do not want you to regard it as oratorical; and I do not want you to regard it as emotional; and I do not want you to regard it as something that I have not thought through—with this sentence, which is a repetition: the greatest thing that the United States of America needs today is sixty years of absolute neutrality absolute peace, constructive internal reconstruction, from babyhood, through grade school, high school, college, out into married life—we need two generations of it, in order to develop an American soul that is not a colonial soul, but an independent, democratic American soul that can then offer to transfer its democratic life and ideals to other peoples. And the best way to help the world is to take that sixty years to get ready rather than to go now like a jellyfish and join with the spores of other peoples.

FEDERATION PROBLEMS.*

(By C. R. Reddy).

Provincial Autonomy having been granted, it logically and inevitably followed that some kind of Federation was necessary. Was it to be a Federation only of the British Provinces? If so, the Government might be assured that a nationalist majority would predominate. And then would the Princes treat that Government with the same regard and respect that they have now been showing to the Viceroy and the Government of India? That is one of the crucial problems. In all probability they would not; why, for certainty, for they had already rejected the Nehru proposals on the subject. So a Federation in which the Princes would also take part had to be devised, so that partly for reasons of Imperial interest and partly perhaps—it is for you to judge, I am only presenting the issues—on account of the logical situation above-mentioned they had to bring forward proposals for an All-India Federation. Consider again whether it is also probably due to that that a Conservative type of Constitution had to be devised; otherwise, what probability was there of Kashmere, Baroda, Hyderabad, the Holkar and the Scindia joining it? What I am trying to impress on my young friends is that these questions are to be studied in connection with the conditions of our country, with the psychology of the different interests affected, and not from the point of view of abstract logic. Why, abstract logic might have suggested a Garibaldian solution of the problen *viz.*, the abolition of all the

*Extracts from an address to the Law College Students of Nagpur. Mr. Reddy is Vice-Chancellor of Andhra University.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian States, just as Garibaldi brought about the extinction of the various Italian States. Then again, is such a thing possible and at what cost? And is the country sufficiently united for any such heroic measure? These things being ruled as out of order and possibility, we have to be satisfied with a compromise of some kind and not logical and absolute solutions at this stage. But even an imperfect solution now may have in it seeds of growth and lead to a better solution in the future. That is why very often people have to be satisfied with Constitutions which on paper look so defective but which when properly operated lead to much better results. Godkin wrote a couple of volumes on "The Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracies," showing how the American Constitution has not functioned in the way in which the original founders expected it to function and how it had taken different directions.

Now we come to the other parties. Mr. Jinnah from the very beginning was opposed to Federation. I speak with great diffidence. It is difficult for me to interpret the Muslim mind on the subject, but I have to infer what is behind or what may be behind the back of their minds. Any Indian Federation, however constituted, is bound to give a predominantly Hindu composition and complexion to the Central Government. There is the nothing wrong in this. It is inevitable. The Hindus, States as well as people, are a big majority. Muslim community might feel that on account of its population and its past history, it is entitled to something more than good Government at others' hands, that it is entitled to a real place of power and effective share in the politics and government of our land. I am not here either to criticize or to justify. I am here to place before my friends the chief facts as they appear to me; it is for you to evaluate them, to see what value you would give to them, whether you would take them as data or reject them as fancies. But is it a wrong ambition?

Well, I can quite understand a mind of that kind in my Muslim brethren. For one thing, from the very beginning they had insisted, as a corollary of their general dislike of a strong Central Government, which, however constituted, is bound to be predominantly Hindu, on Residuary Powers being vested in the Provinces. Students of political science know that means the Provinces should be regarded as sovereign states and the Central Government as having only such powers as are expressly delegated to it by the Provinces. From the very commencement of this discussion, Mr. Jinnah held firmly to this view and was against Federation altogether. To that extent he was willing to join the Congress in opposition, but with complete freedom regarding subsequent action. He would not have any Federation; the more democratic, the worse it was from the Muslim point of view.

Secondly, should there be a Federation, it should be, according to the Muslims, of the type of a Confederation and not Federation proper; in other words, the Provinces would be the Sovereign States and the Central Government would be a limited authority with specified powers. It is interesting to know that at that time the Congress was for giving a blank cheque to the Muslim League and to our Muslim friends and it was left to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to safeguard the integral sovereignty of the country. This question of residuary powers was not decided either one way or the other. The final arrangement was that as and when specific questions arose, they would be decided on their merits and assigned either to Provinces or to the Federation; and thus a definite solution was postponed.

For the very reason that the Muslims found Federation objectionable, the Hindu Maha Sabha found it exceedingly agreeable. My friend, Bhai Paramanand, has advised the Hindus to accept the Federation, any Federation, no matter how constituted. Probably he was viewing it from the point of view firstly of Hindu predominance in the Centre—I say probably, I have no right to interpret the motives of others—and secondly, at all events, in pleading for a strong Central Government, and Federal system he certainly was trying to checkmate the fissiparous tendencies in our country and preserve our integrity as a State. The unfortunate thing with our country is that we have not got that basic national unity which is at the foundation of all Federations in the world, excepting probably the Swiss Republic which has a peculiar history of its own, not to be repeated elsewhere.

Then comes the Congress. We of the Congress opposed Federation in those days on two grounds. The first was that large powers had been reserved to the Viceroy, the Safeguards, the Special Responsibilities, discretionary powers, and so forth. Also big departments. In fact, under the Constitution as now devised, the Viceroy still remains all powerful. But mark you, my Congress friends are not emphasising this point now. The reason is that one and a half years of Office in the Provinces has assured them that if they have a strong and stable majority to back them up, these Special Powers, the Power of Veto, discretionary powers, safeguards, etc., were not likely to be brought into operation. The point which the Congress is now emphasising is the undemocratic nature of the representation of the States in the Central Legislature. What the Congress feels is "Here is a Viceroy endowed with Special Powers, and, as Sir Samuel Hoare put it in the House of Commons, the Constitution has been so manipulated as to give the Viceroy a permanent majority." That is the Congress view. Whether it is a right view or a questionable one is a matter for your deliberation. They told us that these nominated members from the Indian States will always vote with the Government and they could never have a majority. Is that necessarily true? Are we to say that granting these States do join the Federation, Baroda —by the bye, I am sorry to hear that the Maharajah of Baroda is ill and our best wishes are with him for his speedy recovery—Mysore, Hyderabad and Travancore will blindly vote according to the whip of the Governor-General? Have they not shown in many dealings, some of which may have become public, that they have a will of their own and that they are not lacking in their sense of duty where national interest and racial self-respect are involved? Granting that the contention of the Congress is correct, may it not be possible in the future, at all events to secure a better order of things? Will the Princes and their nominees be for ever puppets? May they not develop in association with the Congress greater self-reliance and spirit of independence, and further more, may not after some time, the Constitution itself be amended in directions more favourable to democracy?

And, well, what is the attitude of the Princes? We do not know if many of them are anxious to join the Federation. They would like to take part in the Government of All-India: at the same time, they do not want to relinquish any of their powers. They want to be directly under the Sovereign Government. The utmost that they are prepared for appears to be responsible association with British India in the Central Legislature and the Government. And we can understand their feelings too. Supposing as the Congress commands, they are compelled to send only elected men to the Central Legislature. How can

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Indian States send elected men to the Central Legislature who would be free to take part in party politics according to their own convictions, and carry on within the borders of the State autocratically as they have been doing till now? You cannot give representation for purposes abroad and deny representation for purposes within. So, the problem of responsible government in the States and the problem of elected representatives for the Central Legislature are inter-related and cannot be separated from each other. The result is that negotiations have been going on for over two years. We do not know definitely how many Princes have consented to join the Federation, how many have refused and how many are trying to lay down special conditions in their Instruments of Accession. The whole of that part of the Federal experiment, or Federal Constitution is still in the dark. It has become darker as a result of the Congress attack on the small States.

Well, we have now seen the different parties and their views. Is there any justification for holding that all the component parts of a Federation should have the same type of Government? In the old Germanic Federation, of which Prussia was the leader, States with different constitutions took part. Several of the States were more liberal than Prussia. There were also some Republican towns, the towns of the Hansa League and they also sent representatives. Bavaria continued to have foreign embassies accredited to her King. Furthermore, in the Upper House of the Federal Legislature, there was a preponderant representation of Prussia; and yet again the entire Upper House was composed of delegates nominated by the different States forming the Federation and these were bound to vote according to the instructions given by their Governments. There was no elected element. It was not in any way democratic. Yet such was the *strong racial feeling and patriotic unity of the German States that Constitution* not merely worked well, but stood the test of the Great War. The Constitution did not break down under the stress of the Great War; it broke down due to the defeat and subsequent developments in socialistic and other directions, and more especially the unity drive of the Nazis.

Is there, therefore, any historical need for imposing one type of internal Constitution on all the federating parts in India? The claim of the Princes—I have had opportunity of discussing with some of them—can be broadly expressed thus. They say "Leave us to ourselves. After all, democracy is not the only form of Government and it has not been a perfect success everywhere" (except locally here) (Laughter). "Some of the European countries have discarded it in order to forge ahead. Under the democratic constitution Germany was in a very low condition Germany was being trodden down by the victorious allies and Italy was in a bad way; but under the Totalitarian systems of Government they have been able to make up, so that to-day the tables are turned. The Versailles Treaty is no more. It almost looks that Germany is now the paramount power in Europe. Democracy would not have achieved such a triumph, in so short a time and at so little expense."

The point for consideration is, has no case been made out for a Federation in which the Federating units will have their own special and individual character, or shall we dogmatically say that this and this alone is the only rule of life and law of politics and all shall adopt it? That at the bottom is the great question between the Congress and the Princes.

There is a further complication, the communal question. To give you a concrete example, a couple of years ago there was a big movement in Kashmere of Muslims for acquiring various civic and political rights; in fact responsible government. I ask you, did the Hindus sympathise with that movement? For Kashmere, as you know, is a Hindu State with a large Muslim majority. Today there is a similar movement in Hyderabad. The people are agitating in the name of the State Congress of Hyderabad for Civil Liberties and responsible government. What would be the reaction of the Muslims towards this movement? Wherever we go, the communal question comes to the surface and that creates dangers peculiar to India and not to be found in other countries. Is there not the Mahratta versus Gujerati virus in the Baroda Government? The Muslims are democrats in Kashmere and the opposite in Hyderabad; the Hindus are *vice versa*.

In these circumstances, what should be our attitude towards the proposed Federation? Had we been internally in a more fortunate position, which, of course, means in a stronger position, our solution would have been simple and easy to achieve. Just at present there are various complications. The Princes do not seem to be in ahurry to enter the doors of Federation. The Congress invasion of the States has provoked a bad reaction. Should we ask them to reform themselves on the threshold before they enter? "You must undergo *prayaschitha* before you are allowed into the sanctum." They do not seem to be in a hurry to oblige us. The British appear to be very anxious and are even letting down the Princes very hardly. The Muslims are not willing. They will join us in resisting the Federation, but their objects in resisting are quite different from those of the Congress. The Congress is a national body. It tries to look at problems from the point of view of *Indian citizenship*, pure and simple. But it does not appeal to all communities. Then as to the States.

You want them to reform themselves before they are allowed into the hall of Federation. When you point out the bad Government in the States, they may turn round and not merely ask you to look into the "Responsible Government" enacted by your local bodies; they may even ask you to count the number of communal clashes, labour disorders and student strikes that have occurred since the Congress accepted office. Count up and see how these 18 months compare with any previous 18 months in this respect. When the situation is thus growing worse, is this the time when you can make large demands on the British Government? You must have read with interest the correspondence between the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress. They do not seem to be coming together at all. They won't shake hands with each other; and without solving this big problem of communal unity, we shall not be, we will never be, in a position to dictate terms to the British in regard to the nature of the Federation.

EUROPE'S POPULATION PROBLEM.

Whichever way one looks at the question Mr. G. F. McCleary's book, "Population: Today's question,"* makes depressing reading. Mr. McCleary has given his public not a new set of facts to work on but a fresh presentation of the problem of depopulation. The first chapters of the book are a historic study of the literature on population from the ancient Greeks and Romans to the birth control agitation of our own times. The presentation is clear though there is a rather distracting tendency to literary quotation which

*Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London, Price 6sh.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is remotely relevant. It is when we come to Mr. McCleary's discussion of the problem of the White race that we realise where this hitherto academic study is leading us. Mr. McCleary's thesis is that the tendency towards depopulation which is revealed by statistics not only in Europe but in the new world and in the Dominions and British colonies as well, is a danger which has not been adequately appreciated. The countries which are attempting to meet the menace are, according to the writer, not remarkably successful in their methods. France and Belgium with their system of family allowances have not checked their declining birth-rate. In fact, according to the League of Nations' figures which we published last week, France has the misfortune of having a death-rate in excess of its birth-rate. Italy in spite of heroic measures against bachelorhood, has had a steadily falling birth-rate and even a declining marriage rate. Germany alone seems to have been able to stop the decline to some extent but even there Mr. McCleary thinks it is too early to say that the success is more than temporary. German writers themselves claim that success in fighting the menace of depopulation rests not on economic measures alone but on the cultivation of an optimistic outlook by the people. It is obvious on the face of it that no amount of threats or economic inducements will raise the birth-rate among a people who face the future with fear and uncertainty. What war has done in Europe, frequent and unaccustomed depressions have brought about in America.

Mr. McCleary sees clearly enough that all the direct attempts to increase population have failed. It is all the more difficult to understand why he fails to see that the older no less direct attempts to tell people to reduce the population could not have succeeded in themselves. The claims he makes, for instance, for the birth control movement are exaggerated. It is difficult to believe that the wide publicity won by trials against birth control pamphleteers resulted in the immediate fall of the birth-rate. It is still more difficult to credit this when one remembers that the zeal of propagandists was far in advance in 1870-90 of the contraceptive trade. But when we remember that the declining birth-rate was attendant on an extension of the benefits of the colonial system to the masses of imperial nations, we have a ready explanation of the continued fall in the birth-rate. After all, as Mr. McCleary himself points out, birth control was not unknown in ancient times. Why should it have caught on in certain countries at a particular period? Or why should it have been advocated by propagandists first a few months earlier?

The fear of depopulation is greater for the British than for any other Western people. Mr. McCleary tells us that the British, wherever they may be, in Canada in Australia or in Africa, are steadily going down in numbers. In contrasting the British position with that of the Canadian French, the author attributes the downward trend to an over-emphasis on the need to make good. It is surprising that he fails to draw the natural conclusion that too great a preoccupation with economic problems, individual or national, has been the bane of the British. "The investigator seeking a social grade in which large families are relatively numerous," says Mr. McCleary, "would be ill-advised to prosecute his search among persons holding posts that are permanent and pensionable." Imperial France, Britain and the United States of America are the three countries which have roused the envy of the world for their economic and social opportunities. The political weak French Canadian has adopted unconsciously the technique of backward and insecure peoples in population matters. What is true of the individual or of the classes, cannot be false with nations. In his striking book on "Parliamentary Democracy in England" Mr. Harold Laski asserts that the colonial power of Britain had enabled the people in that country to keep up a spirit of give and take. The classes were in a position to concede more and more "rights" to the masses without losing much of their privileges. Security, briefly, was widespread. Today the situation is rapidly altering but it would seem that the population trend has not yet adjusted itself to the changing situation. The question how soon the depopulation movement will be checked depends not so much on positive measures to restrain it as on the realisation on the part of the working classes that they have ceased to represent a vested interest. And that depends, in relation to the world, on the dissolution of colonial system.

WELFARE WORK IN INDIA AND THE EMPIRE.

Of the many year-books that are published, the Empire Social Hygiene Year Book* is specially valuable. The 1938 edition is the fifth of the series and it is unfortunate that the publishers have issued a double edition for 1938 and 1939. The statistics for India, for example, are all for 1936 and the figures for '37 will be available a year later even than it has been so far. This is peculiarly regrettable in view of the extension of self-government in the provinces and the quickening of interest in public health questions both through the establishment of popular governments and by the work of public organizations like the population conferences. The Year-Book begins its section on India with the remark that the responsibility for Public Health work rests with the provinces and the Indian States but the introductory article describes the work of the Central Government and the structure of what is after all only a co-ordinating body, at disproportionate length. The details show the uneven nature of provincial activities. The remarks on the difficulty of achieving anything in the campaign against venereal diseases and other public health questions which the Year-Book contains, are based on a mistaken notion. If India has to wait for the growth of a public opinion for necessary welfare measures, we might well have to wait indefinitely. Here we must look for guidance to Japan. In his excellent book, *Japan: The Hungary Guest* Mr. G. C. Allen explains a distinction between the East and Great Britain which has been often ignored. He writes:

> Many evils and abuses continue to exist not because the Japanese are insensitive to them nor because they wish to preserve them, but because their removal awaits action by authority. Most of the social improvements in England during the past century have been initiated by groups of individuals who have led movements or formed societies which at length have compelled the State to act. Some instances of this kind of movement exist in Japan; but they are ineffective on the whole, and social reform societies do not seem capable of organizing powerful campaigns for social amelioration.

The difficulties are even greater in India where illiteracy is widespread. The provincial governments recognize this in pursuing a policy of Prohibition where they have a large measure of public support. It is only a question of time before the Prohibition method is extended to other social fields as well.

In the matter of health services, the United Provinces and Madras lead the rest of India: while the U. P. has developed along traditional lines, Madras has been responsible for several innovations.

*Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London. Price 15sh.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Madras has a programme of Health Education which seems to be unequalled elsewhere in India. Many of the Indian States with a notable exception in Mysore, listed in the Year-Book, are very much behind the British Indian provinces. It is when we compare the work done in India with what has been achieved in other parts of the Empire that we feel the lag in Public Health services. Figures for expenditure on Public Health are not given for all provinces but calculating on the basis of the information given in the Year-Book, one is struck by the meagre resources available for this vital department, compared to the high budget for the Ministry of Health in the United Kingdom. The section dealing with Great Britain is revealing. The cinema, broadcasting and even the education department, all play a part in Public Health. All discussion on the relative merits of State apathy and popular enthusiasm or State initiative amid popular ignorance and illiteracy seems futile in the face of this fact. There is no reason why the State should hold back in the work of educating opinion to a recognition of its needs. The Social Hygiene Year-Book is a forceful influence in bringing home to the governments and the people of India the importance of preventive work. If we might make a suggestion it is that incomplete data, which is not relevant to Public Health affairs, like those on the religious distribution of populations, might be omitted from future editions.

GERMANY AND AFRICAN COLONIES.*

The colonial question has not been altered in substance by recent events. Germany's colonies were wrested from her by force of arms and insult was added to injury when the conquest was excused by false and trumped-up proofs that pre-war *Germany was unfit to govern colonial possessions.* Since the advent of Herr Hitler, patriotic irredentism in Nazi propaganda has been peculiarly associated with the colonial guilt lie; and the return of the Reich's former territories overseas has been claimed unconditionally as a matter of right. The economic grounds for the German claims are less substantial than those of prestige or politics. The possession of, say, the Reich's old African territories would admittedly provide some very slight relief to her exchange difficulties by providing certain materials which are at present bought elsewhere and so releasing foreign exchange to purchase more essential commodities, such as iron, copper, bauxite, cotton and wool, from other places. And in the case of oils, sisal and phosphates the former colonies, including those in the Pacific, could be directly helpful to the Four Year Plan. But the exports of these territories amount in total value to less than 4 per cent. of the value of Germany's imports, and to increase their contribution appreciably would entail an amount of investment which the Reich at present could ill afford. Nevertheless, it is scarcely in order for the possessors of colonies to base their refusal to surrender a part of their property on demonstrations that the imperial game is not economically worth the candle. Nor are Britons with their colour-bar, or the remote Americans with their negro problem, on very secure ground when they base their denial of Germany's demands on German racial doctrines. It does not follow, as night the day, that Jew-baiters will oppress natives. If moral issues are decisive, the unconditional surrender of colonies to Germany would be wrong because broad considerations of justice require as Mr. Noel Baker argued on Wednesday, not unilateral concessions, but the application of the principle of trusteeship to all colonies whatever their ownership, the abatement of sovereign interests and the world-wide recognition of the open door in colonial commerce. The mandatory principle itself imposes respect for their considerations. As it is, questions of expediency and power politics probably prevail; and it is not practicable to transfer colonies, simply because it would be strategically unsafe to do so and nothing would be gained. If, on the other hand, an effective *quid pro quo* could be gained, if some guarantee of lasting peace could be assured, then some sort of deal might reasonably be done.

The Economist

THE PLACING OF CHILDREN IN FAMILIES.

The problem dealt with in the present Report in two volumes has been discussed in the Social Committees of the League of Nations since 1934. At that time the Child Welfare Committee planned a survey on the placing of children in families as part of its general enquiry into the treatment of neglected and delinquent minors. As the work proceeded, however, a great deal of valuable material was brought forward by Governments and by private organisations such as the Save the Children International Union. It was found that the question could not be confined to the somewhat limited aspect of the placing of negected and delinquent children. The Advisory Committee on Social Questions, therefore, decided to treat independently the whole problem of placing in families as a method of child care:

The volumes contain material sent forward by Governments and Child Welfare Organisations, edited and arranged in the light of discussions in the Advisory Committee on Social Questions.

The first volume presents the principles accepted by modern social service as underlying provisions for child care, the historical development of the use of placing children in families, characteristic features of the different systems employed in various parts of the world, and the organisation of social services to direct "placing."

The Report defines the principles from which modern practice in social welfare proceeds. Training for ordinary life has become the dominant idea in child care.

" The natural and normal place for a child's upbringing is with his own parents in his own home. Modern social practice concentrates in its major efforts upon measures calculated to conserve the home for the child. Hence, when it unfortunately happens that for some sufficient reason a child must be cared for away from his own home, the reasonable view is that the best substitute for his own home would be another family resembling as much as possible what his own home should have been. Moreover, if we agree that the chief concern of child care is to epuip the child to function successfully in a normal community where people ordinarily live in families, it is reasonable to suppose that this training could best be given in such a community and in such a family home, rather than in the more artifical circumstances of institutional life. From such considerations, the belief in family foster-care has steadily gained ground in recent times."

Volume II describes the various systems of placing children in families that are now employed in different parts of the world. Precedents are found for the modern practice of finding homes for orphaned or dependent children in Bohemia in the 15th century; while in Finland and the territory that is now Belgium,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

this practice was followed in the 17th and 18th centuries. Denmark, France, Switzerland and Sweden have been applying placing systems for more than a hundred years. In Switzerland the principle of family placing has been applied since Reformation. Chile was the first country in the New World to adopt the system having established the boarding-out of dependent children in 1853.

The Report describes the present practice in the following countries: Union of South Africa, Argentine Republic, Belgium, Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, New Zealand, Poland, Switzerland, Turkey, United States, Uruguay, United Kingdom, Sweden, and U. S. S. R.

WORLD CHRISTIANITY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Editorial legerdemain is astonishing: The Editor of the *Social Reformer* in his Editorial notes (in the issue of 24-12-33), made out that I am not interested in World Christianity on grounds which I certainly did not furnish in the article he referred to. Let me state my position.

I am passionately interested in World Christianity in terms of the Commonwealth of God. It always perplexes me that the Christian Movement should continue to blind itself to the fact that the evangelistic situation is a world situation. Nothing but colossal ignorance or consummate pride could make missionary thinkers like Dr. Kraemer still speak of the Christian message for a Non-Christian World (meaning India, Africa, China and Japan.) They forget that the irreligion which is spreading in the so-called Christian countries of the west like a prairie fire is by far more dangerous to human civilization and progress, and to the Kingdom of God, than the non Christian religions of the East. Certainly, an organization like the International Missionary Council should become alive enough to turn the telescope of evangelical sympathy westward also. The European crisis has revealed, as nothing else could have, the fundamental denial of Gospel of Christ by the westeran mind.

The implications of the Gospel of Christ, from the preamble of the Nazareth Manifesto to the miracle of Pentecost, introduce a revolution in human thought and the history of man. What are these implications? Human life is personal. Man must break down all obstacles which obstruct full community. National exclusiveness must give way to international community. Imperial, feudal or capitalist class-system must yield to a classless community. Religious and cultural rivalry must be replaced by human brotherhood. The western mind has repudiated every one of these salient implications. In fact the Nazi hatred for Jews is a climatic revelation of the Nordic consciousness. Hitler is not angry with the Jew. He does not covet the Jew's wealth. He does not fear a Jewish revolt. But in Hitler the Nordic mind has expressed its repudiation of the Christ-consciousness inherent in the Jewish mind and its ultimate fulfilment. This is corroborated by the Nazi denunciation of Christianity simultaneous with its expulsion of Jews. Fascism (and Nazism and capitalism are different forms of Fascism) is the violent protest of the pagan consciousness, suppressed for centuries by Christianity and even driven into the unconscious for a time; the protest against the implications of Christ's Gospel. The irony is that these implications were manifested on any large scale for the first time by Communism. Thus apparently Fascism was a protest against Communism. But whereas Communism puts into effect the programme of Christ (leaving Christ out for the moment) Fascism is a revolt against the programme as well as the Founder, against community-consciousness itself. It penalizes the Jew because the community-consciousness is so marked in the Jewish tradition. It is ironical, nay tragic, that the Jews should be rejected by a pagan world for the same reason that they themselves rejected Christ. Jews fulfilled the Jewish community-consciousness by enlarging it into the Commonwealth-of-God-consciousness. But at that very point the Jews rejected him. Now they are rejected because they have become an immanent universal community, immanent in the nations of the earth, a menace to aggressive individualism.

The European world is too spent and weary spiritually to help itself, much less others. The world is too bankrupt spiritually for any nation or country to presume to send out Christmas gifts to any other country. Christmas itself has not been understood. The Christmas tree with all its imperialistic glamour and tinsel of capitalism is a parody on the birth of the Man of Sorrows. Let servants of Christ everywhere band themselves together to fight unchristian imperialism, capitalism, and bitter nationalism at any cost to the end that their national states may be transformed into the Commonwealth of God, realizing frankly that their respective countries need Christ just as much as the Non-Christian World, and patterning their attitude towards other races and cultures accordingly.

But the need for an evangelistic drive for the so-called Christian countries becomes urgent for another reason also. Where Christianity is not denied altogether, it is interpreted with such confused ambiguity as to mean anything and everything. Ambiguous interpretation is perhaps more dangerous than repudiation. It is equivalent to sailing under false colours. Missionary work and exploitation are carried on side by side by members of one race. Foreign domination is said to have Christian motives. Evangelism and capitalism sit cheek by jowl. Class-distinctions are considered as Christian by some as equality is by others. War and pacifism are variously sanctioned by Christian standards. Are men like Kreamer and Mott not aware of the virus of ambiguity within Christendom? These ambiguities are the off-shoots of the process, which began in the Roman Empire as early as Constantine, and has never stopped in European thought; the process of the self-negation of Christian Church. It made all the conscious Christianities of Europe the politico-religious creeds of secular societies built on the will to power, and practical negations of the Christian purpose. (Vide John Macmurray: Clue to History, p. 206-7. Also p. 226—237). In the Roman Empire, in Scandinavia and Hungary Christianity was used as a political weapon. The Carolingian rulers and Charlemagne used mass conversions for political purposes. Even today the Church of England blesses all kinds of unchristian exploitation. In fact England's first 'Defender of Faith', Henry VIII was not what one would call religious or even scrupulous. The pope has pronounced his blessing upon the rebel forces of Franco. And so examples could be multiplied to show the utter hopelessness of the tangle of the official Christian interpretation in the West. The Process of compromise has not come to an end in European Christianity. And that very process has brought the official Christianities of Europe to the verge of collapse.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

That Foreign Mission Boards are able to raise large funds and collect regiments of men and women to spread Christianity in Eastern lands while Christianity is collapsing in many sections of the West itself, manifests the confidence they have in the East to understand and conserve the spirit of Christ's original Gospel, and give it back to the impoverished West after the wreckage predicted by Spengler, threatened by Fascism, Nazism, and Imperialism. The East is grateful for this tribute to her spiritual perception. As the Indian Church matures it will show greater consciousness of its international function. As the Indian Church becomes more conscious, and therefore independent and self-determining, it will be able to offer missionaries for western countries. Towards that end an organization like the International Missionary Council should begin to arrange for international exchange of missionaries —at least to justify its presumptuous designation: Linguistically gifted and culturally genuine Chinese, Indians, Negroes, Phillipines, Japanese, Javanese, Sumatrans and Burmese should be selected by the various National Christian Councils, trained for missionary work, and sent out to Western countries on evangelistic missions. This would be an effective measure towards the establishment of world Christianity, beyond the sentimentalities of rosy speech, on the firm foundation of real brotherhood.

But of course we get so accustomed to certain modes of thought that anything new comes as a shock; and the first reaction is resistance. The word "mission" at once raises thoughts, of the white man's burden in remote parts of Asia or Africa It will take time for people to get used to the possibility of that word implying the brown man's burden. Westerners have taken it for granted that they are the chosen people destined to conquer and dominate and exploit so as to civilize and Christianize. *The day is at hand when that assumption will be dashed to the ground.* It will be well for occidental missionaries to prepare the way for Oriental missionaries who are willing to sacrifice and brave persecution and insult to preach original Christianity to the West. The sooner words like 'evangelism,' 'missionary,' mission,' 'conversion,' and the like are redeemed from the iniquitous interpretations forced upon them by an imperialistic and capitalistic civilization, the better will it be for real Christianity. The aggressive west has inflicted its thoughtforms as much as its commerce and colonization upon the peace-loving people of the East. This infliction has been positively unchristian. Nor are there any signs of repentance, barring a few noble exceptions. Nothing but repentant reformation and revolutionary rethinking will bring about the New Birth of Christianity for the future service of creating the Commonwealth of God, when peace and justice, equality and freedom will be the rightful heritage for *all* alike. If not the New Christianity must arise whose relation to the old will be similar to that of the first Christians to the Jewish Church. It was the Jewish Church not the first Christians who provoked the schism. The task of this New Christianity will be not to save itself by selling itself to imperial powers or financing classes, but to save the world in a universal Community. It will expect to find itself denounced by many who vehemently declare themselves Christian, doughty champions of the old. It will expect to be viewed with suspicion because of its Christliness by many of those with whose cause it identified itself. Yet the revelation it will present is one of redemption. And redemption implies purification. The pentecostal inspiration comes with tongues of fire, and the flame will scorch and burn away the sentimentalities, compromises, false idealisms, hypocrisies which have clustered around Christ's message. (Vide: Keneth Ingram's "Christian challenge to Christians" pp. 214–24). This new Christianity is already making itself felt. It is already beginning to release the creative energy of men to demand universal Community, to demand the annihilation of class distinction, national rivalry, and race segregation. Through its fearless activity the desire of nations shall be fulfilled in Christ.

This New Christianity will have not a verbal but a vital message for the whole world. The East will find in it not veiled imperialism but friendly co-operation. It will be a liberating force which will be welcomed by India. The New Christianity will not be a new cult but a renaissance of Christ's Christianity as distinct from the paganized Christianity of the Churches today. And it will, as it must, bring the power of emancipation, of redemption through utmost regeneration of individual and society alike. This power is needed in India, in the East generally. The community-building force, welding together the conflicting elements of communal or caste isolation is the best guarantee for freedom, justice, and peace. India needs it. The old Christianities of Europe have not given India what she needs. The life-transforming and the society-transforming energy of the vision of Christ will galvanize India into greater effect towards her goal and simultaneously furnish direction and co-ordination. The New Christianity whose dynamic is nothing less than Christ and His Commonwealth; whose discipline is attunement to God through communion and to man through community; whose justification is nothing short of complete emancipation in Christ, will indeed *fulfil* the Indian heritage not in the sentimental manner of Farquhar and his school, but realistically by extension and motivation.

Lucknow. } Yours etc.,
CYRIL MODAK.

The Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded this year to the Nansen International Office for Refugees at Geneva. This prize, which amounts to some $41,000, is awarded each year to individuals or bodies of people in recognition of some signal work on behalf of peace. The Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, in awarding this year's prize to the Nansen International Office, have paid a tribute to the important work which this Office has done in the interest of peace among peoples.

BHULABHAI DESAI'S SPEECHES.

Published in Book Form. Of particular interest to students of Politics, Law, Economics and Commerce.

The Book contains the great leader's lectures on these and other subjects of national interest.

Price:

Rs. 3/8/- India

Sh. 7/6/- Foreign

Postage extra.

Can be had of all leading booksellers,

WHEELERS BOOK STALLS.

or please write to:

G. A. NATESAN & COMPANY.

Publishers, MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

028642

Now Ready.

S. Natarajan's

WEST OF SUEZ.

Impressions of a tour round Europe in 1937.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes in his Foreword:

"Curiosity is not perhaps a prominent characteristic of the Indian mind but Mr. Natarajan is of the younger generation and to him every place and every person have an interest.....Those who read this book will know how live is his mind, how sure his touch and how fairminded his judgments."

Pages 306.

Copies can be had from the office of the *Reformer* at Rs. 3 per copy. Postage 10 As.

The Manager,

The Indian Social Reformer,

Kamakshi House, Bandra, Bombay, 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BEHAR HERALD.

The only English bi-weekly in Bihar and Orissa; the Oldest Newspaper in Behar & Orissa; Estd. in 1874; Organ of the Bengali Community in Bihar; famous for its impartial views and dispassionate services.

Managerial Office—Bankipore, Patna.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

Subscription Rates.

Inland ... Rs. 7-8 (Post Free).

Foreign ... Rs. 10 (Post Free).

Single copies of the current month, if available can be had at 2 annas, current year 4 annas and copies more than a year old 6 annas each, exclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please apply to :–

THE MANAGER,

THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER.

KAMAKSHI HOUSE, BANDRA,

BOMBAY 20.

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE BANK, LTD.

HEAD OFFICE: Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.

BRANCHES:

Baramati (District Poona).
Islampur (District Satara).
Karad (" ").
Tasgaon (" ").
Satara (" ").
Kirloskarwadi (" ").
Shirala (" ").
Koregaon (" ").
Kopergaon (District Ahmednagar).
Shevgaon (" ").
Ahmednagar (" ").
Bhiwandi (District Thana).
Palghar (" ").
Kalyan (" ").
Akluj (District Sholapur).
Viramgam (District Ahmedabad).
Dhulia (District West Khandesh).
Dondaicha (" ").
Nandurbar (" ").
Shirpur (" ").
Shahada (" ").
Sakri (" ").
Sindkheda (" ").
Taloda (" ").
Malegaon (District Nasik).
Satana (" ").
Kalwan (" ").
Dohad (District Panch Mahals).
Kalol (" ").

DIRECTORS:

Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, Kt., K.C.S.I., (Chairman).
Principal M. L. Tannan,
B. V. Jadhav, Esq.,
R. G. Saraiya, Esq.,
Rao Bahadur R. V. Vandekar, Nasik.
Vaikunth L. Mehta, Esq., (Managing Director.)
S. N. Jamdar, Esq., Sholapur.
K. M. Thakor, Esq., Broach.
S. P. Pandit, Esq., Sirsi.
V. P. Varda, Esq.,
S. S. Malimath, Esq., Dharwar.
K. V. Vichare, Esq., Satara Rd.
A. P. Kulkarni, Esq., Dhulia.
D. W. Raut, Esq., Bassein.

SHARE CAPITAL:—

(Fully Paid) ... ... Rs. 12,96,9[illegible]

1 DEPOSITS fixed for one year and shorter or longer periods are accepted. Rates and other particulars may be ascertained from the undersigned.

2. CURRENT ACCOUNTS are opened for Co-operative Societies and individuals. Interest is allowed on daily balances not exceeding Rs. 1,00,00

3. SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS are accepted and interest paid at 1½ per cent. on minimum monthly balances. Rules may be obtained from the undersigned.

4. Drafts are issued on district and other towns on terms to be ascertained on application.

5. The Bank finances only registered Co-operative Societies in the Bombay Presidency, on the recommendation of the Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Bombay Presidency.

6. Accounts are audited quarterly by a firm of Incorporated Accountants and yearly by a Special Government Auditor. Quarterly statements of financial position are published in the "Bombay Government Gazette."

VAIKUNTH L. MEHTA,
Managing Director.

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS.

The Paper for International Justice.

Edited by Sylvia Pankhurst.

PRICE 2d. WEEKLY.

Weekly Articles by Dr. Martin, Ethiopian Minister in London.

Frequent Statements by the Emperor of Ethiopia.

First Hand News of Fascism in Italy, Ethiopia, Spain and elsewhere.

3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, ENGLAND.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THE BANK OF INDIA, LTD.

(Established 7th September 1906.)

INCORPORATED UNDER THE INDIAN COMPANIES ACT VI OF 1882.

HEAD OFFICE:

ORIENTAL BUILDINGS, BOMBAY.

Branches :—
BULLION EXCHANGE, Sheik Memon St., Bombay.
BANDRA, (Near Bombay.)
CUSROW BAUGH Colaba, Bombay.
ANDHERI (47, Ghodbunder Road.)
MALABAR HILL, 3/4 Hughes Road, Bombay.
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY, (Corner of Picket Road.)
AHMEDABAD.
AHMEDABAD, (Station Branch.
CALCUTTA.
CALCUTTA, (Bara Bazar.)
JAMSHEDPUR.
NAGPUR CITY.
NAGPUR, (Kingsway.)
POONA.
POONA CITY.
RAJKOT.
SURAT.

Capital Subscribed	.....	Rs. 2,00,00,000
Capital Called up	.....	„ 1,00,00,000
Reserve Fund	.....	„ 1,08,00,000

London Agents :—The Westminster Bank, Ltd.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest is allowed on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 @ ½% per annum. Interest on balances in excess of Rs. 1,00,000 allowed only by special arrangement. No credit will be given in accounts for interest amounting to less than Rs. 5 per half year.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Deposits are received fixed for one year or for short period at rates of interest which can be ascertained on application.

"Savings Bank accounts opened on favourable terms. Rules on application." The Bank acts as Executor and Trustee under Wills and Settlements and undertakes Trustee business generally. Rules may be obtained on application.

The Bank grants accommodation of terms to be arranged against approved security.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its Constituents the safe custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividend and interest thereon. It also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be had on application.

A. G. GRAY,
Manager.

THE BANK OF BARODA, LTD.

(The liability of Members being Limited.)

HEAD OFFICE:—BARODA.

Under the patronage of and largely supported by the Government of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda.

(Registered under the Baroda Companies Act III of 1897)

Branches :—Amreli, Bhadra—Ahmedabad. Bhavnagar, Bilimora, Bombay, Calcutta, Dabhoi, Dwarka, Harij (N.G.) Kadi, Kalol. Kapadwanj, Karjan, Manasa, Navsari, Panchkuva—Ahmedabad, Patan, Petlad, Port Okha, Sidhpur, Surat Vyara & Visnagar (N. G.)

CAPITAL SUBSCRIBED	...	Rs. 60,00,000
CAPITAL PAID-UP	...	„ 30,00,000
RESERVE FUND	...	„ 26,50,000

DIRECTORS:

Mr. Walchand Hirachand (Chairman).

Mr. Durgaprasad Shambhuprasad Laskari, Mill Agent, Ahmedabad.)

Mr. Toolsidas Kilachand, (Kilachand Devchand & Co Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Girdharlal Dosabhai Parikh, B.A., LL.B., Baroda

Raj Ratna Bhailal Dajibhai Amin, B. A., M. S. C. I. (Managing Agent, Alembic Chemical Works Co. Ltd., Baroda.)

Mr. S. D. Saklatwala (Tata Sons, Ltd., Bombay.)

Raj Ratna Krishnarao Vithalrao Uplap, B.A., LL.B. Naib Dewan, Baroda.

CURRENT DEPOSIT ACCOUNTS.

Interest on daily balances from Rs. 300 to Rs. 1,00,000 will be allowed at ½ per cent. per annum and on sums over Rs. 1,00,000 by special arrangement. No interest which does not come to Rs. 5 per half-year will be allowed.

FIXED DEPOSITS.

Received for long or short periods on terms which may be ascertained on application.

LOANS, OVERDRAFTS AND CASH CREDITS.

The Bank grants accommodation on terms to be arranged against approved securities.

The Bank undertakes on behalf of its constituents the safe Custody of Shares and Securities and the collection of dividends and interest thereon; it also undertakes the sale and purchase of Government Paper and all descriptions of Stock at moderate charges particulars of which may be learnt on application.

SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS.

Deposits received in Savings Bank accounts and Savings Bank deposit accounts. Interest on these is allowed at 1½ per cent per annum. Rules on application.

W. G. GROUNDWATER,
General Manager.

CHEST COLD



(Regd.)

A simple chest cold may, if neglected turn into bronchitis; avoid this by rubbing your chest with AMRUTANJAN. Its penetrating warmth goes deep down into the chest, loosens the phlegm and brings quick relief.

AMRUTANJAN

Brings Quick Relief Always

AMRUTANJAN LTD.

BOMBAY & MADRAS.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

If YOU want to be in touch with the mind of Muslim India

Read

THE NEW TIMES

The best minds of India contribute regularly to our pages on all subjects of General Interest.

For free specimen copy write with one anna stamp to the Manager, THE NEW TIMES, 19, Temple Road, Lahore.

Yearly Rs. 4
Half Yearly Rs. 2-4
Foreign (one year) 10 Sh.

THE SCINDIA STEAM NAVIGATION COMPANY, LIMITED.



Fortnightly sailings between Bombay, Karachi and Calcutta, Burma calling at Galle Tuticorin Colombo and other coast ports according to demand.

For Freight and other particulars apply to—

NARROTAM MORARJEE & Co.,
Agents.

Sudama House, 81, Sprott Road, Ballard Estate,
2-26 Bombay.

THE TRADITIONAL HOME OF THE SANDALWOOD TREE.

It is in perfumery that the greater proportion of Sandalwood Oil is employed at the present day and to discriminating buyers, such as perfumers and soap manufacturers must of necessity be, it is hardly necessary to extol the virtues of the East Indian Oil which is without equal, both as a fine perfume base and a **fixative for the increasingly popular bouquets** of the Oriental type. In addition it is now being used extensively, and with marked success, in the creation of some of the more **delicate perfumes** in which the Sandalwood odour is not required as a predominant character.

A few trials will convince the perfumer who has not taken full advantage of the odour-value of this oil, that is of the greatest use to him, not only for predominant Sandalwood odour where required, but also a modifier and a fixative for other odours. This is true for liquid perfumes, soaps, creams, powders and all other cosmetic preparations. It will be found **invaluable to those up-to-date perfumers** who pride themselves on their own "creations."

All enquiries for Mysore Sandalwood Oil for use in Soaps, Perfumes, etc., to:—

THE DIRECTOR, GOVERNMENT SANDALWOOD OIL FACTORY, MYSORE.

Agents for South India, Bombay Presidency and Burma:—

Messrs. M. A. T. ACHARYA & Co.,
SRI KRISHNA BUILDINGS, AVENUE ROAD, BANGALORE CITY

AND

THE MYSORE PRODUCTS Ltd.,
PRINCESS STREET, BOMBAY.

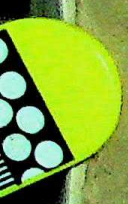
Printed by Jal B. Dubash, Manager, The Commercial Printing Press, 105, Cowasji Patell, Street, Fort, Bombay, and Published by Kamakshi Natarajan for the Proprietors of the "Indian Social Reformer" Limited, at 105, Cowasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



Agents for

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar